



## Francisco Guerrero (1528–1599) Seville's Sixteenth-Century Cynosure

### GUERRERO'S UNIQUE ROLE IN PENINSULAR MUSIC

**G**UERRERO, the most purely Spanish of the triumvirate comprising for its other members Morales and Victoria, was also the most versatile of the three. Somewhat more than a dozen of his secular songs survive in what were formerly Biblioteca Medinaceli MSS 13230<sup>1</sup> and 607<sup>2</sup> (now Bartolomé March Severa Library at Madrid, MSS R. 6829 = 861 and R. 6832 = 682). Miguel de Fuenllana in 1554 intabulated two of his secular songs,<sup>3</sup> and Esteban Daza in 1576, a further three.<sup>4</sup> As for sacred literature, he (like his master, Morales) published two books of masses—the first at Paris in 1566 containing nine masses;<sup>5</sup> the second at Rome in 1582 containing

eight.<sup>6</sup> A mass not in either of these collections, *Saeculorum Amen* (a 4), was printed at Venice two years before his death.<sup>7</sup> Although he fell somewhat short of Morales and Victoria insofar as sheer number of masses is concerned (they having each written approximately 21 while he but 18<sup>8</sup>), he equaled their best achievements in the other sacred categories. The number of his published hymns, 34, exactly equals Victoria's. Like Morales he composed a cycle of magnificats in every tone.<sup>9</sup> He bettered

<sup>6</sup> See Samuel Rubio, "El archivo de música de la Catedral de Plasencia," *AM*, v (1950), 163–164.

<sup>7</sup> H. Anglés, "La música conservada en la Biblioteca Colombina y en la Catedral de Sevilla," *AM*, II (1947), 23 (item 80). Corrections must be made, however. Only one motet *a 12* is to be found in the 1597 *Motecta*: Namely, *Duo Seraphim*. Anglés makes no mention of the *Missa Saeculorum Amen*, a 4; nor of the four hymns *Te Deum laudamus*, *Ave maris stella*, *Veni Creator*, and *Pange lingua*; nor of the *Magnificat Primi toni* (even verses); which succeed the motets in this 1597 publication.

Transcribed and edited by Bruno Turner, *Duo Seraphim* was published at London by Mapa Mundi (1981). The text of this responsory (*Antiphonale Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae pro diurnis horis* [Desclée & Socii, 1949], 179\*–180\*, "In festo SS. Trinitatis") begins with Isaiah 6:3, followed by a Trinitarian ascription. Guerrero reserves passages in which all twelve voices sing together for the climactic words, "Pleni est omnis terra gloria tua." Elsewhere the three choruses (CCAT, CATB, CATB) sing antiphonally F Major music, with transient modulations to D minor (meas. 40–41) and G minor (meas. 51).

<sup>8</sup> The number of Victoria's masses printed in the *Opera omnia* and accepted as his total output in *Grove's Dictionary* (5th ed.; 1954), Vol. VIII, p. 773, was proved incorrect by Raffaele Casimiri in his "Una 'Missa Dominicalis' falsamente attribuita a Tommaso Ludovico de Victoria," *Note d'archivio*; x, 3 (July–Sept., 1933), 185–188.

<sup>9</sup> Rubio, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

<sup>1</sup> J. B. Trend, "Catalogue of the music in the Biblioteca Medinaceli, Madrid," *Revue hispanique*, LXXI, 160 (Dec., 1927), 492–493. Corrections and additions in *Cancionero musical de la Casa de Medinaceli*, I, ed. by Miguel Querol Gavaldá (*MME*, VIII [Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1949]), pp. 27–28.

<sup>2</sup> R. Stevenson, "Music research in Spanish libraries," *Notes of the Music Library Association*, 2d ser., x, i (Dec., 1952), 54.

<sup>3</sup> Miguel de Fuenllana, *Libro de musica para vihuela, intitulado Orphenica lyra* (Seville: Martín de Montedoca, 1554), fols. 143–144 and 144–145 (*Ojos claros* and *Torna Mingo*).

<sup>4</sup> Esteban Daza, *Libro de musica en cifras para Vihuela, intitulado el Parnasso* (Valladolid: Diego Fernández de Córdoba, 1576), fols. 83–84, 87<sup>v</sup>–88<sup>v</sup>, 89–90<sup>v</sup> (*Prado verde*, *Adios verde ribera*, and *Esclarecida Juana* [the last-named work attributed erroneously by Daza to Villalar]).

<sup>5</sup> For bibliographical details see F. Lesure and G. Thibault, "Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Nicolas du Chemin," *Annales musicologiques*, I (1953), 334.



both Morales and Victoria by composing a *Passionarium secundum quatuor evangelistas* (1580).<sup>10</sup> Morales's extant motets number upward of 90; Victoria published 46. Guerrero published 32 in his first book of motets at Seville in 1555, 40 in his second at Venice in 1570, 40 in his third at Venice in 1589, and 70 in a valedictory collection at Venice in 1597.<sup>11</sup> Like Victoria's motet collections, Guerrero's contain duplicates, especially in the last book. Even so, we must guard against supposing that all motets of the same title appearing in successive editions are necessarily the same. For instance, the *Simile est regnum coelorum* of 1555 (*a 5*), that of 1570 (*a 4*), and that of 1589 (*a 6*), the *Ductus est Jesus* of 1555 (*a 5*) and that of 1570 (*a 4*) count as five motets. After ten verified duplicates are subtracted, he is left with 105 different printed motets: 15 more than Morales, and more than twice as many as Victoria. Even so, Guerrero's 105 motets lag behind the 177 published between 1563 and 1584 in six books by Palestrina. To Palestrina's 177 printed in his lifetime would also have to be added those published posthumously. Palestrina's grand total published in his lifetime and later include: 138 *a 4*, 124 *a 5*, 41 *a 6*, 2 *a 7*, 60 *a 8*, and 10 *a 12* (according to Lewis Lockwood in *The New Grove Dictionary*, xiv, 124b).

José M.<sup>a</sup> Llorens Cisteró's list of Guerrero's motets, published in his 100-page "La música española en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI: Polifonía, música instrumental, tratadistas," *Actas del Congreso Internacional celebrado en Salamanca 29 de octubre-5 de noviembre de 1985 "Año Europeo de la Música"* (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música, Ministerio de Cultura, 1987), 1, 208-210, allots the Sevillian: 46 *a 4*, 42 *a 5*, 12 *a 6*, 4 *a 8*, 1 *a 12*.

Despite the disparity in number of published motets, Palestrina's total does not include settings of 72 of the texts set by Guerrero (31 set *a 4*, 30 *a 5*, 7 *a 6*, 3 *a 8*, 1 *a 12*). Nor does even Lassus's huge total of 549 motets include settings of 60 texts in-

cluded among Guerrero's 105 motets (26 *a 4*, 27 *a 5*, 5 *a 6*, 1 *a 8*, 1 *a 12*). Or to put the comparisons in another light: 57 per cent of Guerrero's motets join texts set by neither Palestrina nor Lassus—despite their much larger motet repertoires. If for no other reason than to comprehend how different were the demands on Guerrero at Seville from those on Palestrina and Lassus at Rome and Munich, a beginning should be made with a careful study of Guerrero's many motet texts that pay tribute to women (not only to the Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus, but also Mary Magdalene, Elizabeth, and the unnamed woman in *Clamabat autem mulier*), but also to saints ranging from the unfamiliar Achatius to Augustine, Clement, Dominic, Jerome, and Sebastian.

As for other differences: Guerrero's already mentioned responsorial settings of the four passions were counterparted by neither Palestrina, Lassus, nor Byrd (Francesco Soriano, *Passio D.N. Jesu Christi secundum quatuor evangelistas* awaited 1619 for publication). On the other hand, Guerrero did set the same hymn texts as Palestrina. Also, both composed Marian antiphons and Magnificats.

Returning to Spaniards: in comparison with Morales and Victoria, Guerrero stands alone, because his *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* (33 *a 5*,<sup>12</sup> 20 *a 4*, and 8 *a 3*), published at Venice in 1589, contain many songs conceived originally with secular lyrics. Whether classed as secular or religious music, these *canciones* take rank with Juan Vásquez's two books—his *Villancicos i canciones* (Osuna: 1551) and *Recopilacion de sonetos y villancicos* (Seville: 1560)—as one of the three finest collections of Spanish polyphonic song published by any composer during the century.

Guerrero and Victoria were on the friendliest terms, as can be proved from: (1) the tenor of Victoria's letter to the Sevillian chapter of January 14, 1582, now preserved in the Sevillian capitular archive;<sup>13</sup> (2) the compliment Victoria paid Guerrero when he parodied the elder master's four-voice motet (1570) in his *Simile est regnum coelorum* Mass (1576), but more especially when he included two of Guerrero's motets in his own *Motecta Festorum Totius anni* of 1585; (3) Guerrero's efforts to have

<sup>10</sup> Anglés, *op. cit.*, p. 33 (item 3). Otto Kade in *Die ältere Passionskomposition bis zum Jahre 1631* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1893), pp. 153-157, printed excerpts from Guerrero's Passions according to SS. Matthew and John, using as source Eslava's *Lira sacro-hispana*, 1, ii, 77-89 and 90-98. Unfortunately Kade left the impression that Guerrero composed only these two passions; whereas he composed four.

<sup>11</sup> Bibliography (subject to numerous corrections) in *Hispaniae schola musica sacra*, ed. by Felipe Pedrell, II, xxix-xlx [Hereinafter cited as *HSMS*].

<sup>12</sup> *MME*, Vol. XVI, reprints the *Canciones y villanescas espirituales a 5*.

<sup>13</sup> Juan B. de Elústiza, *Estudios musicales*, Tomo I (Seville: Imp. de la "Guía Oficial," 1917), p. 197.



LIBER PRIMVS MISSARVM.

Alphonſi Lobo de Borja,  
S ANCTAE ECCLESIAE  
TOLETANAE, HISP. PRIMATIS,  
Portionarij, Muſiceſq. Praefecti.



MATRITI, Ex Typographia Regia. M. DC. II.

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IN HOC VOLVMBINE  
CONTENTARVM.

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All masses but the *O Rex gloriae* in Alonso Lobo's 1602 collection are parodies based on Guerrero's motets. Lobo served as Guerrero's assistant from September 2, 1591, to his election at Toledo Cathedral September 22, 1593, and returned as Sevillian *maestro de capilla* from March 9, 1604, to his death April 5, 1617. In 1949 Steven Barwick reported that more copies of Lobo's 1602 volume survived in Mexican cathedrals (Mexico City, Puebla, Guadalajara, Morelia, Oaxaca) than of any other polyphonic imprint.

Victoria succeed him in the post of Sevillian chapelmaster.<sup>14</sup> What has, however, in the past been frequently overlooked by Guerrero's biographers is the number of other composers besides Victoria who paid tribute by basing their parody masses on his motets: Géry de Ghersem (1598), Alonso Lobo (1602), Juan Esquivel (1608 and 1613), and Duarte Lobo (1621), to name only those whose parodies reached print. The *Maria Magdalena* Mass *a* 6 and

<sup>14</sup> "Libro de Memorias de las cosas que en la Iglesia del Asseo de Çaragoça se han ofrecido tocantes a ella desde del Agosto de año 1579 hasta el año 1601 inclusive. Hecho por el Doctor Pascual de Mandura Canonigo de dicha Iglesia," Biblioteca Nacional, MS 14047 (Dec. 23, 1587).

*Prudentes virgines* Mass *a* 5, both in Alonso Lobo's *Liber primus missarum* (Madrid: 1602), are parodied after motets in Guerrero's 1570 book (published at Venice by Antonio Gardano). Just as Guerrero honored Morales by placing the *Sancta et immaculata* Mass first in his 1566 collection, so Alonso Lobo places *Beata Dei genitrix*, parodied after Guerrero's motet of that name (1585), first among his 1602 Masses. His *Missa Petre ego pro te rogavi*, *a* 4, is based on Guerrero's motet *a* 4 of that name published at Venice in 1597. As if five parodies by the Spanish Lobo were not enough, the Portuguese "wolf"—Duarte Lobo—also parodied Guerrero. Duarte Lobo's *Elizabeth Zachariae* Mass *a* 5 in his

lavish *Liber missarum III, V, VI et VIII vocibus* (Antwerp: 1621) is based on the like-named Guerrero motet *a 5* in the 1570 Venetian collection. Juan Esquivel based the *Ave Virgo sanctissima (a 5)* and *Gloriose confessor Domini (a 4)* Masses published in his *Missarum liber primus* (Salamanca: 1608) on motets in the same Guerrero 1570 collection. Esquivel's *Psalmorum, Hymnorum . . . et Missarum Tomus secundus* (Salamanca: 1613), contains a *Missa Quasi cedrus (a 4)* based on the bipartite Assumption motet *Quasi cedrus exaltata sum a 4* published as the fifth motet in Guerrero's maiden collection, the partbooks of which are alternately entitled *Sacrae cantiones, vulgo moteta nuncupata* or *Sacrarum Cantionum, quae vulgo moteta nuncupantur* (Seville: 1555).

The most pyrotechnical parody of a Guerrero motet is not Esquivel's *Ave Virgo sanctissima* Mass *a 5* (1608), but a mass *a 7* of the same title by the Flemish composer Géry de Ghersem.<sup>15</sup> Originally from Tournai, Ghersem arrived at Madrid in June, 1588, with a dozen other Flemish youths recruited to sing in the chapel choir of Philip II. Ghersem quickly established himself as a favorite pupil of Philip's Flemish chapelmaster, Philippe Rogier, and was deputed after Rogier's death on February 29, 1596, to see a selection of his master's masses through the press at royal expense. Published at Madrid in 1598 with the title *Missae sex Philippi Rogerii*, this sumptuous folio concludes with a canonic tour de force entitled *Missa Ave Virgo sanctissima* (pp. 206–258). Parodied after Guerrero's motet *a 5*, the concluding mass is by Ghersem, not Rogier.

Of Guerrero's *Ave Virgo sanctissima* (first published in 1566; reprinted in 1570), Francisco Pacheco—later to become father-in-law of the painter Velázquez—wrote in 1599 as follows: "He published many motets that by reason of their excellent construction and their beauty of sound will be eternally esteemed; his *Ave Virgo sanctissima* alone has, wherever performed in Spain, brought any number of musicians fame and approbation."<sup>16</sup> Guerrero's



► CON PRIVILEGIO. ◄

Closely modeled after an Albrecht Dürer engraving, the above plate reproduced from Guerrero's *Sacrae cantiones*, tenor part-book, fol. 1, shows two female figures—the one on the left representing music, the one on the right melancholy. They flank the coat of arms of the dedicatee, Luis Cristóbal Ponce de León (1518–1573). The terms of Guerrero's agreement dated August 23, 1555, with his printer, Martín de Montesdoca, include the following details (for the Spanish original text, see *Inter-American Music Review*, xii/2 [Spring–Summer 1992], pp. 15–16):

I, Martín de Montesdoca, printer of books, resident in the San Llorente district of Seville, contract with you, Francisco Guerrero, musician in Seville Cathedral, resident in the Santa María district of Seville, who are here present, to print a collection of your music which includes motets *a 4* and *a 5*, eight magnificats, and whatever else you wish to deliver me. I obligate myself while printing these works to adhere to the model proof exchanged between us. You are to pay me five blancas [= 2.5 maravedies] for each sheet, and in addition a bonus of 10,000 maravedies, the whole due amount to be paid in the course of printing the collection. If any printers' faults occur in the execution of the task for which I am responsible, I will repair them at my cost. I acknowledge having received from you in cash and on account 38,400 maravedies as advance payment, with which I am content. I obligate myself to produce 750 copies of each of the five partbooks, to start printing them at once, and not to stop until everything is printed. If I fail to do so, you may take the maravedies as interest and compensation and I will repay you your advance. I obligate myself not to produce more than the 750 copies of each partbook, and if more turn up I will pay you 100 gold ducats plus whatsoever money you have thereby lost. I, Francisco Guerrero, having agreed to all this promise to pay the stipulated amount per sheet, and in addition 6000 [sic] maravedies agreed upon as your bonus and to pay a 20,000 maravedies penalty for not complying with all clauses in this contract. Furthermore, I agree to proofread and correct copy, and if by my negligence and fault any forme is lost, or if I do not return corrections on due dates, I obligate myself to pay you, Martín de Montesdoca, whatsoever fine is customary penalty for such loss. And I, Martín de Montesdoca, understand that you Francisco Guerrero will according to this schedule pay me whatever amount is deemed necessary above the 38,400 maravedies already received to accomplish the printing of the partbooks: a third to begin, a third half way through, and the remaining third at the termination of the printing.

<sup>15</sup> João IV, *Difesa della musica moderna* (Venice: n.p., 1666), pages 40, 49 and 51, voiced his high opinion of Géry de Ghersem's lamentations, motets, *cantiones*, and, at page 54, of the *Ave Virgo sanctissima* Mass parodied after Guerrero's motet.

<sup>16</sup> Francisco Pacheco, *Libro de descripcion de verdaderos Retratos de Illustres y Memorables varones . . . En Sevilla 1599.*, facs. ed. (Seville: Rafael Tarascó, 1881–1885), fol. 95.



Excudebat Hispali Martinus  
Montesdoca, anno do-  
mini M. D. L. v.

Martin de Montesdoca's colophon (fol. 36<sup>v</sup> in Superius, Altus, and Tenor partbooks) shows a crane with a stone in his right claw. Should the crane doze, the stone's fall will awaken him. In his beak a ribbon with the word *Vigilate* reminds him of his duty as guardian. His left foot bestrides a skull.

motet boasts a two-in-one canon at the unison between the upper voices. Ghersem took up this cue, but went far beyond Guerrero. His first Kyrie starts with a "canon: trinitatis in unum"—cantus II being the antecedent, contralto and tenor I the consequents. Every succeeding movement up to the Crucifixus contains canons. At the Et iterum they are resumed. The Sanctus (*Missae sex*, p. 248) includes an amazingly adroit three-in-one canon.<sup>17</sup>

As if the musical tribute of numerous parody masses did not sufficiently honor Guerrero, Vicente Espinel (1550–1624) in *La casa de la memoria* paid him fervid literary homage: "Behold Francisco Guerrero, in whose compositions are found such elegant craftsmanship and such graceful counterpoint; whose pen has given us works of such lasting merit and universal significance; that all future ages may never produce a master who combines so many gifts. For just as in musical science he exceeds everyone else, so also he is a consummate singer and a great teacher."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup>For further comment of Géry de Ghersem's mass, see Manuel Joaquim, *Vinte livros de música polifónica do Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa* (Lisbon: Ramos, Afonso & Moita, 1953), pp. 24–26.

<sup>18</sup>Vicente Espinel, *Diversas rimas* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1591), fol. 46<sup>v</sup>.



TYPOGRAPHVS ARTEM MVSI-  
CAM LAVDAT.

Præcorum perhibent antiqua volumina vatum,  
septem a rebus Musas composuisse nouem.  
Quæ placueret suis ve neranda autoribus omnes,  
atq; men his merito gratior vna fuit:  
Vnde mi hæc edem studeant omnia. Hæc est  
omnibus in terris Musica amabilior,  
Græq; ex æthæo magis ac mægi in clyca Olimpo,  
cæcis illisq; laceris deficiosa comes.  
Assiduas et entem prædici carmine laudes  
concinit in mœtibus turba beata patri.  
Dukis a mica hominum demulcet feniter aures,  
solicitudinibus facula corda leuat.  
Corpore letiferos pellit dulcedine morbos,  
Præbet & ambrosias mentibus vna dapes.  
Inde fit, vt quoties modula mina spiritus audit  
dulcia, continuo raptus ad astra volet.  
Scimus et in numero, mensura, & pondere certo  
artificem summum cuncta creasse Deum:  
Musice enim cæli mira ratione mouentur:  
florida quod tellus continet, aer, æque.

Martin de Montesdoca, an accomplished Latinist, himself composed the poem lauding the art of music that fills fol. 3<sup>v</sup> of Guerrero's *Superius secundus* partbook.

### SEVILLIAN BEGINNINGS

The greatest of Sevillian painters, Diego Velázquez, was not born until the year of Guerrero's death. But painting had been a flourishing art in Seville through the whole of the sixteenth century. Guerrero's father was one of the modest painters who flourished before mid-century. Francisco Pacheco, in his *Libro de descripcion de verdaderos retratos de illustres y memorables varones*, records the father's name as Gonzalo Sánchez Guerrero. The mother's name was Leonor de Burgos. The financial position of the family must have been at least respectable if by 1521 Gonzalo Sánchez owned houses that he could rent to a bonnetmaker named Bartolomé Ruiz.<sup>19</sup> An elder son in the family, Pedro Guerrero, was also to choose music as a profession: the relationship between Pedro and Francisco reminding us of the similar relationship between Diego de Femoselle and Juan del Encina.

<sup>19</sup>José Gestoso y Pérez, *Ensayo de un diccionario de los artífices que florecieron en Sevilla desde et siglo XIII al XVIII inclusive*, III (Seville: Of. tip. de la Andalucía Moderna, 1909), p. 395.



Francisco's year of birth has been variously given. Just as Chopin's in one edition of *Grove's Dictionary* was 1809 and in the next 1810, so Guerrero's in successive editions has been 1527 and 1528. According to Pacheco (1599), Guerrero was born in May, 1527. But Guerrero himself in the prologue to his autobiographical *Viage de Hierusalem* (printed at Valencia by Joan Navarro, 1590; and often thereafter at Seville, Madrid, Cordova, Barcelona, Alcalá de Henares, Valladolid, and Lisbon) said he was sixty years of age on August 14, 1588—the day on which he sailed from Venice for the Holy Land. Two secondary authorities—Bermúdez de Pedraza (1638) and Sánchez Gordillo (1633)<sup>20</sup>—agree that he was born on October 4, 1528. Since October 4 is the feastday of St. Francis of Assisi, such a date is the more intrinsically probable (it was a common Spanish custom to name children after the saint on whose day they were born).

Pedro, his brother, was perhaps a decade older.<sup>21</sup> A composer of singular power and expressiveness in his own right, he taught the young Francisco the rudiments of music. It was Morales, however, who carried him forward to such heights in composition that he "was ready to occupy any honorable musical post" in Spain.<sup>22</sup> The precise months during which he studied with Morales cannot be named with dogmatic finality, but can be fixed with some probability as being from the late summer of 1545 to the spring of 1546. Morales joined the papal choir on September 1, 1535. He received his first leave of absence on April 4, 1540, and reappeared in Rome on May 25, 1541. In the intervening year he presumably visited Seville. Francisco would have been eleven and twelve during his first leave. Morales departed from Rome with a second leave on May 1,

1545. On the following August 8 he was in Toledo.<sup>23</sup> If Morales really did prepare him to occupy any chapelmastership in Spain, then it seems likelier that Guerrero was in his seventeenth rather than twelfth year when such advanced instruction was given. Moreover, Guerrero in his *Viage de Hierusalem* said that his brother Pedro had already departed from Seville when he began to study with Morales.

Besides theoretical knowledge imparted by his brother and later by Morales, Guerrero early in life learned to play several instruments. Pacheco records that he became proficient on the seven-course vihuela—the six-course being the standard instrument. According to Pacheco, Guerrero also mastered the harp and cornett.<sup>24</sup> Juan Méndez Nieto, a physician who emigrated to the New World in 1559, professed to have studied organ with the *celebre organista Guerrero* before his departure from Seville.<sup>25</sup> This Guerrero would necessarily have been Francisco—Pedro having already departed for Italy at the same time Méndez Nieto (who was born in 1535) sojourned in Seville.

Francisco's name first appears in Sevillian Cathedral documents with the *acta capitular* of April 3, 1542;<sup>26</sup> on that date he was received as a cathedral singer. On the same day his beginning annual salary was set at 12,000 maravedís. Presumably he already possessed the extremely beautiful *contra alto* that throughout his adult career was to win him the acclaim of all who knew him personally. The Sevillian chapmaster was still Pedro Fernández de Castilleja (who had served since 1514). The assistant in charge of musical instruction was a certain Bernaldo de Villalva, who when appointed a cathedral singer on March 24, 1540, was asked to "help" the already aging chapmaster teach the principles of harmony and counterpoint.<sup>27</sup> The cathedral chapter required

<sup>20</sup> Alonso Sánchez Gordillo, "Historia eclesiástica de Sevilla." Extracts printed in Francisco Ariño, *Sucesos de Sevilla de 1592 á 1601* (Seville: Imp. de Rafael Tarascó y Lassa, 1873). Guerrero's birthdate at page 159.

<sup>21</sup> In about 1560 Pedro Guerrero belonged to the choir of San Maria Maggiore, Rome. Vincenzo Galilei intabulated three secular songs *a 4* by him in *Fronimo dialogo* (Venice, 1568 and 1584). Also Fuenllana and Pisador intabulated his secular songs. Further information in *The New Grove Dictionary* (1980), vii, 789–790.

<sup>22</sup> *Viage de Hierusalem, que hizo Francisco Guerrero, Racionero y Maestro de Capilla de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla. Dirigido al Ilustrissimo, y Reverendissimo Señor Don Rodrigo de Castro, Cardenal, y Arçobispo de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla* (Seville: Francisco de Leefdael [1690]), p. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Jaime Moll Roqueta, "Morales en España," *AM*, viii (1953), 16.

<sup>24</sup> Pacheco, *op. cit.*, fol. 94<sup>v</sup> (line 8): "por si aprendio viguela de Siete ordenes, harpa, i Corneta, i otros varios instrumentos."

<sup>25</sup> Juan Méndez Nieto, "Discursos medicinales," Biblioteca Nacional, *MS 14036*. 76.

<sup>26</sup> Simón de la Rosa y López, *Los seises de la Catedral de Sevilla* (Seville: Imp. de Francisco de P. Díaz, 1904), p. 80.

<sup>27</sup> Seville Cathedral, *Autos capitulares de 1540, 1541 y 1542*, fol. 19<sup>v</sup> (Robert Stevenson, *La Música en la Catedral de Sevilla 1478–1606 Documentos para su estudio* [Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1985], p. 34).



that such lessons be scheduled daily, and that advanced musical instruction be always available to junior and senior members of the cathedral staff desirous of such instruction.

Guerrero continued a daily singer in Seville Cathedral from his fourteenth year until his appointment at the age of eighteen to the chapelmastership at Jaén (an Andalusian capital lying some 125 miles east of Seville and 40 miles north of Granada).

## JAÉN CHAPELMASTERSHIP

Jaén, a city that passed frequently back and forth between Christian and Moorish hands in the Middle Ages, reverted finally to Spanish possession in 1449. By comparison with Seville, it was then, as now, but a secondary capital. Fortunately, the diocese was ruled during 1545–1554 by Pedro Pacheco,<sup>28</sup> a cardinal who exerted powerful influence at the Council of Trent.

Guerrero's predecessor in the Jaén chapelmastership was a certain Antonio de Viana.<sup>29</sup> The Jaén capitular acts show that during Viana's régime choral music in Jaén Cathedral—as in all other Spanish cathedrals—was (except in penitential seasons) invariably sung with accompaniment of wind, brass, and organs. When the number of shawm players (*chirimías*) so multiplied in early January, 1545, that they could not all be accommodated in the *coro*, the chapter ordered the cathedral building-superintendent to enlarge the loft where the small organs were situated, so that the various cathedral instrumentalists could be grouped together in the gallery above the choir.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, the canons thought the shawms would sound more brilliantly from the tribune above.

In February, 1545, the chapel censured Viana for

neglecting to give the choirboys and senior singers an hour's lesson every night after vespers or compline.<sup>31</sup> In September of the same year he signed as surety for a loan to a singer—a practice that was later to bring the trusting Guerrero to grief.<sup>32</sup> Viana was also requested now and then by certain senior singers who sought cathedral chaplaincies to sign certificates guaranteeing their proficiency in plain-song and in polyphonic music.<sup>33</sup>

Guerrero's name first appears at Jaén in the act of April 16, 1546, entitled *Sobre la racion del maestro de capilla* ("concerning the chapelmaster's prebend").<sup>34</sup> Four days previously the chapter had elected him to a prebend left vacant by the death of Juan Alonso de Quadros. On July 1, 1546, his name again appears, in an act entitled "A Decision to write Morales at Toledo"; the act reads as follows:<sup>35</sup> "Today the canons debated whether they should write Morales, chapelmaster of Toledo Cathedral, who sends Francisco Guerrero to serve as chapelmaster in this cathedral; and they agreed to write him letting him know that they will give Guerrero the fruits of a half-prebend and entrust to his keeping six choirboys."

This notice is the most interesting of any yet recovered at Jaén. It is possible that Morales knew Cardinal Pacheco personally—Pacheco having spent much time in Rome while Morales was still in the papal choir. If Morales did not meet the cardinal in Rome, one other clue may explain the solicitude of the Jaén canons for his protégé, and also their decision to write him at Toledo telling him of Guerrero's appointment. On December 15, 1546, the Jaén chapter charged a priest named Francisco de Guzmán with the duty of celebrating the two masses before New Year's called for by a deed endowing the "chaplaincy held by Cristóbal de Morales."<sup>36</sup> Can

<sup>28</sup> Biographical data in C. Gutiérrez, *Espanoles en Trento* (Valladolid: Inst. "Jerónimo Zurita," 1951), pp. 976–983; also Pedro Sainz de Baranda, "Noticia de los españoles que asistieron al Concilio de Trento," *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, ix (Madrid: Viuda de Calero, 1846), pp. 53–54.

<sup>29</sup> Jaén Cathedral, *Linro de Actos Capitulares. Desde XXIII de agosto de 1540 [hasta el año de 1545]*, fol. 40<sup>v</sup> (July 13, 1541). For the Spanish original texts of all Jaén Cathedral capitular acts cited in this and succeeding footnotes through 45, see Robert Stevenson's 1985 publication listed above in footnote 27.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 154<sup>v</sup> (Jan. 14, 1545).

<sup>31</sup> Jaén Cathedral, *Registro de los actos capitulares. Años de 1545–1546*, fol. 1<sup>v</sup> (Feb. 25, 1545).

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 22 (Sept. 9, 1545).

<sup>33</sup> Jaén, *A. C., 1540–1545*, fol. 40<sup>v</sup> (July 13, 1541).

<sup>34</sup> Jaén, *A. C., 1545–1546*, fol. 43.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 46: "Que se escriua a Morales a Toledo. Este dia los dichos señores platicaron sobre escreuir a morales maestro de capilla de la santa iglesia de toledo que enbie a francisco guerrero para que sirua de maestro de capilla en esta santa iglesia e acordaron que se le escriua faziendole saber como se le daran los frutos de la media racion e que ha de tener a su cargo seys moços de coro e asy se le escriuia."

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 62<sup>v</sup>.



it be that Morales, chapelmaster at Toledo in 1546, and the Cristóbal de Morales who was an absentee benefice-holder in Jaén Cathedral during December, 1546, were one and the same person? If so, we could better understand how Francisco Guerrero in his mid-teens inherited the chapelmastership of a cathedral ruled by one of the grandest of Spanish prelates. Whatever grounds explain such an appointment, it is certain that Morales, the Elijah of sixteenth-century Spanish music, exerted himself valiantly in Guerrero's behalf: like Elijah and the youthful Elisha, "he passed by him and threw his mantle upon him."

The next Jaén capitular entries mentioning Guerrero reveal that his youth betrayed him into several indiscretions. For instance, he went partial surety for a new singer from Antequera on January 16, 1548. Two days later the new singer absconded, leaving him with several ducats to pay.<sup>37</sup> On August 30, 1548, the Jaén chapter let fall a thunderbolt on the young chapelmaster's head by voting to dismiss him. As reason, the chapter declared that "Francisco Guerrero, chapelmaster, does not fulfill his duty of teaching the choirboys." On the same day the chapter voted to distribute notices (*edictos*) of an immediate vacancy in "Jaén, Granada, Toledo, Seville, Cordova, Salamanca"; applications to be accepted for the vacant chapelmastership until November 1. To stimulate the most intense competition, the chapter at the same meeting decided to post a courier to Toledo, Valladolid, and Salamanca with news that the prebend would pay 150 ducats (even the Toledo chapelmastership paid ordinarily only 100 ducats); and that the new chapelmaster would enjoy an honored seat in the *coro* with all the rights of a prebendary: though with the duties of boarding four choirboys and of teaching all of them.<sup>38</sup>

This drastic action and the fear of further disgrace to follow quickly brought the soaring eaglet out of the clouds and down to earth. Guerrero, now just turned twenty, not only began immediately to teach all the boys and to look properly after "Juan de Segura, Lagartillo, Ortiz, and Pedro de Magana,"<sup>39</sup> his four choirboy boarders; but also he humbly submitted his own name as a contender in the competi-

tion to decide his successor. On Saturday, November 3, three days after the deadline for applications, the chapter sat to consider the qualifications of the various applicants. Because of his reformation and his manifest abilities, the chapter voted him winner of the contest to "succeed" himself—investing him at the same session with a new prebend sanctioned by a papal bull.<sup>40</sup>

On April 6, 1549, Guerrero received a novice choirboy boarder in place of "Lagartillo," and on May 31 a fifth boarder.<sup>41</sup> On June 27 he and the head organist in the cathedral were allowed the privilege of a ten-day visit to nearby Baeza (the town in which Ramos de Pareja had originated); and were permitted to take along two choirboys so that they could make up a quartet.<sup>42</sup> Upon their return, Guerrero was, as of July 19, voted a gift of twelve ducats "on account of his financial need at the present moment."<sup>43</sup> Although he probably had visited Seville previously, the first formal permission for a twenty-day leave of absence to revisit his home seems to have been voted by the chapter as late as August 26, 1549.<sup>44</sup> He never returned from this leave—Seville offering him inducements so powerful that he chose to remain on the banks of the Guadalquivir.

Reconciling themselves as best they could, the Jaén canons voted two months after his departure to receive Martín de Gante (Martin of Ghent), a clergyman presumably of Flemish descent, as his successor in the Jaén chapelmastership.<sup>45</sup>

## REESTABLISHMENT AT SEVILLE

Seville would have been infinitely attractive to an ambitious young composer such as Guerrero for any number of other reasons besides the fact that it was his parental home. The cathedral itself, one of the most sublime in Europe, was substantially complete in 1549, whereas the present Jaén Cathedral had yet to be built. To add to her attractions, Seville was the richest city in Spain as a result of her New World trade monopoly. Although it is not known whether

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 17<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 22<sup>v</sup>, 24.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 26.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 26<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 28.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 37<sup>v</sup> (Tuesday, Oct. 29, 1549).

<sup>37</sup> Jaén, [A. C.] *Desde el año de 1548 hasta 1568.*, fol. 3 (Jan. 18, 1548).

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 15<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 14<sup>v</sup> (July 20, 1548).





Spanish printing actually began in Seville, it is certain that more books had been published there than in any other Spanish city before 1549.

During Guerrero's absence in Jaén, certain new canons had joined the Sevillian chapter—already a group of the most cultivated ecclesiastics in Spain—among them was Alonso Mudarra, originally a clergyman of Palencia diocese.<sup>46</sup> Confirmed in his canonry on October 18, 1546, Mudarra was an acknowledged virtuoso vihuelist.<sup>47</sup> The printing of his *Tres libros de musica en cifras para vihuela*<sup>48</sup> was completed in Seville soon thereafter (on December 7, 1546, by Juan de León). As all who know his *Tres libros* will subscribe, Mudarra was not only an accomplished performer but also a composer of singular excellence and taste. His tablature, for instance, includes twenty-seven original fantasias and nine tientos. In addition, he intabulated motets by Escobar and Willaert, excerpts from masses by Josquin des Prez and Antoine de Févin, and even a setting of the second epode of Horace by the German organist Paul Hofhaimer (1459–1537).<sup>49</sup> Within a year of his appointment as a member of the governing board of the cathedral, Mudarra had already begun his efforts to ensure the musical supremacy of Seville cathedral: efforts that were to continue unabated through three decades until his death in 1580.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup>Seville Cathedral, *Autos capitulares de 1542 y 1546*, fol. 101<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>47</sup>Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos* (1555), fol. 29<sup>v</sup>, col. 2: "I consider the best performers to be Narváez, Martín de Jaén and Hernando de Jaén, dwellers in the city of Granada; López, a musician in the service of the Duke of Arcos, Fuenllana in that of the *marquesa* of Tarifa, Mudarra, a canon in Seville Cathedral, Enríquez [de Valderrábano], in the service of the Count of Miranda." Luys Narváez and Hernando de Jaén served Philip II and João III, respectively, as court *vihuelistas*. See Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedad y Excelencias de Granada* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1608), fol. 132.

<sup>48</sup>*MME*, Vol. VII, transcribed by Emilio Pujol. Note that Pujol gives the sixth word in the singular. Mudarra, whom I prefer to follow, gave it in the plural. Juan de León, the printer, later brought out Vásquez's and Bermudo's publications (1551 and 1549, 1555), ostensibly in Osuna—though there is reason to believe that he continued to reside in Seville.

<sup>49</sup>For the original see H. J. Moser, *Paul Hofhaimer* (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1929), p. 123, no. 24 (Beatus ille = *MME*, Vol. VII, p. 108, no. 64). John Ward discovered this borrowing.

<sup>50</sup>Mudarra—like Narváez (1538), Enríquez de Valderrábano (1547), Pisador (1552), Fuenllana (1554), and Daza (1576)—

In explanation of his reasons for abandoning the Jaén chapelmastership and remaining in Seville, Guerrero, in the autobiographical prologue to his *Viage de Hierusalem*, cited his devotion to his parents who (he said) insisted on his remaining at home. At first, the Sevillian chapter could offer him only a singer's prebend. "But within a few months, however, I was called to the chapelmastership at Málaga," continues Guerrero in his prologue. Diego Fernández, chapelmaster at Málaga from 1507 to 1551, died there during the early part of August, 1551, after a lengthy illness.<sup>51</sup> Before a month was out, the Málaga chapter had offered the twenty-three-year-old Guerrero the post. This offer is certified not in Málaga cathedral documents but in a Sevillian capitular act dated September 11, 1551.<sup>52</sup> Copious extracts from this act must be given below.

On Friday, September 11, 1551, after prior summons the aforementioned canons met and voted by ayes and nays to accept the recommendations of the select committee whose report reads as follows. I Because of gratitude to Pedro Fernández,<sup>53</sup> chapelmaster, for his long-continued services in searching out and in teaching choirboys, and in boarding, lodging, and clothing them, he shall therefore be now rewarded (1) by being relieved henceforth of all other responsibilities except that of presiding at the conductor's stand in choir; (2) he shall continue to enjoy the full honor of the chapelmaster's title; (3) but by reason of his modified service he shall be placed on half pay, both in cash and kind; during the entire remainder of his life—such pay to continue without interruption, be he sick or well. II Since the ability of Francisco Guerrero is now abundantly known to all, since moreover he left the chapelmastership at Jaén which carried with it a prebend, *and since he is now called to the*

published only the one tablature. After working his "end upon the Sences, that This Ayrie-charme is for," Mudarra adjured his "Magicke" and drowned his "book deeper then did ever Plummet sound." He thenceforth exchanged the role of performer for that of patron.

<sup>51</sup>R. Mitjana, "La capilla de música de la Catedral de Málaga / Año de 1543 al año de [1569]," MS notebook in Kungl. Musikaliska Akademiens Bibliotek, Stockholm, page 28. Guerrero seems to have anticipated the decease. As early as August 5, 1551, the Málaga chapter had received a manuscript book of his music—sent doubtless as an earnest of his talents. On that day the chapter decided to post him a cash award.

<sup>52</sup>Extracts in Rosa y López, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–83.

<sup>53</sup>Interestingly enough, the "de Castilleja" that all modern writers seem ever bent on adding to "Fernández" is not met with in the Sevillian capitular acts: even in a rather formal entry such as the present one.



*chapelmastership with prebend at Málaga*,<sup>54</sup> . . . and he as chapelmaster's salary<sup>55</sup>—suggest that in 1551 he cause of the evident good that he can do the choirboys in this cathedral by teaching them, be it therefore now agreed that he shall henceforth act as master of the boys so long as he attends to all the following duties: (1) he must teach them to read, write, and to sing the responsories, versicles, antiphons, lessons, and kalends, and other parts of divine service according to the use of this cathedral; (2) he shall teach them plainchant, harmony, and counterpoint, his instruction in counterpoint to include both the art of adding a melody to a plainsong and to an already existing piece of polyphonic music; he shall also teach them to compose and give instruction in any other branches needed to make them skillful musicians and singers; (3) he shall always clothe them decently and properly, see that they wear good shoes, and ensure that their beds are kept perfectly clean; (4) he shall feed them the same food that he himself eats and never take money from them for anything having to do with their services in church or their musical instruction; (5) he shall also give public lessons henceforth, in which he teaches how to add a counterpoint, either above or below any given plainchant; (6) with the income from his prebend he shall provide proper graduating clothes for a choirboy whose voice has changed, but to the chapter shall be reserved the final decision as to the time when a choirboy shall be dismissed; (7) he shall always retain a sufficient number of choirboys for any occasion that may arise; (8) the clothing, treatment, teaching, and musical improvement of the choirboys shall be examined once a month by a deputy of the chapter without advance warning; and if the boys are found to lack proper clothes and shoes they shall be bought and charged against his account; (9) since during the immediate future his cathedral income shall be made up from two sources, one source being half the chapelmaster's regular pay, the other source being the singer's salary that he had previously been receiving; and since moreover he is now promised the reversion of the chapelmastership upon Pedro Fernández's death, he shall himself therefore agree to renounce all further claim to any revenue from his singer's prebend on the day when he eventually succeeds Pedro Fernández.

Pedro Fernández's age is not disclosed in the above act. However, since he had been initially appointed some thirty-seven years earlier (1514), he cannot have been much less than sixty in 1551. Two pieces of circumstantial evidence—(1) already in 1540 Bernaldo de Villalva was deputed to teach the boys, and (2) in 1545 Luys de Villafranca was being paid to function in his stead out of funds earmarked

was nearer seventy than sixty. At that, he so outlived all expectation as to die in 1574 when perhaps a nonagenarian. What started as a purely temporary sharing of salary and honors was therefore to last a quarter-century. The quite humble title of *Odei phonascus* which Guerrero gave himself when he came to publish his *Liber primus missarum* (Paris: Nicolas du Chemin, 1566)—a title that is not only unusual but can be taken to mean that he counted himself merely a music teacher instead of master—shows something of the care he exercised during all the long intervening decades never publicly to suggest in any way that he instead of Fernández was musical chief at Seville. On the other hand, the capitular acts abundantly indicate that his was the whole responsibility of the chapelmastership during at least the last two decades before Fernández died.

The first change in the musical organization after Guerrero became "prefect" occurred in the summer of 1553. At Seville, *ministriles* playing shawms, cornetts, and sackbuts had long been hired to accompany singing and to provide instrumental interludes at all church festivals and during processions. Before 1553 they were usually paid on a piecework basis. At Toledo, this piecework arrangement had been found unsatisfactory as early as 1531, in which year the chapter had signed a twenty-year contract with three virtuoso *ministriles altos* (*tiple*, *contralto*, and *sacabuche*), each of whom was in turn to pick his own assistant.<sup>56</sup> This contractual arrangement assured the Toledo chapter of the services of the six finest players money could buy, and guaranteed that they would always be on hand for climactic occasions, instead of being lured away on Corpus Christi and Assumption by competing bidders.

Taking their cue perhaps from Toledo, the Se-

<sup>55</sup> Juan B. de Elústiza and Gonzalo Castrillo Hernández, *Antología musical* (Barcelona: Rafael Casulleras, 1933), p. lviii (line 32).

<sup>56</sup> The three *ministriles* engaged at Toledo in 1531 were Gaspar de Maynete, Gerónimo de Cuéllar, and Bartolomé de Medrano. According to Biblioteca Nacional MSS 14035.45, 14035.47 and 14035.49, Maynete was born at Osuna; his father was a French instrumentalist, "Juan de Paris." Hired at Toledo Cathedral June 28, 1531, Maynete there married Isabel de Tordesillas. Their son Francisco Maynete continued a *ministril* at Toledo Cathedral in 1589 (MS 14035.93). The *ministriles* were almost always family men who passed on their craft from father to son.

<sup>54</sup> See note 51. Italics mine.



villian canons decided on July 26, 1553, that henceforth instrumentalists should be offered long-term contracts.<sup>57</sup> First, they agreed among themselves that all those days that according to Sevillian use were solemn festivals ought to be celebrated with the maximum apparatus and authority possible: especially since the devotion of the people was thereby increased. After deciding that the music of such instrumentalists as had previously been hired on feast days measurably increased public devotion, they agreed it to be not only “a very useful thing, but also conformable with Sacred Scripture, to make use of every kind of instrumental music in this cathedral: especially since it is so famous and splendid a temple and of such large dimensions . . . and moreover all other Spanish cathedrals, though many enjoy much smaller incomes, make constant use of instrumental music.” The canons also agreed that processions both inside and outside the cathedral should as a rule move to the sound of instruments, because such music “arouses more affection and devotion and incites the people to follow the processions and to come to divine services.” In view of all this, the canons therefore voted unanimously to receive the instrumentalists as long-term salaried employees of the cathedral.

In implementation of this decision Juan Peraça [= Peraza] (soprano shawmer), Andrés Deça (sackbut player), Luis de Medrano (tenor shawmer),<sup>58</sup> Juan Baptista (sackbut player), Antonio de San Pedro (tenor shawmer), and Martín de San Pedro (sackbut player), were hired on September 20, 1553, at the following respective amounts: 55,000 maravedís and five cahizes of wheat; 30,000 and four; 25,000 and two; 25,000 and two; 30,000 and four; 12,000 and two. The two last-named musicians, who were probably father and son—as was often so among cathedral players—were brought from Toledo. Juan Peraza, the highest paid of the group, fathered the two renowned organists, Gerónimo and

Francisco. In 1556 he transferred with his family to Toledo, despite vigorous efforts to retain him at Seville.<sup>59</sup> (Later, however, as we shall see, his sons gravitated back to Seville.)

After thus regularizing the status of cathedral instrumentalists, the Sevillian chapter turned to the question of music books. On October 7, 1553, the canons heard “a report that the books containing polyphony are extremely old and the works copied into them also very ancient and not such as are nowadays being sung in other Spanish churches.”<sup>60</sup> Having listened to the report (which Guerrero himself probably gave), the canons decided to commission the copying “into two or three choirbooks of the best masses that are nowadays being sung, so that the quality of the music sung in this cathedral may improve.” The choice of items to be copied was left to the *maestre escuela*, Doctor Martín Gascó, whose duty it would be to consult with the finest musical authorities in Seville. The copyist, decreed the chapter, should be “Rodrigo de Ceballos, musician, who at the present moment finds himself unoccupied in this city and is competent to do the job.” The chapter further promised Ceballos his living expenses and reimbursement for the cost of materials while doing the work, “provided only that he communicate with the chapter musical committee and with the chapelmasters, who are Pedro Fernández and Guerrero, before he start to copy any particular work.” Ceballos must have been approximately Guerrero’s age; later, he was to become a renowned chapelmaster at Cordova and Granada successively,<sup>61</sup> and to distinguish himself as one

<sup>57</sup> Seville Cathedral, *A. C.*, 1553–1554, fol. 56<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> Luis de Medrano later transferred to Cordova. Through him Guerrero sent a copy of his *Liber primus missarum* (Paris: N. du Chemin, 1566) to the Cordova chapter on March 5, 1566; the chapter responding on April 2 with a *gratificación* of seven ducats. See R. Mitjana, *Don Fernando de Las Infantas* (Madrid: Imp. de los Sucs. de Hernando, 1918), p. 122, n. 5. He and his son were still in service at Cordova on August 20, 1574 (*ibid.*, p. 123).

<sup>59</sup> The elder Juan Peraza was in such demand that Toledo and Seville vied for his services. On October 7, 1551, Andrés de Torrentes, chapelmaster at Toledo, promised to repay his cathedral chapter the large sum of 15,000 maravedís on the December 7 following if by that date Juan Peraza, *menestril* of Seville, had not brought his wife to Toledo and settled. At Torrentes’s instance the money had been advanced to Peraza for moving expenses. This testimony should of itself suffice to prove that before 1551 the family had been living in Seville. Pacheco, *Libro de descripción*, fol. 92<sup>v</sup>, said that the Peraza family followed this itinerary: (1) Salamanca, (2) Valencia, where Juan was in the service of the Duke of Calabria, (3) Seville, (4) Toledo. But if the family did move to Toledo in 1551, they were again at Seville in 1553: as the act of September 20 indicates. According to Pacheco, both Juan *senior* and his wife were virtuoso instrumentalists—to say nothing of the several children.

<sup>60</sup> Seville Cathedral, *A. C.*, 1553–1554, fol. 74.

<sup>61</sup> The year of Rodrigo [de] Ceballos’s death, which should



of the greatest Spanish composers in the reign of Philip II. Quite possibly, Guerrero started the agitation for new choirbooks because a fellow composer turned twenty needed stopgap employment; and not just because the cathedral needed new ones.

This particular notice is interesting on still other accounts. For instance, students of Sevillian musical history have often wondered why masses by such cathedral notables as Alonso de Alva, Pedro de Escobar, and Francisco de Peñalosa have not been preserved in cathedral choirbooks. The answer seems to be that the books containing their masses underwent such hard and continuous use at Seville that they finally wore out. An answer is suggested to yet another intriguing question: Of what use were the Colombina music books to the chapter? Students of Spanish musical history know that Ferdinand Columbus at his death in 1539 bequeathed his library first to his half-brother Diego, and then to the Sevillian chapter. However, on September 16, 1551, the chapter having not yet received anything more tangible than an inventory of the 15,370 books, and being already fearful that so incomparable a collection would tempt the most righteous custodians to theft, deputed two senior canons to oversee the delivery of the library "with the most scrupulous diligence."<sup>62</sup> A year later the books finally came into corporate possession of the cathedral, and on December 20, 1553, were being inventoried anew.<sup>63</sup> However, the rapid change in musical taste—causing the chapter in October, 1553, to call for the copying of fresh and up-to-date masses—meant that by the time Columbus's superb musical library (or what was left of it) reached the cathedral, the repertory in his music books was already deemed so old-fashioned by leading Sevillian musicians that no

effort was made to transfer motets and masses from Petrucci and Antico prints into Sevillian choirbooks.

Guerrero, who was first invited to occupy the Málaga chapelmastership early in September, 1551, again applied after Morales's death. A formal competition for the post was announced in *edictos* publicly distributed on December 6, 1553. Six eligibles appeared in Málaga for the public trials of skill, which were held during the second week of February, 1554.<sup>64</sup> Juan Navarro, the second of the five who competed, tried out on Friday, February 9. Guerrero's lot fell on the next Sunday. Each contestant underwent the following tests:<sup>65</sup> (1) he sight-sang a plainchant picked by opening a choirbook at random; (2) his motet composed after one o'clock the previous afternoon on a prescribed text was performed before his opponents as well as the assembled Málaga chapter; (3) he sang a counterpoint first to a previously unseen solo part, next to a duo, then to a trio. No one could succeed in these trials without unusual talent, but above all, without spur-of-the-moment facility. Guerrero, who won by unanimous vote, must have possessed self-confidence that his otherwise modest demeanor hardly suggests.

Since Málaga appointments were still nominally in the royal gift, Guerrero's appointment had first to be submitted for Philip's ratification before it could be formally tendered him on April 2. Within three weeks the Málaga chapter realized that he did not aim to accept, and on April 19 announced a new competition. From the outset he may not have intended to settle in Málaga, even if such an offer were made; but rather have been interested in a renewal of the invitation first issued in 1551; so that now three years later he could stir the Sevillian chapter to make further concessions. With the 1551 invitation he had levered the Sevillian canons into a prom-

be 1581, is misprinted as 1591 in Robert Stevenson's article on him, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980), iv, 41-42. Now counted among the four or five most significant Spanish composers of his generation, he deserves an *opera omnia* edition. Not only throughout Spain but as far afield as Bogotá and Guatemala (including rural outposts) his major works were prized and performed frequently.

<sup>62</sup>Seville Cathedral, *A. C.*, 1549, 1551, 1552, fol. 56<sup>v</sup>. For the history of this library see Henry HARRISSE, *Grandeza y decadencia de la Colombina* (Seville: Imp. de "El Universal," 1896). See also Dragan PLAMENAC, "A Reconstruction of the French Chansonier in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville," *Musical Quarterly*, xxxvii, 4 (Oct., 1951), 502-514.

<sup>63</sup>*A. C.*, 1553-1554, fol. 93.

<sup>64</sup>Rafael MITJANA, *Francisco Guerrero (1528-1599): Estudio crítico-biográfico* (Madrid: Talleres poligráficos, 1922), pp. 26-27.

<sup>65</sup>*HSMS*, Vol. II, p. viii. Pedrell leaves the reader in some doubt concerning the events of April 2, 1554. According to Mitjana, "La capilla . . . 1543 al año de [1569]," page 49, Guerrero took possession by proxy—Canon Diego González Quintero of Málaga acting for him. The legal instrument entitling this canon to act in Guerrero's stead had been notarized in Seville a few days previously by a certain Alonso Guerrero, *bachiller* and *notario apostólico*. The last-named individual may well have been a relative of the composer.



ise of the chapelmastership upon Pedro Fernández's decease; and an annual salary in the meantime of 50,000 maravedís. This unusual arrangement lacked papal sanction, however, so late as 1554. Without such sanction any agreement as unusual as his was a mere rope of sand. At the very least, another spectacular victory at nearby Málaga in 1554 would spur the Sevillian chapter to press for a papal bull legalizing his anomalous position. In 1551 he had been named a suffragan, as it were. In 1554 he hoped to be named coadjutor.

Even if such an interpretation credits him with too much acumen, at least it is certain that the papal bull *Pastoralis officii* was issued by Julius III on June 1, 1554;<sup>66</sup> and that two months would have been a quite reasonable time for the necessary fees to have gone forward through Francisco Mudarra, Sevillian procurator at Rome.<sup>67</sup> The bull begins as follows:

Julius, servant of the servants of God . . . for a perpetual memory. The obligations of Our Divine Office constantly impel us to protect with special favor all such proposals for the increased solemnity of Divine Worship and the better support of ministers consecrated to the same as the power given to Us from on high will allow. A recent instance has been brought to Our attention by Our dear sons, the Dean and Chapter of the Sevillian Cathedral, and by Francisco Guerrero, clergyman of that city, there having been presented to Us an act dated September 11 [1551] whose design is to enhance the splendor and prestige of that cathedral insofar as the office of chapelmaster is concerned: an office by which the consent of Our Predecessors is at the free disposition of the Dean and Chapter, and in which act is proposed the following.

The next several paragraphs of the bull contain a literal translation into Latin of the act of September 11, 1551.

What then ensues must be taken as proof that on April 2, 1554—the very day on which the Málaga

<sup>66</sup> Spanish translation in Rosa y López, *op. cit.*, pages 91–96. But observe that on page 91 (line 12) he gives a wrong date. That this particular date should read “1554” can be proved by consulting the actual text of the bull at page 96 (line 6).

<sup>67</sup> Francisco Mudarra was *procurador del cabildo en Roma* at least as early as 1539, five years before his brother became canon. See *A. C.*, 1538–1539, fol. 288<sup>v</sup> (Sept. 26, 1539). In 1555, or shortly before, he confessed to heresy. See *A. C.*, 1555–1556, fol. 62<sup>v</sup> (July 26, 1555). Having admitted his Lutheran errors to the Roman Inquisition he lost, at least temporarily, the right to enjoy any of his *beneficios*, *especialmente para en esta sancta iglesia*.

chapter received Philip's formal assent to Guerrero's Málaga appointment—the Sevillian chapter decided upon a counteroffer: that of lifetime tenure at Seville guaranteed by papal bull. The pertinent sentences in the bull run as follows:

And since more recently Our beloved son the esteemed Philip, Prince of the Spanish dominions, has at the earnest request of Our venerable brother, Bernardo [Manrique], bishop and Our dear sons, the Dean and Chapter of Málaga Cathedral, decreed that the said Francisco [Guerrero] shall be assigned a prebend in the said cathedral, exercising in it the office of chapelmaster; And since Bernardo, bishop of Málaga, and the Dean and Chapter of the same have offered the said Francisco other stipends and salaries, endeavoring with utmost diligence to induce his resignation from the Sevillian chapelmastership and his acceptance of that at Málaga; And since the Dean and Chapter of Seville Cathedral, taking into account his character, virtues, excellent disposition, and singular musical endowments, and the great advances already made by the choirboys entrusted to his instruction and upbringing, the future advances to be expected, the diligence that he has thus far shown in caring for them, not only insofar as musical education is concerned but also in boarding, lodging, and clothing them; And since the continued preeminence of the Sevillian Cathedral, now one of the foremost in the Spanish dominions, requires that her ministers must be similarly outstanding in all branches of their ministry; And since they have persuaded him to refuse the offers made by the Málaga Cathedral which carried lifetime guarantees; And since in view of all these transactions the Dean and Chapter in capitular session *last April 2* [1554] have in their own names and in that of their successors guaranteed to the said Francisco the following rights of succession, salaries, stipends, and other payments . . .

What follows is an irrevocable promise of succession, a statement of his salary schedule, and a formal agreement that when he succeeds to the chapelmastership at Fernández's death he shall no longer be eligible to payments on account of his singer's appointment.

#### SEVILLIAN CAREER (1554–1599)

The chief external events in Guerrero's life after 1554 can be classified under these headings: (1) trips to nearby Spanish points and to foreign parts; (2) salary raises; (3) debts, the last of which caused him to be imprisoned; and (4) censures imposed by



the Sevillian chapter. In addition, his biography should take account of: (5) his activities as "master of the boys"; (6) the hiring from time to time of new singers; (7) new instrumentalists; and (8) new cathedral organists. A review of his chapelmastership must also touch on the building of the new grand organ during the early 1570's; the constant augmenting of the cathedral musical library with new choral and instrumental books; and even such apparently peripheral matters as the shift ordered in 1575 from time-honored Sevillian use to the newly reformed Roman rite.

For all these various phases of Guerrero's Sevillian career between 1554 and his death forty-five years later in 1599, the biographer turns first to the 272 pertinent entries in the handwritten books of Sevillian *Actas capitulares* catalogued as *Libros XXI-XXXIX*. The books exist in somewhat irregularly numbered series at the Sevillian cathedral archive. Concerning two extramural phases of Guerrero's career, information must be collected elsewhere: (1) his literary activity—which took the form of a travel book, "Journey to Jerusalem," published in 1590 and reprinted frequently thereafter; and (2) the diffusion of his printed and manuscript compositions at various dates from 1555 until the year following his death.

To sharpen the focus as much as possible we shall here resort to a chronological table—such a table seeming the most convenient way to summarize information gathered from the above-mentioned books of Sevillian capitular acts. Guerrero's literary (1590) and musical publications (1555, 1563, 1566, 1570, 1582, 1584, 1589*a*, 1589*b*, 1597) will thereafter be examined separately.

**1554** On May 23 he offers a handsome manuscript copy of certain unnamed compositions to the Sevillian chapter and is rewarded with a cash gift.<sup>68</sup>

On October 29 the cathedral chapter approves the purchase of a new organ to be built in 1555 by an organ-maker of Granada.<sup>69</sup>

**1555** February 6: the chapter raises Guerrero's salary by 20,000 maravedís and at the same time provides him

with a house near the cathedral in which to board the choirboys and give them schooling.<sup>70</sup>

April 22: the chapter votes to discount the salary of Anton de Armijo, Guerrero's colleague in the teaching of polyphony, at the rate of one ducat a month until a debt of thirty ducats is paid.<sup>71</sup>

**1556** Guerrero's past year's salary being in arrears and the price of wheat high, the chapter on March 21 votes to donate ten bushels of wheat so that his choirboys may be fed properly.<sup>72</sup>

Alonso Mudarra, together with seven other members of the chapter, is deputed on May 29 to arrange for dances, playlets, and towering floats during the coming annual Corpus Christi parade: those who provide these entertainments being instructed to march between instrumentalists and singers in the street procession.<sup>73</sup>

**1557** Gaspar Maynete, formerly chief instrumentalist at Toledo, is hired on March 30 at a cash salary of 50,000 maravedís annually, plus 36 bushels of wheat.<sup>74</sup> On the same day three other virtuosi with the family name of Mora—a father and two sons—are hired at a collective rate of 400 ducats (150,000 maravedís) plus 8 cahizes (96 bushels) of wheat. Only a few scattered notices of this sort can be reproduced in the present chronological survey; but the cathedral continually sought, and usually obtained, the best players in Spain.

<sup>70</sup> Elústiza-Castrillo, *op. cit.*, p. lx.

<sup>71</sup> *A. C.*, 1555-1556, fol. 34.

<sup>72</sup> *A. C.*, fol. 23<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 64. Simón de la Rosa y López, *op. cit.*, pages 183-195, describes Sevillian methods of celebrating Corpus Christi between 1477 and 1613. For an interesting description of the *modo de celebrar la procesion del Corpus Christi* in Málaga, see the act of August 7, 1535, in Mitjana's "La capilla . . . 1496 al año de 1542," pages 93-94. This festival was celebrated everywhere in sixteenth-century Spain with dances, floats, *representaciones*, *gigantes*, and *castillos*.

<sup>74</sup> Biblioteca Nacional, *MS 14036.39*, contains a list of the six instrumentalists in service at Toledo Cathedral on October 21, 1559: namely, Bartolomé de Medrano, Antonio de Sanpedro, Tomás López, Juan del Castillo, Juan de Cordova, and Nicolás de Figueroa. By a cathedral act of that date, each was granted a temporary cost-of-living adjustment of 2,500 maravedís. Only Bartolomé de Medrano remained of the group hired originally in 1531.

The most colorful of those hired in 1531, Medrano had accompanied Hernán Cortés in the disastrous journey to Honduras (during which he ate the brains of sackbut-player Montesinos to avoid starvation). For documentation see Robert Stevenson, *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory* (University of California Press, 1976), p. 223.

<sup>68</sup> *A. C.*, 1553-1554, fol. 149.

<sup>69</sup> Probably Pedro Vázquez. See Gestoso y Pérez, Vol. 1, p. 354. In 1561 this organ builder was paid 5,984 maravedís by the Sevillian chapter "porque vino de Granada a Sevilla á dar orden para hacer un organo."



**1558** May 25: the chapter orders that only *grandees* (and their immediate relatives), counts, marquises, and *adelentados* (provincial governors) may in future enter the choir enclosure during divine service: such a restriction being imposed so that quiet can be the better maintained during cathedral solemnities.<sup>75</sup>

October 3: the chapter orders the purchase of twenty-four new printed missals;<sup>76</sup> on December 2 Pedro Fernández, semi-retired chapelmaster, suggests that the chapter pay for the copying of certain “short masses” to be sung during celebrations outside the cathedral—these short masses being needed especially when processions are held.<sup>77</sup>

**1560** A new sackbut player, García Gonsales, is hired on March 7 at an annual salary of 55,000 maravedís and 5 cahizes of wheat. On May 15 the chapter votes to inspect a music book “for the shawm players” to determine whether it is worth the price asked.<sup>78</sup>

September 30: Canon Alonso Mudarra is a leading spirit in persuading the chapter to hire Melchor de Camargo (soprano shawmer) and Gaspar de Camargo (sackbut) at 300 ducats (112,500 maravedís) plus 10 cahizes of wheat at 150 ducats plus 6 cahizes, respectively. This father-and-son pair are invited on condition that they obtain written royal approval—they having previously been in royal service.<sup>79</sup>

**1561** June 13: the chapter decides that henceforth neither singers nor instrumentalists may be loaned to any outside individual or organization, any more than can the chalices or copes owned by the cathedral—this prohibition to apply on all those days of the church calendar for which polyphony is designated.<sup>80</sup> In this act, as in nearly all later acts making mention of polyphony in a general sense, “singers and instrumentalists” are named jointly as if belonging together irrevocably.

Toward the end of August, Guerrero visits Toledo carrying with him manuscript copies (one on paper, one on vellum) of his original compositions. He is rewarded on September 12 with a cash gift.<sup>81</sup>

December 3: the cathedral house formerly occupied by the now senescent chapelmaster Pedro Fernández is rented to another cathedral functionary.<sup>82</sup>

**1562** February 14: taking into account the “barrenness of the times” and the fact that Guerrero is scarcely able to feed his choirboys, the chapter decides (by a close vote) to give him money to buy new robes, surplices, and caps for his six young charges.<sup>83</sup>

Another cathedral functionary, a *compañero* named, coincidentally, Francisco Guerrero, departs for the New World sometime before June 8,<sup>84</sup> on which date the benefice held by him comes up for a split among three former choirboys whose voices have changed.

June 10: the chapter extends the prohibition of June 13, 1561, against loaning singers or instrumentalists on any account whatsoever, to include even the humblest choirboy.<sup>85</sup>

November 20: a vigorous search is instituted for the best tenor and bass singers to be found in the realm.<sup>86</sup>

Luys de Villafranca, master of the altar boys and instructor of plainchant, petitions on November 27 that the boy-bishop festivities be combined this year with those for the Feast of St. Nicholas.<sup>87</sup>

**1563** January 29: Guerrero certifies that a certain youth has completed three years under him as a choirboy, has during all that time been a faithful student, and that now his voice has broken.<sup>88</sup> This certificate entitles the youth to free academic attire, free tuition, and other benefits over a specified period of time in St. Michael's, an endowed school in Seville for former choirboys of good repute and abilities. This type of certificate will be called for frequently and, as a rule, supplied readily by Guerrero during the remaining years of his choirmastering.

The Archdeacon of Jerez, a titular bishop, having offered a rich new endowment for singers, the chapter meets on April 16 to decide how it may best be

tado dos cuerpos de libros puntados de canto de organo a los SS. de la dicha santa iglesia de Toledo que su señoría le advertía que por el trabajo y costa que tenían los dichos dos cuerpos de libros era justo de la gratificar y dar de los maravedís que la obra de la dicha santa iglesia tenía de renta ciento y doze mill y quinientos maravedís.”

<sup>75</sup> *A. C.*, 1558–1559, fol. 35<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 64<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 80<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> *A. C.*, 1560–1561, fol. 43.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 71<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 191<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> “En Toledo doze dias del mes de setiembre de mill y quinientos y sesenta y un años . . . don Gomez Tello Giron governador y general administrador en la sancta iglesia y Arçobispado de Toledo declare . . . que por quanto Francisco Guerrero maestro de capilla de la iglesia mayor de Sevilla avia presen-

<sup>82</sup> *A. C.*, 1560–1561, fol. 250<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> *A. C.*, 1562–1563, fol. 18<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> This homonymous person may be the “Guerrero of La Rinconada” (a hamlet above Seville) mentioned in *A. C.*, 1540, 1541, 1542, folio 31 (May 21, 1540).

<sup>85</sup> *A. C.*, 1562–1563, fols. 57<sup>v</sup>–58.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 111.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 113.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 131<sup>v</sup>.



divided.<sup>89</sup> New funds for singers and instrumentalists will be the order of the day in Seville during the next quarter-century.

June 2: the chapter decides to penalize singers or instrumentalists who are tardy by a few minutes, at the same rate as if they had been absent the whole hour.<sup>90</sup>

June 16: the chapter again invokes its decision of June 10, 1562, against lending singers or instrumentalists, no matter how importunate or important the would-be borrower.<sup>91</sup>

June 28: a choirboy goes home with four ducats to pay his travel expenses.<sup>92</sup> Other similar notices show that many of Guerrero's choirboys come from afar.

July 12: the chapter accords "Maestro Guerrero, chapelmaster of this cathedral, a month's leave of absence on account of his illness, hoping that he will during the month come to the cathedral whenever he is able."<sup>93</sup>

July 30: the chapel decides to offer the highest sums ever paid to cathedral singers—100,000 maravedís plus 10 cahizes of wheat (120 bushels) annually to each—in order to attract two new basses. Advertisement of the openings is to be distributed as widely as possible throughout Spain.<sup>94</sup>

August 18: Guerrero requests of the chapter a salary advance of 100 ducats (37,500 maravedís), this amount to be repaid in twelve monthly installments.<sup>95</sup>

August 23: the chapter votes to boost the salaries of five cathedral instrumentalists to the following amounts: Diego de Andrada, Juan de Rojas (soprano shawmers), and Juan Baptista (sackbut player)—50,000 maravedís and 60 bushels of wheat each; Diego López and Gaspar de Cuevas (sackbut players)—37,500 maravedís and 48 bushels each.<sup>96</sup>

October 6: Christóval Ximénez, a former choirboy whose voice has now changed, is approved for appointment to the first cathedral prebend that shall fall vacant among the several specifically designed for "old boys."<sup>97</sup> (As this notice and many another of the same type reveal, the provisions for the welfare of former choirboys in sixteenth-century Seville were exceptionally lavish and well organized.)

October 8: the chapter votes to extend the time in which the loan to Guerrero granted on August 18 must

be repaid to two years, with a corresponding reduction in the amount to be withheld from his salary each month.<sup>98</sup>

November 5: the chapter refuses to accept a renowned bass who has come from afar to try out for one of the new 100,000-maravedí posts announced on the previous July 30. However, he is given twelve ducats toward traveling expenses.<sup>99</sup> Always when a major new musical appointee is to be named, he is expected to appear for a competitive trial, after which the chapter votes by secret ballot. Unsuccessful candidates are then sent on their way with a gift sufficient to take care of all traveling expenses.

November 19: the chapter orders Balthasar de Maturte, a senior cathedral singer, to stop carrying around the wand that is his badge of authority in *la hermandad*.<sup>100</sup> He has been complained of for having abusively harangued a wheelwright in the employ of a certain cathedral prebendary. The search for even small badges of authority is extremely intense among Guerrero's singers, even when they are no better qualified than Dogberry and Verges to carry their wands.

**1564** Guerrero spends the period October 3–12 away from Seville in a search for new choirboys.<sup>101</sup> His recruiting methods resemble those later in vogue when Georg Reutter, chapelmaster at St. Stephen's, brought the young Haydn from Hainburg to Vienna. (However, Sevillian choirboys were never castrated during the sixteenth century in order to preserve their voices.)<sup>102</sup>

December 13: the chapter orders Luis Martínez, a cathedral chaplain, to stay away from the choirbookstand when the rest of the singers gather around it to sing polyphony—the reason being that "he throws the others out of tune."<sup>103</sup> (This notice shows that in Seville, as elsewhere, polyphonic singers clustered

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 229<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 237.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 242.

<sup>101</sup> *A. C.*, 1564–1565, fol. 103.

<sup>102</sup> Rosa y López, *op. cit.*, p. 137. The earliest of these Farnelli's and Senesino's joined the Sevillian choir in 1620. Eleven such served as Sevillian singers at one time or another before 1635. The first *castrato* hired in overseas Spanish dominions seems to have been Francisco de Otal, who after singing at Guamanga Cathedral in 1614 was hired at La Plata (= present-day Sucre) in 1618. See Sucre Cathedral, *A. C.*, II (1616–1619), folio 266 (August 3, 1618). But Spanish opinion always lagged far behind Italian insofar as the acceptance of *castrati* was concerned. If Eximeno's viewpoint was typical (he poured contempt on Italian capons in his witty *Don Lazarillo Vizcardi*), they were more often ridiculed than admired.

<sup>103</sup> Seville Cathedral, *A. C.*, 1564–1565–1566, fol. 109<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 157.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 174.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 183<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 190.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 195.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 202<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 209.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 210<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 228.





around a large open choirbook set on a stand in the middle of the grilled choir-enclosure.)

**1565** January 19: the chapter orders Canon Luis Carrillo "to buy a new chest of recorders [*caxa de flautas*] for the instrumentalists, if necessary, but first to see if the old set can still be used and if repairs can be made.<sup>104</sup> The same instrumentalists who play shawms, as later notices will reveal, alternate on *flautas*.

Guerrero receives permission to take a private ten-day business trip beginning on February 2.<sup>105</sup>

May 25: Andrés Jacomar petitions the chapter for eight months' back payment owing him on his scholarship at St. Michael's *collegio* in Seville: this being the institution in which scholarships for former choirboys are endowed.<sup>106</sup> The petition further reveals that these scholarships run through four years and provide the scholar with 5,000 maravedís at the end of the course to buy the graduation cap and gown.

The chapter on June 4 authorizes an advance of twenty ducats to Mosén Roque, purportedly the best bass in Spain, in the hope of luring him to Seville.<sup>107</sup> On March 9, 1566, Roque receives a gratuity of forty ducats—over and above his salary—to compensate him for "damages at Ávila and the purloining of his clothing" at the time of his removal from Ávila to Seville.<sup>108</sup> On January 24, 1570, he is named one of four singers to accompany the Cardinal of Seville, Gaspar de Zuñiga y Avellaneda, to Santander in a journey of state.<sup>109</sup> On March 4, 1574, he receives a four-day sick leave. Shortly before November 3, 1581, he dies.<sup>110</sup>

July 6 [1565]: the chapter grants Guerrero a new loan of 100 ducats, to be repaid from his singer's salary in twelve monthly installments beginning on January 1, 1566.<sup>111</sup>

July 30: the chapter orders the cathedral singers to obey Pedro Fernández and Francisco Guerrero in everything connected with divine worship.<sup>112</sup> Both chapelmasters are expressly authorized to punish with fines any singer who errs in singing his part during divine service. Furthermore, the chapelmasters are authorized to penalize all those who talk during practice or at service, those who act in a froward or negligent

manner, those who refuse to sing the part assigned (except when publicly known to be sick), those who usurp better seats than they are entitled to by virtue of their choir rank; to punish those who do not assemble for extra rehearsals of Christmas and other special music, those who murmur when called by the chapter for extra duty outside the cathedral; and to fine those who miss Masses of Our Lady and Salves sung in the Antigua Chapel of the cathedral or object to the singing of *responsorios*. This extremely detailed list of possible choir offenses has been drawn up previous to the chapter meeting by "both chapelmasters acting jointly," but from later developments it will be surmised that Guerrero is the principal compiler of the list. Already it is his announced intention that music in Seville Cathedral shall equal the best to be heard anywhere in Christendom.

August 13: Guerrero is enjoined to write down in a book the certified date of each choirboy's entry, and to provide the treasurer of the cathedral with a copy.<sup>113</sup> This precaution is necessary because certain youths are requesting cathedral benefits before completing the stipulated three years' service as choirboys.

September 7: the chapter orders that any cathedral singer or instrumentalist who uses a paid leave of absence to try out for a post elsewhere shall automatically forfeit his post at Seville Cathedral.<sup>114</sup>

Luys de Villafranca, master of the altar boys (*mozos de coro*)—who are to be distinguished from the choirboys (*seises*) because they study only plainchant whereas the choirboys live with the chapelmaster and study polyphony and counterpoint as well—is rewarded on October 17 with a salary increase of 6,000 maravedís and an extra 12 bushels of wheat.<sup>115</sup> Although not expressly stated, this reward is probably to be connected with the publication at Seville in this same year of Villafranca's plainchant instructor entitled *Breue Instrucion* [sic] *de canto llano*—undoubtedly the best of its type published in sixteenth-century Spain. In addition to approbations signed by Pedro Fernández and Guerrero, Villafranca's instructor commands attention because of its skillful digest of information from such other authorities as Guillermo Despuig (folio 5<sup>v</sup>), Andreas Ornithoparchus (folio 10<sup>v</sup>), Juan de Espinosa (folio 13), and Juan Bermudo (folio 13).

October 22: the chapter reinforces its enactment of the previous August 13—adding weight to it by requiring Guerrero to record the birthplace and the parents' names alongside each choirboy's date of entry.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 122.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 124<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 145<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 147.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 215<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>109</sup> *A. C.*, 1570–1571, fol. 6.

<sup>110</sup> *A. C.*, 1580–1581, fol. 123<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>111</sup> *A. C.*, 1564–1565–1566, fol. 153<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 157.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 159<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 164.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 175.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 176<sup>v</sup>.



October 29: the chapter instructs its auditors to fine Guerrero for "certain laxnesses."<sup>117</sup> On November 14 it orders a raise for the sopranoist Bartolomé de Victoria on condition that he "repay the total added amount" if he at any later time takes employment outside Seville Cathedral. This type of proviso attached to salary raises will recur rather frequently during the next few years.

December 5: the chapter decrees that any cathedral singer or instrumentalist who performs in a street serenade at night shall be fined a month's pay.<sup>118</sup>

December 17: Guerrero's salary is boosted by a further 20,000 maravedís annually.<sup>119</sup> His salary continues to derive from two sources—singer's prebend (now worth 90,000 maravedís annually) plus half the chapelmaster's prebend. Although not expressly stated, his total cash salary (both sources) must now range annually in the neighborhood of 150,000 maravedís.

**1566** January 2: the chapter accords Guerrero a fifty-day leave of absence (to start on January 7).<sup>120</sup> This leave is granted so that he may visit Lisbon and personally place a copy of his *Liber primus missarum* in the young Portuguese king's hands.

January 9: the chapter instructs Luis Carrillo to purchase the chest of recorders that was under discussion the previous January 19, and to buy the set "quickly."<sup>121</sup>

March 16: the chapter authorizes Canon Alonso Mudarra and two others to sit as an organ committee, their duty being "to inform themselves concerning the ability of Maestre Jox, Flemish organ builder, and to discover if he be competent to build a new grand organ for the cathedral."<sup>122</sup>

March 23: the chapter secretary is authorized to write a letter beseeching a royal pardon for Gaspar de Cuevas, cathedral sackbut player, who is imprisoned on a murder charge.

**1567** January 3: the dean of the cathedral (Cristóbal de Padilla) and the prior (Pedro Vélez de Guevara) are requested by the chapter to sift out the cause of the dispute between the archdeacon of Seville (Rodrigo Ximénez) and Guerrero; "and if they find Guerrero at fault to punish him severely."<sup>123</sup> This controversy

arises from charges brought by Ximénez that Guerrero neglects his choirboys shamefully.

Saturday, February 15: Guerrero is temporarily in disgrace: Pedro Fernández (now surely senile) is entrusted with disbursing all special gifts to the choristers such as those they receive when they sing outside the cathedral at authorized fiestas. To make the sting more painful, the chapter orders that neither "Francisco Guerrero nor any other singer shall sit in any seat anywhere in the choir enclosure, nor on any bench"<sup>124</sup> that is reserved for beneficed clergymen during sermons." In thus downgrading Guerrero to a mere singer, the chapter of course disgraces him in the eyes of the very singers whom he has hitherto conducted.

Tuesday, February 18: the chapter enters on a more lenient course. Dean Padilla and Canon Carrillo are deputed to visit Guerrero with an official scolding. But he is not to be demoted, nor fined 300 ducats, as the chapter had in anger decided upon doing the previous Saturday.<sup>125</sup>

April 9: the "organ committee" is augmented to include the dean, Doctor Ramírez, and the cathedral organist, Pedro de Villada.<sup>126</sup> Canon Alonso Mudarra still remains the musical "authority" on the committee, which is now instructed to obtain specifications for the proposed new grand organ from the visiting Flemish master builder, Maestre Juan [Jox]. On April 23 the latter and a competitor newly arrived in Seville are instructed to build portables.<sup>127</sup> He who is adjudged to have built the better portable will be awarded the contract for the large organ, and his portable purchased for use during processions. On May 21, Jox's organette having been accepted as the superior, the four-man organ committee is instructed to draw up a contract.<sup>128</sup> Work starts, but some nine

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 18. Elústiza (*Estudios musicales*, p. 179, n. 1) mistook *danzas* for *bancas* in the phrase: "ni por las bancas donde se sientan los señores beneficiados en los sermones." This error recurs in the Elústiza-Castrillo *Antología musical*, page 1x (line 21).

<sup>125</sup> *A. C.*, 1567-1568-1569, fol. 18<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>126</sup> Villada was already a Sevillian organ prebendary on November 29, 1540. Juan Bermudo in his *El arte tripharia* (Osuna: Juan de León, 1550) at folio 24 and again in his *Declaración de instrumentos* (1555) at fol. 60<sup>v</sup>, ranked Villada as a stellar keyboardist, worthy of comparison with such other stars as Antonio de Cabezón and Gregorio Silvestre. Although none of his compositions seems to survive, Bermudo vouched for their excellence and their "progressivism." Villada died in early March, 1573. See below, notes 169, 182.

<sup>127</sup> *A. C.*, 1567-1568-1569, fol. 32.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 39. José Gestoso y Pérez, *op. cit.*, 1 ("A-O" [1899]), p. 353, states that Jox (= Jos and Juez on p. 353, Joz on p. 355) received an advance payment of 400 ducats as early

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 179<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 185<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 191.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 193<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 195<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 218.

<sup>123</sup> *A. C.*, 1567-1568-1569, fol. 1.



months later (March 6, 1568) the chapter asks the dean to report the reasons for an unaccountable delay.<sup>129</sup> On May 5, 1568, Maestre Jors [*sic*] is instructed not to exceed his contract, and in the dean's place three other chapter members are deputed to consult with the Flemish maestre concerning the place where the organ shall be installed.<sup>130</sup> On June 16 the chapter votes to place it in the tribune where the great clock now hangs, and to move the great clock to the tribune above the red door.<sup>131</sup> Quarreling over various details in the construction continues rife, however, and on Monday, June 21 [1568] the chapter decides to revoke the contract.<sup>132</sup> As reasons, the chapter secretary records the following: (1) the organ promises to cost much more than the contract called for; (2) the Flemish maestre's chief assistant has been quoted as saying that there is no certainty the organ under construction will match in tone and in mechanism the instruments at Toledo, Cordova, Pilar of Saragossa, or San Salvador of Seville: these being the four most-admired organs in Spain. On July 9 the chapter commits to the organ committee the unpleasant task of "concerting as best they can with the Flemish organ builder and paying him for what he has done already; provided that he agrees to revoking the contract."<sup>133</sup> But Maestre Jox [= Jos, Jors—all three spellings occur] will not be bought off so peremptorily. On September 3 he sends in a written letter of expostulation against breaking the contract.<sup>134</sup> He wins his point, for on November 12 [1568] after a four-month stoppage the chapter orders "that the work on the large organ shall be resumed according to the original specifications and the contract drawn up with Maestre Jos."<sup>135</sup> He may continue his work either somewhere in the "Granada" nave, or in a vacant classroom of the adjoining St. Michael's *collegio*. Henceforth "he is not to be disturbed nor any account taken of idle rumors until the new organ is completed." The work proceeds and is still in progress on August 11, 1570; on which date the organ is

being installed.<sup>136</sup> On May 16, 1572, the chapter requests the cathedral treasurer to bring the contract forward for reëxamination.<sup>137</sup> On February 14, 1573, the installation is nearly complete and the chapter accepts a suggestion from the constructors that a protective grille be added.<sup>138</sup> On September 1, 1573, a brilliant new organist—Gerónimo de Peraça (= Peraza)—is engaged<sup>139</sup> and henceforth an exciting new chapter in Sevillian organ history begins to unfold.

Upon written request from the Cordova Cathedral chapter, the Sevillian chapter on April 16, 1567, grants Guerrero a short leave of absence to visit the neighboring Andalusian city—he having been invited to serve as member of an examining jury<sup>140</sup> called together by the Cordovan chapter to elect a successor to Andrés Villalar, chapelmaster at Cordova from July 5, 1563, until December 16, 1566.<sup>141</sup> As a kindly gesture the Sevillian chapter votes to pay him full salary and allowances during his absence. On Thursday, April 24, the Cordovan chapter votes Guerrero an honorarium of sixty ducats for his services on the jury.

September 17 [1567]: Guerrero has sufficiently regained favor at Seville to be again called "chapelmaster." Indeed, the chapter is ready on this date to back him up in a disciplinary case by threatening dismissal of an impudent baritone named Juan Vaca who refuses to sing *chançonetas* (vernacular spiritual songs) with the choirboys when they march in outside processions.<sup>142</sup>

**1568** Guerrero's "forgiveness" is complete on January 5; on which date the chapter votes to pay him for all the days that he was on suspension during the previous year, or absent on leave. He shall, however, use this money to clothe his choirboys and to buy them new surplices.<sup>143</sup>

Wednesday, February 4; the chapter "irrevocably" expels a choirboy named Camacho, decreeing that he shall never be permitted to return. Nine days later (Friday, February 13) he is received back, "despite the

as May 10, 1567, "on account of the large organ that he is to make." His competitor for the contract, a certain Juan Sunsier according to documents discovered by Gestoso y Pérez (*op. cit.*, I, 354) was—like Jox—a *flamenco* (Fleming). But Spanish organ builders were not idle during this epoch. For documents concerning Sevillian organ builders see Gestoso y Pérez, *op. cit.*, II, 253–259. In 1549 an organ for distant Cuzco, Peru, was constructed at Seville (*op. cit.*, III, 256).

<sup>129</sup> *A. C.*, 1567–1568–1569, fol. 139.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 151<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 170.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 172<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 178.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 193<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 209<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>136</sup> *A. C.*, 1570–1571, fol. 57.

<sup>137</sup> *A. C.*, 1571–1572–1573, fol. 89.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 13 (new foliation).

<sup>139</sup> *A. C.*, 1573–1574–1575, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>140</sup> Elústiza, in *Estudios musicales*, page 179, note 1, erroneously stated that Guerrero himself intended to try out at Cordova. This mistake recurs in the Elústiza-Castrillo *Antología musical* at page lx. For refutation, see Rafael Mitjana, *Don Fernando de Las Infantas*, page 122, note 5.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 121–122. Mitjana erroneously gave "junio" instead of "julio" on page 121 at line 29.

<sup>142</sup> *A. C.*, 1567–1568–1569, fol. 80<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 124.



previous expulsion.<sup>144</sup> In this disciplinary case, as in others, the chapter shows admirable willingness to reconsider even an "irrevocable" decision.

Also on February 13, Guerrero receives a back payment of 5,100 maravedís (150 reales) in compensation for 10 fanegas (16 bushels) of wheat that were not delivered to him while he was on suspension the previous year.<sup>145</sup>

March 20: Canon Alonso Mudarra is elected major-domo of the cathedral<sup>146</sup>—a post analogous to that of bursar in a university. During the next dozen years he will have much to say on the apportionment of cathedral income: and usually to Guerrero's great advantage.

May 19: *Christoual de morales clerigo de sevilla* is installed as a canon of Seville Cathedral.<sup>147</sup>

May 28: the chapter votes to remit fines assessed earlier in the month against "Guerrero and Victoria."<sup>148</sup> The latter is to be identified as Bartolomé de Victoria, prominent soprano in Seville Cathedral from approximately 1565 to 1586.

July 14: Guerrero for a third time borrows a substantial sum from the cathedral treasury—100 ducats.<sup>149</sup> The plan of repayment is again the discounting of his future salary at the rate of 4 ducats a month over a two-year stretch.

October 25: the chapter approves Mudarra's purchase of two dozen new robes and surplices for the altar boys and the giving away of the old robes to serve as swaddling bands for orphans.<sup>150</sup> Under ordinary circumstances Villafranca himself would have been responsible for buying new robes and surplices.

**1570** Monday, January 2: the chapter grants Guerrero a twelve-day paid leave of absence "so that he may visit Jerez [just above Cádiz] to dispatch certain private business."<sup>151</sup>

January 24: the chapter responds to news that their own archbishop, Don Gaspar de Zúñiga y Avellaneda, has been chosen to solemnize the impending nuptials of Philip II with the Princess Anne (daughter of Emperor Maximilian), by promising him the most impressive retinue that the cathedral can muster.<sup>152</sup> Among

the accoutrements offered are these: the best silver candlesticks, gold cross and chalice, and brocade canopy; any mitre except the rich one left by Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza; and a set of jewels. All six instrumentalists shall accompany the archbishop during his trip north to receive the princess, and in addition these four singers: Francisco Guerrero, *contralto*; Mosén Roque, *contrabaxo*; Juan Baptista, *tenor*; and Bartolomé de Victoria, *tiple*—or if the last-named cannot go, then Ribilla. Moreover, all the instrumentalists and singers shall be continued on full salary during their absence.

Saturday, April 29: the president of the Royal Council, Cardinal Espinosa, reaches Seville, to be followed into the city on May 1 by Philip II.<sup>153</sup> The king makes his ceremonial entry into the cathedral through an archway of cedar and orange-tree branches laden with sweet-smelling flowers.<sup>154</sup> In opposite niches of this floral archway thirteen instrumentalists are stationed: on one side six shawmers and sackbut players wearing blue robes and hats bordered with gold; on the other side seven specially hired viol players wearing crimson and gold. The procession includes sixteen cathedral boys dressed in scarlet, turquoise, and gold—eight singing and the other eight dancing.<sup>155</sup> After Philip has sworn to observe the ancient privileges of the cathedral, all the singers and instrumentalists stationed in the various parts of the huge edifice burst into a hymn of acclamation. On May 14 the chapter rewards the instrumentalists with special gifts.<sup>156</sup> On May 15 Philip leaves Seville after a fortnight of the most intense festivity since the marriage of Charles V in 1526. Meanwhile Don Gaspar de Zúñiga y Avellaneda (created a cardinal on May 16) has proceeded north with his train to Santander. Guerrero belongs to his retinue. At Santander, however, they are obliged to wait several months for the arrival by sea of the Princess Anne. She finally disembarks on October 5; on Monday, October 23, she reaches Las Huelgas convent and the next day makes a ceremonial entry into Burgos.<sup>157</sup> She reaches Segovia on Sunday, November

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 131<sup>v</sup>, 135.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 134<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 142. Interestingly enough, Luys de Peñalosa, nephew of the great Francisco, also enjoyed at one time the office of *mayordomo* in Seville Cathedral. See *A. C.*, 1536–1537–1538, fol. 25<sup>v</sup> (April 24, 1536).

<sup>147</sup> *A. C.*, 1567–1568–1569, fol. 156<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 159<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 179<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 204<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>151</sup> *A. C.*, 1570–1571, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 6.

<sup>153</sup> Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales eclesiásticos, y seculares de Sevilla* (Madrid: Juan Garcia Infançon, 1677), p. 536, col. 2.

<sup>154</sup> Juan de Mal-lara, *Recebimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal Ciudad de Sevilla* (Seville: Alonso Escrivano, 1570), fol. 170.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 171<sup>v</sup>. Presumably the altar boys danced while the choirboys sang. Guerrero's absence during all this solemnity was keenly felt, according to Mal-lara (fol. 170, lines 4–8).

<sup>156</sup> *A. C.*, 1570–1571, fol. 34<sup>v</sup>. These instrumentalists were replacements for the regular group (which was en route to Santander).

<sup>157</sup> *Relacion verdadera, del recebimiento, que la muy noble y muy mas leal ciudad de Burgos . . . hizo a la Magestad Real*



12. Two days later the Sevillian cardinal pronounces the marriage ceremony in Segovia cathedral.<sup>158</sup> The cardinal then proceeds south toward his own see. While detained temporarily in Jaén, however, he is stricken and dies on Tuesday, January 2, 1571. During all this long trip Guerrero and his fellow musicians have followed in his train, participating in the utmost panoply of which Spain was capable at the moment of her highest glory.

Anton de Armijo, Guerrero's deputy during his trip to Santander and Segovia, annoys the chapter by reason of his inefficiency. However, on June 7 the canons decide to excuse him from a reprimand, because of his "old age and illness."<sup>159</sup>

1571 January 3: Anton de Armijo is still acting as *maestro de capilla* during Guerrero's absence.<sup>160</sup>

January 26: the chapter orders special payments to the six instrumentalists who have just returned from Jaén with the cadaver of the cardinal (d. January 2). This notice lists each player by his full name, identifying each with his principal instrument: Juan de Rojas and Diego de Andrada (soprano shawmers); Gaspar de Cuevas (tenor); Juan Baptista, Diego López, and Gerónimo de Medina (sackbuts).<sup>161</sup>

*de la Reyna nuestra señora doña Anna de Austria* (Burgos: Philippe de Iunta, 1571). On October 24 she entered Las Huelgas by the royal door, friars in white forming part of the welcoming group. Near them stood the singers of the convent and the *menestriles altos* (fol. 4). Mass was celebrated with *mucha musica de cantores, y menestriles*. Other interesting musical references at fol. 41<sup>v</sup> (*muy dulce y acordada musica, que de diferentes instrumentos, y excellentes voces en el auia*), 42–43, and 46<sup>v</sup> (*los cantores cantaron muchos motetes y composiciones, . . . y los menestriles tocaron sus instrumentos, con gran suauidad: por ser los de esta yglesia [Burgos Cathedral] muchos, y muy esmerados*).

<sup>158</sup> *Relacion verdadera del recibimiento que hizo la ciudad de Segouia a la magestad de la reyna nuestra señora doña Anna de Austria* (Alcalá de Henares: Juan Gracián, 1572). At fol. C 2 is found an interesting description of the ceremonies in Valverde. The author makes it quite clear that the rustic music performed on *gaytas y tamborinos y punderos, instrumentos de la musica aldeana* differed both in quality and kind from the cultivated music gracing the bride's entry into nearby Segovia. Other musical references are to be seen at folios T 3 (*mucha musica de voces y menestriles, cantando, Te Deum laudamus*), T 3<sup>v</sup> (*el villancico era compuesto muy primu y graciosamente en canto de organo*), V (*no tenia menos gracia en la composicion de la musica este villancico que el primero*), V<sup>v</sup> (*los villancicos entrambos fueron contrahechos por seruir a las sonadas, que era lo principal que se requeria para la musica*), Y 4<sup>v</sup>, and Z 2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>159</sup> A. C., 1570–1571, fol. 38.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 92.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 99<sup>v</sup>. Almost contemporaneously at Toledo the names of ten—instead of six—instrumentalists are encountered

March 3: Guerrero obtains a fourth loan, although he has not yet finished paying back the third (July 14, 1568).<sup>162</sup> The present one is for 70,000 maravedís (approximately 187 ducats). Until the previous debt is repaid this new one shall be amortized at the rate of 4 ducats monthly; and thereafter at the monthly rate of 6 ducats. Special precautions must be taken that this present loan be fully secured.

April 5: Anton de Armijo borrows thirty ducats from the chapter, to be repaid at one ducat a month.<sup>163</sup>

June 15: Guerrero is allowed a three-day leave of absence to dispatch some private business.<sup>164</sup>

July 20: the chapter entrusts Canon Antonio del Corro with the purchase of more *flautas* for the cathedral instrumentalists: Baptista, sackbut player, to take them in charge after purchase.<sup>165</sup>

Monday, July 23: the chapter allows Guerrero another six-day leave to dispatch certain "important" private business.<sup>166</sup> On Friday, August 31, he is granted leave until September 7.

1572 April 16: the chapter commissions Canon Alonso Mudarra to buy a book of Guerrero's masses "which is needed by the instrumentalists," and also to oversee the repair of the book out of which they play *venites* at matins.<sup>167</sup>

April 23: the chapter allows Guerrero a fifth loan, this time of thirty ducats.<sup>168</sup> With it he shall buy proper clothing for the choirboys. Repayment shall be exacted at the rate of two ducats monthly.

1573 March 4: the previous organist, Pedro de Villada, having just died,<sup>169</sup> the chapter meets to discuss what is now to be done. The archbishop is unavoidably absent. The secretary goes out of the meeting and returns with the archbishop's advice: do whatever seems best for the glory of God and for the service of the cathedral; but if you wish to decide upon a successor I leave my vote with Canon Alonso Mudarra. (In this instance, as in others, Mudarra's opinion shapes musical policy in the cathedral.)

September 1: Gerónimo de Peraça (= Peraza) is installed in the organist's half-prebend, "he having in public competition with other contenders demonstrated his superiority; and proofs of the purity of

in the cathedral payrolls (Dec. 19, 1573). See Biblioteca Nacional, MS 14036.130.

<sup>162</sup> A. C., 1570–1571, fol. 109.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 117.

<sup>164</sup> A. C., 1571–1572–1573, fol. 9<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 24.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 25<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 82<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 84<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>169</sup> Concerning Villada, see notes 126, 182.



his lineage having been adduced.<sup>170</sup> His full name is given several times thus: Gerónimo de Peraza de Sotomaíor.

October 25: the chapter requires the presence of all the singers at the evening burial service for Don Luis Cristóbal Ponce de León, Duke of Arcos—the service to be held in St. Augustine's.<sup>171</sup> Their assistance is also required the following morning: an appropriate gesture of respect, he having been one of the most generous musical patrons of his age.<sup>172</sup>

November 4: Canon Mudarra is charged with preparing all arrangements in San Francisco Plaza for the forthcoming *aucto de la fee*. One week later "the singers are ordered to assist in the usual manner on Sunday, November 15, at the *aucto de la fee*."<sup>173</sup>

**1574** Friday, January 8: Guerrero receives a six-day leave of absence so that he can attend to some private affairs.<sup>174</sup>

March 9: Pedro Fernández having died on March 5, the chapter appoints a commission of four to look over the papal bull and other accessory documents from the cathedral archive touching on Guerrero, and to examine the promises contained therein.<sup>175</sup> After waiting two decades for the post he at last becomes sole titular chapelmaster.

March 23: Alonso Mudarra and two others are requested to study the contract for the new organ (drawn up in May, 1567) and not to make further payments.<sup>176</sup> On March 30 [1574] Mudarra, Gerónimo Peraza, and Canon Corro are authorized to prod Maestre Jox into finishing as soon as possible.<sup>177</sup> Jox is to stop working on the organ case and must finish installing the rest of the pipes. On July 7 Cristóbal de

León, the cathedral organ tuner, is asked to finish tuning it.<sup>178</sup>

**1575** January 7: the chapter decrees that henceforth the Roman rite, as reformed by the Council of Trent, is to be used exclusively.<sup>179</sup> At a stroke this decree renders obsolete such a troped mass as Guerrero's *De beata Virgine (Liber primus missarum* [1566], folios 79<sup>v</sup>-95) or polytextual mass as his *Beata Mater* ([1566] folios 119<sup>v</sup>-133).

April 8: the chapter requests Peraza to arrange meetings with the Flemish Maestre Joz [*sic*] for the purpose of studying the stops, and to make up two books describing them, so that if one is lost the other will be available in the archive.<sup>180</sup> On April 11 the chapter repeats this same request.<sup>181</sup> On April 27, with a new note of urgency, the chapter directs Peraza to meet Maestre Joz daily in order to acquaint himself with all the registers of the new organ.

In early June, Peraza goes on leave, turning his job over to a deputy who soon proves the veriest tyro. The chapter on June 6 therefore orders the substitute to hand back the organ keys. Another substitute is engaged and it is decided to mulct Peraza's salary.<sup>182</sup>

November 11: Guerrero is directed not to set any lyrics for the approaching Christmas festivities without first consulting with Canon Alonso Mudarra, who shall look them over and after deliberation decide whether they are sufficiently decorous to sing.<sup>183</sup>

December 12: the chapter again stops payment on the Flemish organ-builder's contract until he finishes installing the rest of the large organ-pipes that Mudarra notes are still missing.<sup>184</sup>

**1578** Certain oversights in Guerrero's attentions to his choirboys cause the chapter to decide on January 29 that he shall be paid the 600 ducats owing him this

<sup>170</sup>A. C., 1573-1574-1575, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>. Guarantees of "pure" lineage were exacted of all appointees. On April 12, 1554, a royal order had gone forth in the name of Charles, his mother (still alive), and Prince Philip (signed at Valladolid). Henceforth—according to this decree—all candidates for cathedral posts were not only to meet previously imposed conditions for appointment but also to offer proof of the purity of their lineage and of their Christian ancestry (*probar limpieza de sangre y ser cristianos viejos*). See Mitjana, "La capilla . . . Año de 1543 al año de [1569]," page 51a.

<sup>171</sup>A. C., 1573-1574-1575, fol. 20.

<sup>172</sup>The Duke of Arcos, Luis Cristóbal Ponce de León (1518-1573), who with 25,000 ducats annual income was one of the six or seven wealthiest laymen in Spain, had employed Cristóbal de Morales as his maestro de capilla 1548-1551.

<sup>173</sup>A. C., 1573-1574-1575, fol. 22<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>174</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 44.

<sup>175</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 77<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>176</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 82.

<sup>177</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 84.

<sup>178</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 127<sup>v</sup>. This Cristóbal de León may have been the son of a like-named senior who tuned the Sevillian organ at Christmas, 1538. See A. C., 1538-1539, fol. 125 (Dec. 20, 1538). The junior namesake made a trip as far afield as Peru to repair the organs in Cuzco Cathedral in 1583. See Cuzco Cathedral, A. C., I, fol. 57 (July 2, 1583).

<sup>179</sup>Seville Cathedral, A. C., 1573-1574-1575, fol. 205.

<sup>180</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 219<sup>v</sup>. Some idea of the stops included in the Seville organ may be obtained by studying the specifications of the Toledo "imperial" organ. See Santiago Kastner, *Música Hispánica* (Lisbon: Ed. Ática, 1936), pp. 140-141.

<sup>181</sup>A. C., 1573-1574-1575, fol. 223.

<sup>182</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 232<sup>v</sup>. Mudarra was on this date instructed to employ the heir (*heredero*) of the former organist Villada (d. 1573) until Peraza's return.

<sup>183</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 279<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>184</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 289<sup>v</sup>.



year as chapelmaster's salary and be given his annual allowance of wheat (secured by a bond of 400 ducats) only on condition that he move close to the cathedral, tighten discipline among his choirboys, and attend properly to their material wants.<sup>185</sup>

Peraza is directed as of February 13 to sell the old organ in the Antigua chapel and with the proceeds buy a new one.<sup>186</sup>

Miguel Fernández, a soprano from Segovia who is visiting in Seville in February, hears that a soprano's prebend in the cathedral is open, even though no public announcement has yet been made. Since he must shortly return to Segovia, he petitions to be heard before leaving Seville. The chapter on February 18 responds that he is on no account to be considered before the formal announcement of the vacancy.<sup>187</sup> He must apply then, and then only. The whole system of filling vacant musical posts will be placed in jeopardy if roving singers start intriguing themselves into unadvertised positions.

March 22: Juan Peraza, brother of Gerónimo, is appointed instrumentalist at 100,000 maravedis annually and 60 fanegas of wheat.<sup>188</sup> On May 8, 1579, his salary is raised to 131,250 maravedis and 100 fanegas on the conditions that he bring his wife to Seville and that Gerónimo post a bond of 500 ducats that his married brother will not depart before completing four years' service to the cathedral.<sup>189</sup>

April 5 [1578]: Gerónimo is granted leave until Pentecost, provided that this time he engages a properly qualified substitute during his absence.<sup>190</sup>

July 14: the chapter orders the papal bull affecting the Guerrero prebend (*Pastoralis officii*, June 1, 1554) to be reexamined.<sup>191</sup>

Armijo, Guerrero's colleague in teaching the choirboys polyphonic singing since 1555, having quit, his post is advertised.<sup>192</sup>

September 3: the chapter meets to discuss the amount that shall be sent Tomás Luis de Victoria, "chapelmaster at Rome,"<sup>193</sup> in recompense for the present that he has made of his *Liber Primus, Qui Missas, Psalmos, Magnificat . . . Complectitur* [Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1576]. Victoria has done two

Sevillian composers the honor of parody in this publication. The *Simile est regnum celorum* Mass is parodied after Guerrero's motet (1570), and the *Gaudemus* after Morales's *Jubilate Deo omnis terra*.

1579 January 7: the chapter grants Guerrero a one-year leave of absence with regular pay, minus only the amount required to administer and feed the choirboys during his absence.<sup>194</sup> The conductor during his leave shall be the most senior choir singer. Guerrero's destination will be Rome. On January 16 he and a committee from the chapter have agreed upon the amount to deduct during his absence.

Constantly troubled by the absence of singers who prefer to lose a day's pay whenever a more lucrative engagement offers itself elsewhere, the chapter on April 11 rules that any singer who takes part in an outside procession shall be fined eight ducats. Any cathedral clergyman whose official duties include singing shall be fined eight days' pay.<sup>195</sup>

June 1: the chapter passes a rule that anyone ascending to the new organ without official permission shall be fined a month's pay.<sup>196</sup>

June 5: Luys de Villafranca, master of the altar boys (*mozos de coro*), is nearing retirement age. He receives a loan of eighty ducats, to be repaid the treasury within a year.<sup>197</sup>

September 28: the chapter requests the new cathedral major-domo Pedro Vélez to meet Maestre Jox and to talk over a price settlement. Vélez and another canon are to seek some sort of reduction in the maestre's latest bill.<sup>198</sup>

October 26: Villafranca quits<sup>199</sup> and on November 6 Gaspar Delgadillo is engaged as master of the altar boys to succeed him.<sup>200</sup> Delgadillo continues master of altar boys until 1586 whereupon he is succeeded by Mosén Blanco, *presbítero*, who in turn holds office until his death on November 8, 1596. The altar boys remain always separate and distinct from

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 85.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 105.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 115.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 116<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 134. The chapter consulted the opinion of several outstanding organists in 1579 to determine the merits of the new organ. An organist from Toledo, Ximénez (cf. Felipe Pedrell, *Antología de organistas clásicos españoles* [Madrid: Ildefonso Alier, 1908], pp. iii and 40–54), was paid two ducats for his opinion; Gerónimo de León and Sebastián de Maldonado, eight ducats for theirs (Gestoso y Pérez, *op. cit.*, 1, 355). Quite possibly the opinions of these visitors convinced the chapter that Jox wished too much money for his finished product.

<sup>199</sup> *A. C.*, 1578–1579, fol. 140.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 141<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>185</sup> *A. C.*, 1578–1579, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 14.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 15. On July 16, 1578, the chapter hired Antolin de Paredes, reputedly the finest *tiple* in Spain (*ibid.*, fol. 51<sup>v</sup>). See also note 218 below.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 25.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 108<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 27.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 51.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 55 (Aug. 5, 1578).

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 63.



choirboys—the one group learning only plainchant and assisting at the altar, the other living with the chapelmaster and studying counterpoint and polyphony as well.

Guerrero postpones his departure for Rome and instead spends the entire year in Seville making ready for the trip.<sup>201</sup> In the meantime he neglects his choirboys. On November 16, after considerable complaint against their unruliness and ignorance, he engages an assistant, Bartolomé Farfán.<sup>202</sup> The chapter reminds him that the papal bull instituting him emphasized the boys.

**1580** Friday, January 22: the choirboys are remitted to the charge of Alexandro de la Serna.<sup>203</sup>

April 1: Alonso Mudarra dies, leaving “sisters and other relatives” in his house. On April 8 his effects are announced for public sale.<sup>204</sup> Two years later—on May 25, 1582—a final accounting of his estate is ordered<sup>205</sup> and on the following June 1 the sum realized from the sale of his personal goods is listed at 92,000 maravedís.<sup>206</sup> On June 6 [1582] this sum is by the terms of his will distributed among the poor.<sup>207</sup>

June 13, 1580: the chapter requests Guerrero to resume the giving of a daily counterpoint lesson. Singers who miss shall be fined.<sup>208</sup>

July 27, [1580]: the chapter votes to seek a papal sanction for downgrading the organist’s prebend to the level of mere singers’ prebends.

Wednesday, August 3: Hernando Tapia is named temporarily to succeed Gerónimo Peraza<sup>209</sup>—the latter having been elected organist at Toledo Cathedral

<sup>201</sup> Upon arriving at Rome Guerrero had in hand sufficient copy for two collections—his second book of masses and a complete cycle of vespers music. In 1580 he prepared copy for a third important opus—choral settings of the four passions. See notes 10 and 345.

<sup>202</sup> *A. C.*, 1578–1579, fol. 144.

<sup>203</sup> *A. C.*, 1580–1581, fol. 4. Prior to Seville Cathedral Francisco Alexandre [= Alexandro] de la Serna was installed by direct order of Cardinal Siliceo as singer in Toledo Cathedral (where his duties also included organ playing). On September 17, 1565, the Ávila Cathedral chapter authorized Juan Navarro to write Alexandro de la Serna, *contralto*, a letter offering that renowned singer a half-prebend on condition that he agree to ordination *in sacris*.

<sup>204</sup> *A. C.*, 1580–1581, fol. 16.

<sup>205</sup> *A. C.*, 1582–1583–1584 y parte de 1585, fol. 28.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 30.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 30<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>208</sup> *A. C.*, 1580–1581, fol. 54.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 24. Either Tapia transferred to some such Sevillian church as San Salvador or became suborganist in the cathedral after Diego del Castillo’s appointment to the organ prebend (April 29, 1581). On April 4, 1584, he was momentarily

on the previous November 27 and having been inducted in the past on March 21 [1580].<sup>210</sup> On August 31 the Sevillian chapter votes not to pay Peraza a single maravedí of certain back salary that he is demanding: the reason being that “he has deceived us.”<sup>211</sup>

September 12: the chapter votes to buy a book proposed for the instrumentalists, but as cheaply as possible.<sup>212</sup> One month later the position of sackbut player left open by the recent death of the colorful Gaspar de Cuevas (in service since ca. 1563; accused of murder in 1566; attendant to the cardinal during the Santander trip in 1570) is offered to Luis de Alvánchez of Plasencia at 60,000 maravedís and 4 cahizes of wheat annually. However, his pay is not to begin until the day he marries the deceased Cuevas’s daughter.

**1581** February 14: the chapter authorizes the expenditure of 30,000 maravedís to buy new clothes for Guerrero’s choirboys.<sup>213</sup>

March 16: Guerrero still having failed to start the Roman trip for which a year’s leave was granted on January 7, 1579, the chapter announces that only four months further grace remain for him to start the trip.<sup>214</sup> He leaves Seville the next month but along the way is delayed six months for some strange reason.<sup>215</sup>

March 28: the surplices and hoods of the altar boys can no longer be worn because of an outbreak of plague in Seville.<sup>216</sup>

April 28: Diego del Castillo, the victor in a duly announced competition, is installed as cathedral organist.<sup>217</sup> His prebend conforms with the reduced status recommended by the chapter after Gerónimo Peraza’s deceitful conduct of the previous year.

June 26: the chapter receives a request from Philip

expected in Palencia, where a competition for the organ prebend of that cathedral had been announced. As of that date, he is referred to in a Palencia capitular act as a *músico de tecla de Sevilla*. Canon Zapata of Palencia had invited him to compete. But eventually it became apparent that Tapia was not even sufficiently interested in making a change from Seville to take a paid-expenses trip to Palencia for the trial. See Elústiza-Castrillo, *Antología musical*, page lxxx.

<sup>210</sup> Felipe Rubio Piqueras, *Música y músicos toledanos* (Toledo: Suc. de J. Peláez, 1923), p. 66. Gerónimo [de] Peraza died on June 26, 1617, and was buried in San Lorenzo parish.

<sup>211</sup> *A. C.*, 1580–1581, fol. 30<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 32<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 84.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 88<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>215</sup> See his letter from Rome dated November 13, 1581 (printed in Elústiza-Castrillo, *op. cit.*, page lxiii): “por abernos detenido seys meses en el camino . . .”

<sup>216</sup> *A. C.*, 1580–1581, fol. 89<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 93<sup>v</sup>. According to *Diccionario de la Música Labor* (Barcelona: Ed. Labor, 1954), Vol. 1, p. 479 [hereafter





II, currently at Lisbon for his Portuguese coronation, that the cathedral "lend" him two of its best singers. Antolin de Paredes (sopranist) and Juan Baptista (tenor) are selected.<sup>218</sup> On July 3, however, the cathedral finds itself so depleted of good singers that the chapter authorizes a "paid expenses" trip for a scout, who must not be a regular employee of the cathedral, nor himself a singer. Juan de Navarrete is engaged as a tenor on July 12. On November 3 Andrés Hernández is named to a bass's prebend.<sup>219</sup>

In October, Guerrero finally reaches Rome. He starts negotiating immediately for the publication of his second book of masses. On November 13 he addresses a letter to the Sevillian chapter in the following terms.<sup>220</sup>

*Most Illustrious Sirs: Although desirous of writing some news of myself and more especially of expressing my eagerness to return once again to your service, still I have heretofore feared intruding upon your time with my letters. But now I must importune you for your kindness. Your Excellencies were gracious enough to allow me a leave of absence so that I might visit Rome, my principal business here being the printing of two books: a Missarum liber secundus and a Liber vesperarum. The masses are already in the process of being printed, thanks to the help of certain kind folk with business connections in Seville. But, to come to the point, I must now beg of Your Excellencies two further favors: first (since we were detained along the way six months), added time, so that I will not have to leave uncompleted that which has just been started; second, continued income from my prebend to pay for my personal expenses while here and for the costs of printing. I have the better hope that Your Excellencies will bestow on me these additional favors because certain most illustrious cardinals have taken me under their protection and have opened doors that would have been shut to me but are now opened out of respect for such lofty personages. All these ambitious compositions were written while in your service; and even in affairs of lesser scope your*

*disposition to succor your servants is well known. I should not be so outspoken, however, without adding my deepest thanks for favors already granted. Not to be more lengthy, I here close with a prayer for your health and long lives.*

December 6: the above letter reaches Seville and a chapter meeting is called to discuss its contents.<sup>221</sup>

**1582** January 5: the chapter decides to advance Guerrero 200 ducats, which shall be charged against his prebend's income for 1582.<sup>222</sup> On January 31 the chapter extends his leave of absence until the coming October 31.<sup>223</sup>

Victoria writes a letter to the Sevillian chapter on January 14 in which he mentions Guerrero.<sup>224</sup> His letter accompanies a new gift to the Sevillian chapter, this time of his *Cantica B. Virginis* and *Hymni totius anni*, both published in 1581 by the same firm now printing Guerrero's masses.

April 20: Guerrero acknowledges the chapter's new kindnesses in the following letter.<sup>225</sup>

*Illustrious Sirs: I take your decision to advance me 200 ducats from the income of my prebend as an extremely kind favor; and the extension of my leave of absence as a no less gracious deed. For the one and the other kindness I bow in gratitude to Your Excellencies. You will be interested to know that I recently had the opportunity of personally presenting the newly printed book of masses to His Holiness [Gregory XIII: 1572–1585]. He received me most kindly and after having looked it over and having read the preface to the *Ecce sacerdos Mass* written in his honor<sup>226</sup> then detained me a quarter of an hour making very minute enquiries concerning Seville Cathedral, the number of beneficed clergymen, their income, and the income of the cathedral foundation. I replied as best I knew how, but His Holiness's knowledge far exceeded mine.<sup>227</sup> I told him of Your Excellencies' continual prayers in his behalf. He took great pleasure in knowing of your zeal and imparted his Apostolic blessing, whereupon I left his most venerable presence overwhelmed with joy. I am now hoping speedily to return to Seville and to resume my accustomed service in the cathedral. I wish no*

cited as DML], Diego del Castillo became organist at Seville ca. 1560. Even if one lacked access to the capitular acts, his date of appointment could be known to have occurred much later. Correa de Arauxo, in his *Facultad orgánica* (Alcalá de Henares: 1626), recorded that Castillo succeeded [Gerónimo] Peraza.

<sup>218</sup> A. C., 1580–1581, fol. 102. Vicente Espinel in his *La casa de la memoria* cited this singer as one of the two best whom he had heard: "Con boz suaue, y con veloz garganta, / Pura, distinta, dulce, y claro pecho / En regalado canto se leuanta / Primo, y el coro dexa satisfecho: / En competencia suya Antolin canta / Pretendiendo el assiento por derecho." (*Diversas rimas*, fol. 47<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>219</sup> A. C., 1580–1581, fol. 123<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>220</sup> Elústiza, *Estudios*, p. 195.

<sup>221</sup> A. C., 1580–1581, fol. 128<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>222</sup> A. C., 1582–1583–1584 y parte de 1585, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 9.

<sup>224</sup> Letter printed in Elústiza, *Estudios*, p. 197.

<sup>225</sup> A. C., 1582–1583–1584 y parte de 1585, fol. 196.

<sup>226</sup> Guerrero's *Missarum liber secundus* is, as a whole, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; this one mass in it (fols. 21<sup>v</sup>–40) to the reigning pope.

<sup>227</sup> Such a phrase was more than a mere compliment. Before becoming pope, Gregory XIII had served as legate in Spain (1557). See Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, trans. by R. F. Kerr, Vol. xix, p. 19.



other good fortune than now to have the opportunity of paying back some small part of my great debt to Your Excellencies. If then it please God, I shall leave the Roman court toward the beginning of June, proceed to Genoa, and there take the first ship that sails. I have already forwarded the newly printed book of masses. I beg you to receive it and have it added to the cathedral music library. Our Lord guard and save Your Excellencies during many years to come.

November 3: Diego del Castillo, the cathedral organist hired eighteen months earlier, is instructed to prepare "libros de las mixturas y tonos del horgano grande" (books of the mixtures and tones of the large organ), and to see that the organ is kept clean and properly covered.<sup>228</sup>

**1583** Wednesday, June 8: the instrumentalists are instructed henceforth to play a *marchee* whenever the singers gather at the choirbook-stand in the middle of the choir enclosure to sing polyphony.<sup>229</sup>

August 31: the chapter reminds Guerrero that whenever he receives a new choirboy he must register the day and year with the cathedral accountant.<sup>230</sup>

September 16: the salaries of each of three instrumentalists—Juan Baptista, Diego López, and Gerónimo de Medina—are raised to 200 ducats annually.<sup>231</sup>

September 23: the salary of Andrés López, *maestro de capilla del claustro*, is raised by 6,000 maravedís to a total of 40,000.<sup>232</sup>

Early in December, Diego del Castillo serves notice of his imminent departure. On December 14 the chapter votes to reexamine both the old and new papal bulls affecting the organistship.<sup>233</sup> On December 16 the organist's half-prebend is advertised.<sup>234</sup>

**1584** January 9: the chapter votes to enforce the terms of the dean's agreement with Maestre Jorge [= Jors, Jos, Jox] and to so notify the cathedral treasurer.<sup>235</sup>

The chapter rules that for their better safekeeping Guerrero's books shall henceforth be chained in the library of the upper church.

Now in his fifty-sixth year and eager to devote himself more fully to other enterprises, Guerrero in March petitions the chapter to divide the chapelmaster's prebend (worth 600 ducats and 80 fanegas of wheat) after the fashion that was approved when he

first took over the choirboys in 1549. This time, however, he shall be the one who remains titular chapelmaster and continues to conduct. A younger man shall take over the ungrateful task of boarding and rearing the choirboys. The chapter agrees in principle on March 15, but entrusts him with the task of finding his own assistant.<sup>236</sup> On March 17 he names the same Bartolomé Farfán who in 1579 was temporarily in charge of the boys.<sup>237</sup> On November 5 a formal agreement is reached, Guerrero retaining half the salary (300 ducats and 40 fanegas) and the other half going to Farfán (who in addition is to receive 100 ducats and 40 fanegas to make up a total annual salary of 400 ducats and 80 fanegas of wheat).<sup>238</sup> Farfán's salary in cash and kind will therefore be larger than Guerrero's. But he must board, lodge, and clothe at least six boys with his proceeds.

May 16:<sup>239</sup> Francisco Peraza (1564–1598), younger brother of Gerónimo (organist at Seville from 1573 to 1580; organist at Toledo from 1580 to 1617; d. 1617) is installed as organ prebendary in succession to Castillo (who has left Seville to enter royal service). At the competition that preceded his election, Francisco Peraza has already shown himself to be the most gifted of the entire Peraza clan. "At this examination the most illustrious cardinal, Rodrigo de Castro [archbishop of Seville, 1582–1600; created cardinal, 1583],<sup>240</sup> an extremely well-informed person in musical matters and a princely protector of artists, was present. Finding that Guerrero was confronting the competitors with some of the hardest tests of skill known to musicians—but that scarcely had he announced a task before Francisco Peraza had accomplished it to perfection, even adding his solution of variants to the problem—the cardinal was overwhelmed with admiration of such skill, which he supposed must be the result of that natural genius found only in prodigies. Without more ado the cardinal therefore requested that the chapter confer the 200-ducat prebend upon him: to which the chapter unanimously agreed." This Francisco Peraza is the organist whose fingers Guerrero wishes to kiss because "he has an angel in every finger" and who is similarly to excite the admiration of Philippe Rogier, chapelmaster to Philip II.<sup>241</sup>

<sup>228</sup> A. C., 1582–1583–1584 y parte de 1585, fol. 57.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 94.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 105.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 107<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 108.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 119.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 119<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 122.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 133.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 133<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 170.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 141.

<sup>240</sup> P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum* (Regensburg: G. J. Manz, 1873), p. 73, col. 2. Castro was not a cardinal, nor even for that matter archbishop of Seville, in 1554 as was erroneously supposed in *MME*, VIII, 26 (line 30).

<sup>241</sup> Biographical data in Francisco Pacheco, *op. cit.*, fol. 92<sup>v</sup>.



¿El Cardenal D. Rodrigo de Castro?

Rodrigo de Castro, archbishop of Seville 1582–1600 (created cardinal 1583), excelled all other Spanish prelates in patronizing musicians. While still bishop at Zamora, he had subsidized the publication of Francisco de Salinas's *De musica libri septem* (1577). His attentions to Guerrero proved him to be a paragon of bounty.

April 21: Alonso López, *menestril corneta* (cornettist), is granted a fifteen-day leave to visit Sanlúcar.<sup>246</sup> This is one of the few instances in which the cornett is listed as a player's principal instrument: *chirimías* (shawms) and *sacabuches* (sackbuts) being usually the

*Symphonetas sui temporis facile princeps.*" An inventory of the chapel choirbooks of Philip II made at the close of the century shows that 77 years after his death Josquin was still represented by more choirbooks than any other composer but one. Nine were devoted exclusively to his works; in several others he was anthologized liberally. See Alfonso Andrés, "Libros de canto de la capilla de Felipe II," *Musica sacro-hispana*, Vol. x (1917), pp. 94 (item 7), 109 (item 30), 111 (item 65), 123 (item 81), 124 (item 83), 126 (item 127), 154 (item 146), 155 (item 152), 156 (item 173). Even more remarkable, however, was the prestige that Josquin enjoyed in Spain as late as 1626—Correa de Arauxo in that year using Josquin's authority to justify his own use of B<sub>4</sub> against b<sub>1</sub>, and of F<sub>4</sub> against f. Correa's manner of citing a *Pleni sunt*, a 3, allows us not only to infer that he was familiar with the whole body of Josquin's works but also that he considered one ciphered example from so universally respected a master enough to stop the mouths of all his own adverse critics. See *MME*, vi, 50.

<sup>246</sup> *A. C.*, 1586–1587, fol. 29<sup>v</sup>.

Born at Salamanca, Francisco Peraza was the cadet member of a musical family. His father, a virtuoso shawmer, was in service to the Duke of Calabria at Valencia (where he began his training) before the family moved to Seville. The greatest of his clan, he died June 24, 1598, aged only 34.

July 6, 1584: Luis de Coçar [= Cózar], bass singer of Jaén, is nominated to a singer's prebend but does not accept immediately.<sup>242</sup> On January 13, 1586, he is singing at Salamanca, from which cathedral the Sevillian chapter receives him with an equal salary.

December 17: the singer Miranda is ordered to bring his wife to town and to live with her through the entire month of January or be dismissed from the cathedral. On the ensuing January 28 she still has not arrived and the chapter gives him only two more weeks grace.<sup>243</sup>

1586 Thursday, March 20: two cathedral officials are enjoined to discuss with Guerrero his proposal that the chapter pay for the copying of a book of Josquin's music, and to report back.<sup>244</sup> (This notice, coming as late as 1586, is but one of many proofs showing the extraordinary popularity of Josquin's music in Spain throughout the sixteenth century.)<sup>245</sup>

<sup>242</sup> *A. C.*, 1582–1583–1584 y parte de 1585, fol. 150.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 176<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>244</sup> *A. C.*, 1586–1587, fol. 23<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>245</sup> Josquin enjoyed the cachet of theorists' as well as practitioners' approval. Francisco Salinas in his *De musica libri septem* (1577), page 56, wrote thus: "Iodocus Pratensis inter



principal instruments; *cornetas* and *flautas*, alternating instruments.

May 30: Francisco Peraza's petition for a salary raise is approved.<sup>247</sup> On June 4 he is instructed henceforth to play the organ every Sunday, on all days within an octave, at all semidouble feasts, on all Saturdays when Our Lady's office is recited, and at capitular vespers of any feast of Our Lady.<sup>248</sup> Two days later his salary is raised by a further 1,000 reales (34,000 maravedís), but he is required to post a 500-ducat bond that he will never leave his Sevillian post, no matter what inducements are offered elsewhere.<sup>249</sup> With this new raise he is now making within a few ducats of what Guerrero is earning from his chapelmaster's divided prebend: even though he has been in cathedral service only two years whereas Guerrero is approaching his fortieth year of service.

June 18: word is sent to Maestre Jorge [sic] to "finish the book [describing the stops] of the large organ immediately; pending the completion of which his salary will be withheld."<sup>250</sup>

Saturday, July 5: the chapter permits "some singers" to accompany the cardinal during his next day's visit to a Jesuit church for Mass,<sup>251</sup> provided that there are enough singers left in the cathedral to perform part music. The chapter does not accede even to the possibility of a Sunday celebration of Mass in the cathedral in which only plainchant is sung; but on the contrary insists that polyphony must be sung.

July 7: the chapter meets to discuss a petition offered by certain instrumentalists for a raise of salary.<sup>252</sup> Guerrero is sent for to give his recommendation. He does not regularly attend meetings of the chapter, since he is not a member. However, his opinion is consulted on all matters concerning the cathedral musical establishment.

July 11: the chapter orders Francisco Peraza to transcribe for organ "some motets appropriate to diverse feasts" and to play them. Furthermore, he must himself perform and not send any substitute; if he disobeys he shall be fined.<sup>253</sup>

On the same day, the chapter receives from Guerrero a written declaration of the "Order which must be observed by the instrumentalists in playing."<sup>254</sup>

The chapter adopts this memorial *in toto* and instructs the *chantre* and a senior canon to inform the instrumentalists that they must abide by Guerrero's rules in every detail or be fined whatever amount he recommends. His list of rules reads as follows:

*First, Rojas and López shall always play the treble parts: ordinarily on shawms. They must carefully observe some order when they improvise glosses, both as to places and to times.<sup>255</sup> When the one player adds glosses to his part, the other must yield to him and play simply the written notes; for when both together gloss at the same time, they produce absurdities that stop one's ears. Second, the same Rojas and López when they at appropriate moments play on cornetts must again each observe the same moderation in glossing: the one deferring to the other; because, as has been previously said, for both simultaneously to add improvised glosses creates insufferable dissonance. As for Juan de Medina, he shall ordinarily play the contralto part, not obscuring the trebles nor disturbing them by exceeding the glosses that belong to a contralto. When on the other hand his part becomes the top above the sackbuts, then he is left an open field in which to glory and is free to add all the glosses that he desires and knows so well how to execute on his instrument. As for Alvánchez, he shall play tenors and the bajón.<sup>256</sup> At greater feasts there shall always be a verse played on recorders.<sup>257</sup> At Salves, one of the three verses that are played shall be on shawms, one*

<sup>255</sup> The *glosas* at folios 89–91<sup>v</sup> (Mouton's *Quaeramus cum pastoribus*), 131–133<sup>v</sup> (Josquin's *Stabat mater*), and 134–136 (Josquin's *Inviolata*) in Antonio de Cabezón's *Obras de musica para tecla arpa y vihuela* (Madrid: Francisco Sánchez, 1578) give an accurate clue to actual performance practice so far as instrumental glossing is concerned. Or at least Hernando de Cabezón certified as much when he inserted a paragraph on the penultimate page of the *Declaración* which serves as a preface to his father's book. He declared that instrumentalists would find the *glosas* in his father's book to be models that they could safely follow. He advised them to extract the individual lines in these *glosas* for their own instruments. The paragraph is worth reproduction here: "Tambien se podran aprouechar del libro los curiosos menestriles, en ver inuenciones de glosas tratadas con verdad sobre lo compuesto, y ver la licencia que tiene cada voz, sin perjuzio de las otras partes, y esto toparan en muchos motetes canciones y fabordones que ellos tañen, que con poca dificultad podran sacar desta cifra en canto de organo."

Further on the subject of *glosas* see Bermudo, *Declaración* (1555), fols. 29<sup>v</sup>, col. 2; 84<sup>v</sup>, col. 2. Bermudo inveighed heavily against glossing, unless the written music were of poor quality. He was in sufficiently close contact with Morales to reflect enlightened opinion. Guerrero perhaps allowed glossing of purely chordal music such as *fabordones*.

<sup>256</sup> *buxon*.

<sup>257</sup> *flautas*.

<sup>247</sup> *Quadernos de Autos Capitulares Antiguos. 1586. Desde Abril 1587*, fol. 16<sup>v</sup>. [Hereinafter cited as *Quadernos*.]

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 18.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 18<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>250</sup> *A. C., 1586–1587*, fol. 40.

<sup>251</sup> *Quadernos [1586–1587]*, fol. 27<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 30.

<sup>253</sup> *A. C., 1586–1587*, fol. 46<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*



on cornetts, and the other on recorders; because always hearing the same instrument annoys the listener.

August 4: the two treble singers, Bartolomé de Victoria and Antolin de Paredes, and the bass, Andrés Hernández, are warned to stop hiring themselves out for fiestas not sponsored by the cathedral: on pain of ten ducats fine for each violation.<sup>258</sup> On August 18 the same penalty is imposed on the masters of the boys if acolytes or choirboys assist at outside fiestas. Any boy who assists shall be expelled and may not be re-admitted to the service of the cathedral without the chapter's express permission.

August 22: the major-domo is authorized to go to Maestre Jorge's house, and seize all plans, tracings, tools, and whatever else can be found having anything to do with the large organ.<sup>259</sup> On September 5 Andrés Jacomar—now a cathedral prebendary (formerly a choirboy, and from 1561 to 1565 a scholar at St. Michael's)—is delegated to see Francisco Peraza and find out what has happened to *el libro del organo grande* (the book of the large organ).<sup>260</sup> Two weeks later (September 22)—Peraza having in the meantime produced the book—the chapter orders two copies to be made: one for the cathedral archive, and one to deliver back to Peraza, but only for the length of time he remains organ prebendary.<sup>261</sup> Four days later Diego López is hired as a full-time organ tuner;<sup>262</sup> the organs that he must keep tuned are the large organ and smaller organs in the main body of the cathedral; those in the sacristy and in the Antigua chapel. Within a month López is to transcribe the “two books of the large organ” ordered to be copied on September 22.

September 24: the chapter meets to consider Guerrero's request for superannuation.<sup>263</sup> Most of the members approve, but the major-domo (“who knows not Joseph”) rises up to protest. According to him, Guerrero is at full liberty to search on his own for a

substitute. But if he finds one, the substitute must still meet with the chapter's approval. Furthermore, all the trouble and expense of finding and then retaining the substitute ought, says the major-domo, to be Guerrero's responsibility. In effect, of course, any such conditions as these would utterly prevent Guerrero from retiring: it being out of the question that a successor of his own calibre would even think of living in Seville without a formal chapter appointment. Fortunately for Guerrero, some of his own former choirboys have now risen to membership of the chapter; his devoted friends among the other members are many; and, best of all, Cardinal de Castro is his warm admirer.<sup>264</sup> His petition therefore overrides the major-domo's protest. The latter—unable to prevent Guerrero's petition from succeeding—then speaks out against the chapter's appointment only the week previously of a new sopranoist, Juan de Haro, at an annual salary of 100,000 maravedis and 50 fanegas of wheat. He threatens to “contradict and appeal” the chapter's decision, “because the cathedral already has four sopranoists, which are enough”; and, moreover, “the new sopranoist's voice is not so excellent as it ought to be.” Finally, he declares, the cathedral treasury cannot stand the strain of so many new salaries. If the chapter does not reconsider, he promises to carry his appeal up to the pope himself.

October 6: Farfán still acts as Guerrero's assistant in charge of choirboys,<sup>265</sup> but on December 19 Alejandro de la Serna succeeds him—he being the same singer who had inherited them from Farfán in 1580.<sup>266</sup>

November 26: Bartolomé de Espinosa is received as *bajón*-player at a salary of 82,000 maravedis plus 60 fanegas.<sup>267</sup> He succeeds Alvánchez, and is to serve every day with the other instrumentalists “at the choir-book-stand.” A few weeks later the chapter grants him leave and travel money to bring his wife from Segovia.<sup>268</sup>

1587 February 4: the chapter meets to consider the major-domo's demand that Juan de Haro, sopranoist, be dismissed. The chapter not only votes to retain him

<sup>258</sup> *A. C.*, 1586–1587, fol. 51<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 55<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 59.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 62<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>262</sup> *Quadernos* [1586–1587], fol. 60. Gestoso y Pérez, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 353, records further interesting details. In 1592 the chapter guaranteed López 250 ducats for repairs on the large organ. These repairs were still going forward in 1593, during which year López's assistant was a certain Enrique Franco of Cádiz. Coming so soon after completion of the organ, these repairs might seem to indicate Jox's faulty workmanship. However, major repairs were a recurring expense in all the larger Spanish cathedrals during this century. On average, the Toledo chapter, for instance, was obliged to spend large sums every dozen years from 1550 to 1600 for the overhauling of the large organ built by Juan Gaytán (1549).

<sup>263</sup> *Quadernos* [1586–1587], fols. 58<sup>v</sup>–59.

<sup>264</sup> Pacheco, *op. cit.*, fol. 94<sup>v</sup> (line 33). Considering Cardinal de Castro's own superior musical background see fol. 92<sup>v</sup> (line 12). While still bishop of Zamora he accepted the dedication of Francisco Salinas's *De musica libri septem* (Salamanca: M. Gastius, 1577), probably underwriting at least a part of the printing expenses. For biographical details, see Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, “Un informe sobre el estado de la Sede hispalense en 1581,” *Hispana Sacra*, vi, 11 (1953), 182 (especially n. 5).

<sup>265</sup> *Quadernos* [1586–1587], fol. 63<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>266</sup> *A. C.*, 1586–1587, fol. 82.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 77.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 85.



but one canon even suggests that the sum of 200 ducats be given Haro should he voluntarily leave Seville in order to escape the major-domo's harassment.<sup>269</sup>

Ten days later, Serna is confirmed as Farfán's successor.<sup>270</sup>

Guerrero's request that a new book of motets be copied on vellum at cathedral expense (perhaps those he is to publish at Venice in 1589) wins chapter approval on February 26.<sup>271</sup>

Monday, May 11: a commission of five chaptermembers is instructed to sit with Guerrero.<sup>272</sup> Working as a team they are to draw up a written memorial outlining the duties of the new master, who is to be named when Guerrero's superannuation becomes effective. This same commission is delegated to start an immediate search for boys with fine voices. All prospects shall be auditioned by the assembled chapter prior to their appointment.

The chapter having decided that this time the submaster shall not automatically enjoy the right of succession held by Guerrero when Fernández de Castilleja died, the difficulty of finding a submaster is somewhat increased. On August 14 the chapter sends an invitation to Sebastián de Vivanco, a native of Ávila, who is "chapelmaster at Segovia." He is assured that he will be paid his traveling expenses if he does not decide to stay. He is moreover urged to bring with him "two or three boys with outstanding voices."<sup>273</sup>

Friday, September 18: the chapter recommends purchase of Victoria's *Motecta Festorum Totius anni* [Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1585], which shall then be bound in boards, "placed among the other music books, and not handed over to the instrumentalists."<sup>274</sup> Evidently it is the custom to hand over new books to the shawmers and sackbut players, but Victoria's motets are to be treated as an exception.

October 7: the chapter is ready to crystallize its invitation to Vivanco. He will be paid 500 ducats plus 90 fanegas of wheat, but he will be a *substituto del Maestro Guerrero sin futura sucession*.<sup>275</sup> His appointment shall terminate when Guerrero dies, or sooner if the chapter so pleases. He is again urged to bring along from Segovia "two or three boys with exceptional voices."

**1588** Friday, January 29: Guerrero is voted a payment of 300 reales (10,200 maravedís) for books that he has

presented, and which are now to be bound in calf and placed in the cathedral archive.<sup>276</sup>

Wednesday, February 10: all incompetent singers in the cathedral are warned that they must immediately begin to improve themselves or be fined. Regularly scheduled practice hours shall be announced, and all incompetents must attend. No one shall henceforth sing anything by way of a solo except those whose names the dean communicates to Guerrero.<sup>277</sup> Ten days later, the dean and chapter decide that a procession with sung litany shall be undertaken through the cathedral cloisters in order to invoke blessings upon the Armada gathering at the moment in Lisbon harbor<sup>278</sup> (sailed against England on May 18).

Monday, February 29: Vivanco has arrived, and the choirboys are delivered to his keeping.<sup>279</sup> He requests an advance for the purpose of renting a house plus something extra for his moving expenses. With him he has brought only one choirboy; and that one now wishes to go home to Castile. Four days later (March 3), Vivanco is voted a loan of 200 ducats upon surety and a gift of 30 ducats for his unforeseen expenses to date.<sup>280</sup> However, only a little over a week later (Saturday, March 12) he petitions for money to take him back home to Ávila.<sup>281</sup> The next Thursday, the chapter accommodates him with 100 ducats.<sup>282</sup> On Saturday, March 26, after Vivanco has been lured back to his home town, the Sevillian chapter requests Farfán to resume control of the choirboys.<sup>283</sup>

Cardinal de Castro having been invited to visit Rome, Guerrero petitions to go in his train. During a stopover at court, Guerrero "kisses His Majesty's hand" and receives permission to proceed directly to Venice to oversee publication of his compositions.<sup>284</sup> He boards ship at Cartagena, disembarks at Genoa, and passes thence to Venice.<sup>285</sup> After a week in Venice, he sails on August 14 for the Holy Land. He visits the sacred sites in Palestine and Syria, regains Venice on January 9, 1589, and after a six-week stopover proceeds home by way of Marseilles and Barcelona. His trip is filled with dramatic episodes that are to be vividly narrated in his forthcoming travel book, *Viage de Hierusalem* (1590).

<sup>269</sup> *Quadernos* [1586-1587], fol. 105<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>270</sup> *A. C.*, 1586-1587, fol. 92<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 95.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 107.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 122<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>274</sup> *Quadernos* [1586-1587], fol. 160.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 165.

<sup>276</sup> *A. C.*, 1588-1589, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 7.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 8.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 9<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 10.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 11.

<sup>284</sup> Pacheco, *op. cit.*, fol. 94<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>285</sup> Mitjana, *Francisco Guerrero*, p. 45.



**1589** August 9: Guerrero having returned for duty, the chapter decides that Farfán shall continue to board and lodge the choirboys and that Guerrero's urgent petition for more money—even if he has to resume boarding and lodging the choirboys—be denied.<sup>286</sup> On Friday, September 22, however, the chapter does agree to his sleeping at nights in a private room inside the cathedral.<sup>287</sup>

**1590** Francisco Peraza having departed without leave, the chapter votes on June 27 to revoke his prebend and for other just causes to stop his salary as of the day he left Seville.<sup>288</sup> In due time he returns, however, and is reinstated.

November 28: Farfán—in charge of the choirboys during the past two and a half years—again quits.<sup>289</sup> Guerrero eagerly offers to take the choirboys back because of his penury. The chapter on December 7 proposes restoring to him the other half of the chapelmaster's prebend which he relinquished six years earlier. In addition he shall receive a cost-of-living allowance of an extra 150 ducats with 40 fanegas of wheat. He shall now again “board, lodge, clothe, and teach” the choirboys in his own house. The dean at once contradicts the “extra 150 ducats,” saying it should be an “extra 100”—Farfán having received only the extra 100 ducats as cost-of-living allowance.<sup>290</sup>

**1591** Guerrero's attentions to the choirboys, however, prove extremely inadequate. Now in his sixty-third year, he is too old for the task of wet-nursing any half-dozen or more squirming choirboys. On August 21 the chapter votes to take them away from him, even though he sorely needs the money.<sup>291</sup> Some other master is to be found. At best, Guerrero shall continue to be one of their teachers. Andrés de Jacomar—former choirboy,<sup>292</sup> now a member of the chapter—is delegated to write Alonso Lobo, a canon in the collegiate church at Osuna who simultaneously serves as chapelmaster, inviting him to take charge of the choirboys for the same sum formerly paid Farfán.

On the same day, the chapter learns that Guerrero's debts have finally overwhelmed him and that he is now in prison for sums owed at Rome, backed by Sevillian

guarantors.<sup>293</sup> This particular debt was incurred in 1584 for the printing of his *Liber vespertinum* (dedicated to the Sevillian chapter). The chapter deposes a canon named Pedro de Santander to find out how Guerrero fares in his dark and miserable debtors' prison; to find out just how much he owes; and to see what, if any, money can be eked from his prebend to bail him out. On Monday, August 26, the chapter learns that he owes 200 ducats; and thereupon authorizes Pedro de Santander to pay off the debt so that he can be released from prison.<sup>294</sup> Two days later the chapter appoints a three-member committee whose duty it shall be to see that all legal processes against Guerrero are stopped before they hand over the cash to his impatient creditors. Upon further investigation the committee discovers the total sum to be 280, not 200 ducats. By an open vote taken in the chapter meeting of September 2, it is decided to pay off the whole amount, which equals 105,000 maravedís.<sup>295</sup> For the moment this sum is listed simply as “remuneration for services.” On September 9, however, the committee of three is instructed to draw up an agreement with Guerrero: the implication being that he shall now attempt to repay the chapter.<sup>296</sup>

Alonso Lobo on September 2 is confirmed as master of the boys at 400 ducats a year plus 80 fanegas of wheat—this being what Farfán had received.<sup>297</sup> Jacomar and the *chantre* are to attend to all details connected with the transfer of the boys. On November 29 Lobo is authorized to conduct while Guerrero is on leave.<sup>298</sup> Lobo is also allowed to wear a mantle in recognition of the fact that while at Osuna he was a canon. He shall accompany the choirboys whenever they arrive or leave the cathedral.

November 11: the large organ needs repairing.<sup>299</sup> On January 5, 1594, the chapter forbids anyone to mount to the console without the chapter's express permission.<sup>300</sup>

**1593** Alonso Lobo is elected chapelmaster at Toledo on September 22 and installed on December 3.<sup>301</sup>

<sup>293</sup>Since the debt had been incurred for the publication of his *Liber vespertinum*—a volume dedicated to the Sevillian chapter—he justly expected aid from the chapter toward liquidating it. A badly worn copy of this very book remained as late as 1960 the proudest polyphonic possession of Lima Cathedral (Peru).

<sup>294</sup>A. C., 1590–1591, fol. 70<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>295</sup>Act printed in Elústiza, *Estudios*, p. 198.

<sup>296</sup>A. C., 1590–1591, fol. 74.

<sup>297</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 72.

<sup>298</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 87.

<sup>299</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 84<sup>v</sup>. See also note 262 above.

<sup>300</sup>A. C., 1594–1595–1596, fol. 1.

<sup>301</sup>Rubio Piqueras, *Música y músicos toledanos*, pp. 58–59.

<sup>286</sup>A. C., 1588–1589, fol. 60<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>287</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 65.

<sup>288</sup>A. C., 1590–1591, fol. 23.

<sup>289</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 38<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>290</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 39<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>291</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 69<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>292</sup>Concerning Jacomar's choirboy service, see May 25, 1565, in the chronological table.



- 1594 Francisco Peraza, reinstated at Seville, is on January 7 granted leave to visit Sanlúcar de Barrameda (above Cádiz) until January 31.<sup>302</sup>
- January 24: some 1,800 clergy and professed religious accompany the remains of Don Gonzalo de Mena, former archbishop of Seville (d. 1401), from the cathedral to a new resting-place across the river—the Convento de las Cuevas. During the procession, Guerrero's psalms and hymns composed especially for the occasion make a thrilling impression.<sup>303</sup>
- February 9: Guerrero borrows another 200 ducats from the chapter.<sup>304</sup> On May 25 this sum is called a gift. On May 27 the chapter—realizing that he cannot live on any mere 300 ducats a year—decides to raise his salary to 400 ducats, beginning in 1595.<sup>305</sup>
- Alexandro de la Serna, *contralto*, is sent away to scout for new boys with fine voices on July 20.<sup>306</sup> Two months later (September 26) he has located two prospects.
- October 19: another member of the Peraza clan—Gerónimo by name (perhaps a nephew of his namesake who is organist at Toledo)—is appointed to be suborganist at Seville.<sup>307</sup>
- 1595 Francisco Peraza on February 14 is granted leave of absence from Seville until Easter.<sup>308</sup> On July 28 the chapter decides that he ought to reduce the number of his engagements elsewhere.<sup>309</sup>
- 1596 March 21: the chapter informs Peraza that he exceeds his rights when he sallies forth with bands of pilgrims bound for local saints' celebrations. Should he desire to attend a *romería*, he must ask permission of the chapter.<sup>310</sup> He goes to these affairs as if a pilgrim himself, but always ends by displaying his digital prowess. However, to mollify him, the chapter votes on April 22 to raise his salary.<sup>311</sup>
- June 28: Diego Sánchez—already a chaplain in the cathedral—is named temporary custodian of the choirboys (*seises*) but on November 27 wins permanent appointment as master of the altar boys (*mozos de coro*).<sup>312</sup> He continues as master of the altar boys until
- July 1, 1598: his successor (named on July 13, 1598) is Pedro Suárez.<sup>313</sup>
- November 29: the chapter starts searching for a new master of the choirboys. The appointment shall continue in effect only until Guerrero's death. The opening shall be advertised publicly, but not outside Andalusia. The towns to which notice shall be posted are Granada, Cordova, Jaén, Ubeda, and Baeza.<sup>314</sup>
- 1597 Although the chapter would like to hold the position open a little longer in the hope of attracting better competitors, a scheduled competition is held on January 10 from which Gil de Ávila emerges the victor.<sup>315</sup>
- January 24: the chapter gives Francisco Peraza permission to attend a *romería* at the famous Jeronymite monastery of Guadalupe (Extremadura).<sup>316</sup>
- March 4: Gil de Ávila, new master of the choirboys, borrows 500 reales (17,000 maravedís) from the chapter. But the chapter's misgivings are borne out. On September 15, Juan Vaca—perhaps the same as the singer rebuked by the chapter on September 17, 1567—is named master of choirboys to succeed Gil de Ávila.<sup>317</sup>
- 1598 Francisco Peraza dies on June 24, aged only thirty-four.<sup>318</sup>
- September 9: Juan de Vargas succeeds Andrés López as teaching assistant in polyphonic music.<sup>319</sup>
- 1599 January 11: the chapter makes Guerrero a last gift—this time of 100 ducats. On May 14 he is allowed a one-year leave of absence to revisit Rome.
- May 14: Alexandro [de la Serna], being worn out with age, is dispensed from coming to the cathedral except when he feels able to do so.<sup>320</sup> On the same day Pedro Guerrero—possibly a nephew—is engaged as a *contrabajo* (bass): his salary is to be 200 ducats and 36 bushels of wheat.<sup>321</sup>

<sup>302</sup> A. C., 1594-1595-1596, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>303</sup> Francisco de Ariño, *Sucesos de Sevilla de 1592 á 1604*, pp. 18-19, 159.

<sup>304</sup> A. C., 1594-1595-1596, fol. 5.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 16.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 25.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 37<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 53<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 83<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 86<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 94<sup>v</sup>, 112. See also Elústiza-Castrillo, *op. cit.*, page xxi.

<sup>313</sup> A. C., 1597-1598, fols. 78, 80.

<sup>314</sup> A. C., 1594-1595-1596, fol. 112<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>315</sup> A. C., 1597-1598, fol. 2.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 40<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>318</sup> Pacheco, *op. cit.*, fol. 93.

<sup>319</sup> *Quadernos de Autos Capitulares Antiguos. Años de 1599. 1600. 1601. 1602. 1603. 1604. 1605. 1606.*, fol. 33. (The entry in this instance is a cumulative salary record.)

<sup>320</sup> A. C., 1599-1600-1601-1602, fol. 18<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.* In the Elústiza-Castrillo *Antología musical* at page liii is to be seen the suggestion that the Pedro Guerrero who was Francisco's elder brother returned from Rome to occupy a singer's post in Seville Cathedral. Elústiza confessed, however, that he did not know the date of the said Pedro's engagement as singer in Seville Cathedral. It seems quite possible that he somewhere saw a reference to the *contrabajo* engaged in 1599





One of the periodic outbreaks of plague devastates Seville in the late summer. On September 1 “the plague has not abated” and cathedral business is disrupted.<sup>322</sup> Guerrero, having delayed his departure, falls ill. On Wednesday, November 3, his death is expected and the chapter votes to accord him the honors of a prebendary at interment.<sup>323</sup> On Monday, November 8, decision is taken that he shall be buried in the Antigua chapel of the cathedral with a novena “because of his services.” On Wednesday, November 10, the singers are authorized to celebrate a Requiem Mass in his honor at the conclusion of the daily office.<sup>324</sup>

December 20: Andrés López is recalled to replace Juan de Vargas as teaching assistant in polyphony. He shall also become interim conductor, his salary to be 40,000 maravedís plus 36 fanegas of wheat annually.<sup>325</sup>

1600 Candidates of sufficient worth having failed to offer themselves for the vacant chapelmastership, the chapter twice (April 26 and May 17) prorogues the competition. On September 22 Ambrosio Cotes wins the post.<sup>326</sup> He causes trouble, however, and to the great relief of the chapter is soon (1604) succeeded by the famous Alonso Lobo who served Toledo Cathedral as chapelmaster from 1593 to 1604.

## GUERRERO'S PERSONALITY

No known portrait of Victoria survives, but of Guerrero there exists a likeness painted by Francisco Pacheco,<sup>327</sup> the father-in-law of Velázquez. To accompany the portrait, Pacheco wrote a biographical summary that adds materially to our knowledge of Guerrero's later years. According to Pacheco:<sup>328</sup>

The regard and appreciation which everyone—the highest nobility included, and particularly Cardinal de Castro—bestowed on Guerrero was made manifest in many ways. The cardinal knew that he was in the habit of spending most of the income from his prebend in works of charity and therefore wished him to dine at his own table. But the cathedral was Guerrero's habitation day and night, and the most that Guerrero would accept were dinners sent each evening from the archiepiscopal palace after the

and thenceforth confused the two Pedros. The Pedro Guerrero mentioned in the act of May 14, 1599, later transferred from Seville to Toledo.

<sup>322</sup> *A. C.*, 1599–1600–1601–1602, fol. 28<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 33<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 34<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 37.

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 53.

<sup>327</sup> *Libro de descripción*, no. 48.

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 94<sup>v</sup>–95.



Francisco Pacheco's likeness of Francisco Guerrero is surmounted with an excerpt from Ecclesiasticus 47.11: *Et stare fecit cantores contra altarium et in sono eorum dulces fecit modos* (“And he [David] set singers before the altar, and by their voices he made sweet melody,” Douay translation). Alone among the chief Spanish composers of his century Guerrero was a first-class painter's subject. Pacheco identified Guerrero's father, Gonçalo Sánchez Guerrero, as a painter.

doors of the cathedral were closed, and delivered through a small aperture filed in one of the iron screens that protect the lower windows of the cathedral.

In every respect he was the most outstanding musician of his epoch. His compositions were so numerous that for every day of his long life there exist several handwritten pages. His works always made an impressive sound, and the voice parts always fuse agreeably. He wrote a great quantity of Masses, Magnificats, and Psalms—among the last-named an *In exitu Israel de Aegypto* [*Liber vesperarum* (1584), folios 12<sup>v</sup>–18] which those who are best informed declare he must have composed while swept aloft in contemplative ecstasy.

Pacheco next refers to Guerrero's printed motets, singling out the *Ave Virgo sanctissima* for special praise. He claims that no one is able to move the listener with a *Pange lingua* like Guerrero. The fame of Guerrero has travelled everywhere, avers Pacheco—who may well have known of the Nuremberg reprints. Hardly a church in Christendom lacks



his works or fails to appreciate them, continues Pacheco. Of his personality, Pacheco writes:

He was a man of wide sympathies and understanding, always affable and patient with his musical subordinates. His presence was dignified and imposing, his conversation and public discourse beautiful to hear. Above all, he was charitable to the poor. . . . He indeed gave so freely of his own clothing and shoes that he was often on the point of going barefoot himself. . . . Shortly before his death he proposed to make a second pilgrimage to the Holy Land. But God choosing to reward him betimes took him from this life in his 72d year and in the 44th of his chapelmastership [1554-1599]. His death was enviable in every respect: his last words being those of Psalm 121 [= 122]: "I rejoiced, because they said unto me, We shall go into the house of the Lord."

The chapter honored him with greater tokens of respect than any of his predecessors and agreed that he should be buried in the Antigua Lady Chapel: his priestly garments being covered with the palmer's weed that had been sewn for him to wear during his second trip to Palestine. Above his resting-place was inscribed on stone an epitaph in Spanish. . . . Not the least of his distinctions was the honor conferred upon him by Gioseffo Zarlino, chapelmaster of Venice, when he called him "the most eminent of all musicians whom he had heretofore known." At his death Jacome Barbosa, the renowned Portuguese poet, wrote a Latin poetic eulogy, which translated into the vernacular . . . reads as follows.

Pacheco then gives a 45-line Spanish translation of Barbosa's Latin eulogy: which amidst many classical allusions voices the not unwarranted claim that Guerrero's music is "known from the English Channel to faraway Isthmuses." Since repertory lists found at Mexico City Cathedral assure us that his works were being already sung there during Hernando Franco's régime as chapelmaster (1575-1585),<sup>329</sup> it is reasonable to suppose that they may also have been sung at Panamá—which was founded as early as 1519, and before 1600 was one of the wealthiest cities in the Spanish empire. Cuba so rang with his praises the year after Jamestown was founded that Silvestre de Balboa's Cuban poem *Espejo de Paciencia* (1608) ends with a stanza making Guerrero Orpheus's only worthy competitor. In the cathedral

<sup>329</sup>Lota M. Spell, "Music in the Cathedral of Mexico in the Sixteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, xxvi, 3 (Aug., 1946), 317. See also note 293 above. In 1960 Cuzco Cathedral still counted among her musical treasures the *Missae sex* that concludes with Gery de Ghersem's parody Mass based on Guerrero's *Ave Virgo sanctissima*.

music archive at Lima, a worn copy of Guerrero's *Liber vesperarum* (Rome: 1584) still survives today, with inked annotations that attest his continuing fame in distant Peru to the end of the eighteenth century.

Moreover his music was hand copied as late as 1760 for current use in Lima Cathedral. Arndt von Gavel in his *Investigaciones musicales de los archivos coloniales en el Perú* (Lima: Asociación Artística y Cultural "Jueves," 1974), pages 1-9, published the *Et exultavit* and *Quia fecit* verses of Guerrero's *Magnificat secundi toni* (followed by a *Gloria Patri* adapted to the music of *Et exultavit*). He based his transcription on a ca. 1760 manuscript copy (facsimile of the contralto manuscript part at Von Gavel's page 9). These verses occur in the 1584 *Liber vesperarum*, at folios 101<sup>v</sup>-102, 102<sup>v</sup>. The ca. 1760 hand copy lacks a composer ascription. As an anonymous composition, it was therefore issued at Lima in 1971 in an album entitled *Música Sacra de la Época Colonial en el Perú* (Virrey DVS-728 Stereo). Not knowing Guerrero to be the composer, the reviewer "J.N." writing in *La Mañana* (Lima) of December 10, 1971, categorized it as a late eighteenth-century composition of "powerful emotional qualities, that made the listener recall the great Baroque masters" ("de poderosa emotividad . . . que también hace recordar las páginas de los grandes maestros barrocos" [*Revista Musical Chilena*, xxviii/128, October-December 1974, p. 103]).

#### OTHER NEW WORLD DISPERSALS

Bogotá Cathedral outdistances all other cathedral archives in the Americas by possessing Guerrero's *Missarum liber secundus* (Rome: Domenico Basa [Francesco Zanetto], 1582). Although the only leaf missing is the title page, this magnificent 140-leaf volume shows signs of heavy use and is not preserved in nearly such perfect condition as the copy belonging to the library of Paris Conservatoire (housed at the Bibliothèque nationale). The four-voice Masses are frequently mended; and of these the *De beata Virgine* at fols. 107<sup>v</sup>-119 gives evidences of having been the most frequently sung.

So far as manuscript copies go: the Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo Choirbook at Bogotá, pages 110-117, contains a copy of Guerrero's *Salve Regina*, a 4; this was published first at Venice in his



*Motteta* of 1570, thereafter at Venice in his 1589 *Mottecta* and 1597 *Motecta* and at Rome in his 1584 *Liber vesperarum* (see José M.<sup>a</sup> Llorens Cisteró, ed., *Francisco Guerrero (1528–1599) Opera omnia*, III [MME, xxxvi, 1978], pp. 65–71 and 120). Bogotá Cathedral music archive also boasts two other hand copied Guerrero motets—*Cantate Domino canticum novum*, a 5, and *Sancta Maria succurre miseris*, a 4, both of which were published in the 1570 and 1597 Venetian motet anthologies (see Robert Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* [Washington, D.C.: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1970], pp. 15–16).

In addition to twelve hymns a 4 copied from the 1584 *Liber vesperarum*, Guatemala Cathedral Choirbook IIa contains seven Magnificats—four even-verse (Tones II, IV, VI, VIII) and three odd-verse (Tones I, III, VII). At Puebla Cathedral, Choirbook v contains 21 hymns, 5 psalms, and 8 Magnificats (all verses, Tones I and II; odd, V and VIII; even, III, IV, VI, and VII). Puebla Choirbook XIX contains an additional 25 Guerrero items (including two secular favorites, *Esclarecida Juana* and *Prado ameno y florido*, listed in *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources*, pp. 211–213). Choirbook III contains his *Missa pro defunctis* (1582). Partbooks at Puebla inventoried in *Fontes artis musicae*, 1978/2 (April–June), 168–170, include (1) the printed 1570 *Motteta* and 1597 *Motecta*; (2) manuscript copies of 27 motets from the 1570 collection, 17 from the 1589, 3 from the 1597; and (3) the 1582 *Missa pro defunctis* (Kyrie–Non timebit–Sitivit anima mea–Libera animas–Lux eterna, with interpolations).

A somewhat less likely present habitat for manuscripts containing Guerrero's works was shown in Robert Stevenson's article, "Mexican Colonial Music Manuscripts Abroad," *Notes of the Music Library Association*, 29/2 (December 1972), 213–214, to be Chicago. In 1899 the Newberry Library at Chicago purchased six bound volumes of manuscript polyphony containing liturgical music by four Mexico City colonial chapelmasters (Hernando Franco, 1575–1585; Antonio Rodríguez de Mata, 1625–1643; Fabián Pérez Ximeno, 1648–1654; and Manuel de Zumaya, 1715–1739), as well as complementing Latin-text masterpieces by such pillars of Spanish Renaissance polyphony as Cristóbal de Morales, Francisco Guerrero, and Tomás Luis de Victoria. Originally copied for use by the choir of a rich colonial convent at Mexico City, these manu-

scripts are collectively catalogued Case VM 2147 C36. Volumes I, folios 55<sup>v</sup>–78, and IV, 48<sup>v</sup>–60, contain Guerrero's *Missa Saeculorum Amen*, a 4, first published at Venice in 1597. Volume IV, folios 17<sup>v</sup>–24, adds six Guerrero hymns from his 1584 *Liber vesperarum* but with texts updated to conform with Urban VIII's revised hymn texts of 1632.

#### "JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM"

Guerrero's account of his 1588–1589 trip to the Holy Land begins with a short autobiographical prologue. During his long life as chapelmaster he had continually harbored a desire to see Bethlehem, he says. Especially had he felt his urge at Christmases when he composed *chançonetas* and *villancicos* lauding Christ's birth. His trip in 1588 took him first to court in Cardinal de Castro's train. With the cardinal's permission he then proceeded independently to Venice. There, he tells us: "My first business . . . was to arrange for the printing of two music books [*Canciones y villanescas espirituales* and *Mottecta . . . liber secundus*]. When the printer told me that he would need more than five months I asked a friend: can I make a trip to Jerusalem in that length of time?"<sup>330</sup>

His friend told him that indeed such a trip would be possible: whereupon he found a ship. The fare amounted to five scudi for passage and seven for meals at the captain's table. Francisco Sánchez, one of his Sevillian pupils, accompanied him during the trip. Before their departure, Gioseffo Zarlino kindly offered to correct any proof that the printer might submit during his absence.<sup>331</sup>

Departing from Venice on August 14, 1588, they reached Jaffa thirty-seven days later. The longest stopover was at the Ionian isle of Zante where he heard a Greek Mass—several clergy and numerous laity assisting during the celebration. "Their chant is very simple and crude but they celebrate Mass devoutly and with many ceremonies," remarked Guerrero. He found it surprising that the Greeks knelt before the consecration.<sup>332</sup>

In Jerusalem his touring party was escorted by

<sup>330</sup> *Viage de Hierusalem*, p. 5.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*: "Tomando à su cuenta la coreccion de la Estampa el Maestro Joseph Zerlino, Maestro de Capilla de San Marcos."

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.



an Italian-speaking Franciscan who had spent two decades in Palestine and whose advice to his travelers included such homely items as this: refrain from coughing or spitting; otherwise the Moslems will think you are ridiculing them. The friars in procession sang a *Te Deum*. At both Jerusalem and Bethlehem, Guerrero confesses that: "As a musician I had a burning desire to bring together all the best musicians from over the whole world—singers and instrumentalists—so that they could unite in singing a thousand songs."<sup>333</sup>

After a month in Jerusalem he visited Damascus, "a city slightly smaller than Seville but with four hundred mosques." During the journey he ate only bread and grapes. A drunk Janizary on horseback rode by and slit open a Turk's head, "and would doubtless have liked doing the same to me, but I got away." At Damascus, where he remained five days, his host was the Venetian consul.<sup>334</sup>

Upon regaining Venice (January 9, 1589), he found hospitality in the house of a Spanish singer employed by the signiory, Antonio Ribera,<sup>335</sup> who treated him "as a member of the family." He spent a month and a half in correcting proof; then departed for Genoa whence he took ship for Marseilles. Shortly after sailing from Marseilles, where he spent Holy Week, the ship was forced into a cove by bad weather. Their ship was soon joined by a vessel manned by ruffians who robbed them at harquebuspoint and imprisoned Guerrero with six other passengers in a nearby fortress. After three days one resourceful prisoner offered the captain's wife a bribe. At first the ransom of 100 scudi was demanded from each prisoner, but Guerrero was eventually released upon payment of only 25 scudi. Their ship then put to sea again but a second time ran afoul of pirates. In the course of the fight to ward them off, Guerrero this time vowed to visit Montserrat.<sup>336</sup>

After paying his vow when the ship touched Barcelona, Guerrero thence proceeded overland to Seville, stopping en route at Valencia, Murcia, and Granada. "The distance of the outward journey was 1,400 leagues, that of the return by way of Damas-

cus 1,600. . . . But I declare for a matter of sober fact that in all our journey, which took us among Turks, Moors, and Arabs, we never encountered molestation nor harm, except in France."

Guerrero, like Encina (1519), inserts lengthy catalogues of biblical scenes. Both dwell on any small detail of peculiar interest to Spaniards. Guerrero, for instance, itemizes Spanish gifts sent to St. Saviour's monastery. Both disappoint a modern reader who hopes to find either of them a kindred spirit with Salinas. Apart from a few scanty and unsympathetic references, such as the one in which Guerrero calls Greek chant *simple è ignorante*, nothing of ethnomusical moment is to be found in his prose narrative, anymore than in Encina's poetic account. That Guerrero's account, on the other hand, achieved its end is proved by the large number of reprints it enjoyed during the next century. As late as 1801 it was still in sufficiently wide demand to make profitable a commercial reprinting at Madrid.<sup>337</sup>

#### DIFFUSION OF GUERRERO'S MUSIC

Guerrero's compositions were dispersed in two principal ways during his lifetime. One method involved the preparation of beautiful manuscript copies, which were then presented either by Guerrero or by an agent to potentially interested individuals or organizations. The second method was publication. Lacking the advantage of long years in a pivotal center such as Rome, Guerrero had to bestir himself to see that his publications reached the hands of chapelmasters in significant cathedrals. His achievement seems all the more granitic when it is realized that he alone of Spanish composers who lived at home—not travelling abroad except for short tours—overcame all the problems inherent in his geographical isolation from international centers and music presses.

To consider first the dispersion of his music in manuscript copies. He began with presentations to his own chapter. As early as May 26, 1554, he was able to offer a luxurious manuscript copy of certain unnamed compositions to the Sevillian cabildo; and

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74. Samuel Rubio suggested that this may have been the Antonio Ribera to whom the Mystery of Elche music should rightfully be attributed.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>337</sup> For a partial bibliography of later reprints, see *HSMS*, Vol. II, p. iv. See also Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Autobiografías y memorias* (Madrid: Lib. ed. de Bailly-Bailliére é Hijos, 1905 [*Nueva Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, II]), pp. lv-lvi.



was duly rewarded with a cash payment.<sup>338</sup> The copyist may have been Rodrigo de Ceballos, who was engaged on the previous October 7 (1553) to prepare “two or three new choirbooks.” Or it may well have been Guerrero himself: who came, it will be remembered, of a family in which painting was a profession.

Sometime between February 3, 1557, and September 21, 1558, he presented a manuscript copy of certain masses he had composed, along with a book of his motets (perhaps his 1555 *Sacrae cantiones*) to the Emperor Charles V—then living in retirement at Yuste (in nearby Extremadura).<sup>339</sup> Charles, at whose request fourteen or fifteen of the best musicians in the Jeronymite order had been transferred to the cloister at Yuste, called for the singing of one of the presentation masses. An alert listener who could readily tell when a singer erred, and the kind of amateur who liked to beat time with his own hand during a performance, Charles immediately recognized certain borrowed passages in the new mass of Guerrero. It is not likely that any of the friars, on the other hand, had heard much foreign polyphony. At all events, none was so tactless as to claim that he had recognized some chanson or madrigal as Guerrero’s source. Instead, they were willing to allow Charles the joy of discovery; when the emperor spoke out they all united in admiring his vast musical knowledge.

Guerrero ranged widely in his choice of models—his *Congratulamini mihi*, for instance, having been parodied after Guillaume Le Heurteur’s five-voice motet of that name,<sup>340</sup> and his *Della batalla escoutez* after Janequin’s *Bataille de Marignan*,<sup>341</sup>

<sup>338</sup> A. C., 1553–1554, fol. 149.

<sup>339</sup> Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos del emperador Carlos V* (Pamplona: Bartholomé Paris, 1614), II, 828 (col. 2). Sandoval, bishop of Pamplona, said he had enjoyed Guerrero’s personal acquaintance.

<sup>340</sup> Reprinted in *Treize livres de motets parus chez Pierre Attaignant en 1534 et 1545*, ed. by A. Smijers (Paris: Éditions de l’Oiseau Lyre, 1936), Vol. III, p. 104.

<sup>341</sup> Janequin’s own *Missa La Bataille* (Lyons: Jacques Moderne, 1532; repr. Paris: Salabert, 1947 [ed. by Henry Expert]) seems to have been the only French parody. In Spain, Morales was perhaps the first to compose a *Batalla*—now apparently lost (unless the anonymous *Batalla* Mass at pages 260–279 is his in *olim* Biblioteca Medinaceli MS 607 [March Library, R. 6832 = 682]). In 1626 Correa de Arauxo in his *Facultad orgánica* (MME, VI, 129–137) published a *tiento* based on Morales’s *Batalla*. However, the best proof of the long vogue of the

and his *Dormendo un giorno* after Verdelot’s madrigal *Dormend’un giorn’a Bai*.<sup>342</sup> Modern exegetes happening upon the above-mentioned anecdote in Sandoval’s biography of Charles V have shown a curious tendency to apologize for Guerrero, as if he had been detected in some disgraceful thievery. But Bishop Sandoval, on the other hand, distinctly specifies the composition as having been a mass: not a motet. It is, of course, true (at least according to Sandoval) that Charles detected borrowings from more than one source. But even if the mass in question did parody more than one source, Guerrero had distinguished precedent for so doing. Morales before him had already shown the way in his *Benedicta es coelorum Regina* Mass, the sources having been both Mouton’s and Josquin’s motets of the same name. What is more, Victoria followed suit—parodying two different original antiphons of the same name in each of his two Marian masses, *Alma Redemptoris* and *Ave Regina* (1600).

The next presentation of which a record survives took Guerrero to Toledo: where he arrived toward the end of August, 1561, with two handsomely bound volumes in hand for delivery to the cathedral chapter. These were immediately shunted to the official cathedral copyist of liturgical books, who was requested to evaluate them with the chapter secretary.<sup>343</sup> In their report, which was ready on September 10, they declared that the books could be used because the plainchant quoted throughout conformed with Toledan usage. One book of 188 leaves had been copied on the finest paper purchasable and the other of 100 leaves on vellum; 70 splendid initials together with numerous illuminations in gold and in various colors embellished the leaves of the latter book. On September 12, the dean of Toledo Cathedral suggested that Guerrero, “chapelmaster of Seville Cathedral,” be rewarded for his pains with

chanson in Spain is to be found in the Guerrero, Victoria, and Esquivel parodies. Ximénez (see note 198 above) left two strongly indebted organ “battles.” The Janequin moreover continued a parody source in Spanish dominions even after 1608. See *Fontes artis musicae*, 1954/2, p. 77. For instance, as far away as Mexico City an organist named Fabián Ximeno (fl. 1648) was still at mid-century parodying the chanson in a *Missa De la batalla*, a 8. The many Spanish parodies ought to be assembled and studied as a group. Just as the many *L’Homme armé* masses are better understood when compared with each other, so also would be the Spanish *Batallas*.

<sup>342</sup> Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, p. 595.

<sup>343</sup> See above, note 81.



112,500 maravedís (300 ducats). The chapter secretary protested, claiming that Toledo “already possesses better polyphonic books than those which Francisco Guerrero has brought along and presented to us.” But the dean’s motion carried the day. On September 15, Guerrero signed a first receipt for 100 ducats. Shortly afterward he left Toledo. The remaining 200 ducats were forwarded to him at Seville, his second receipt being dated November 24. This transaction is important not only because one of these 1561 presentation copies—the vellum *Libro de Magnificat a cuatro voces*—survives today at Toledo as Codex 4;<sup>344</sup> but also because this type of unsolicited presentation was to become a Spanish chapelmaster’s accepted method of recovering costs of handwritten as well as published copies during the next half-century or more. In addition, the transaction throws welcome light on Guerrero’s relationship to Morales. He alludes to Morales so adroitly that at one and the same time he establishes himself and makes it hard for the Toledo chapter to refuse his books. After offering his Magnificats, he says, for instance, that he is moved to do so because Cristóbal de Morales, his erstwhile teacher whose fame now extends to the four corners of the earth on account of his supreme ability, “was while exercising his art amongst you treated with the greatest liberality.” He is moved to dedicate his compositions because the “example of his teacher” has taught him that any acceptance by the Toledo chapter is a guarantee of fame through all eternity. If evidence previously gathered has been correctly interpreted, Morales was not *liberalissime* received at Toledo. But Guerrero’s diplomacy, always untingered with guile, served him well in this instance as in many another to follow.

The next dated manuscript (1580) survives at Seville and consists of 68 vellum leaves. At folio 68<sup>v</sup> *Franciscus Guerrerus faciebat anno Domini 1.5.8.0.* appears as a colophon: giving reason to think that it may have been copied by Guerrero himself. This manuscript (beautifully lettered with Mudéjar-style initials) bears *Passionarium secundum quatuor Evangelistas . musicis modulis variatum* for its title and contains chordal settings of the turba parts in the four passions.<sup>345</sup>

If the Toledo chapter was slow to acknowledge the

<sup>344</sup>Rubio Piqueras, *Códices polifónicos toledanos*, pp. 18–20.

<sup>345</sup>Excerpts in Kade, *op. cit.*, pp. 153–157. See above, note 10.

magnificats presented in 1561, their reaction some thirty years later was on an entirely different cast. Not only during the intervening years had Guerrero’s fame spread far and wide but also copies of his 1570 motets printed at Venice—and endorsed by Pope Pius V—had been purchased on the recommendation of Ginés de Boluda, currently the chapelmaster at Toledo. Best of all, Cardinal de Castro in 1592 personally intervened with a letter to the Toledo primate and cardinal, Don Gaspar de Quiroga. Cardinal de Quiroga’s letter of reply survives and deserves quotation:<sup>346</sup>

Most Reverend and beloved brother: We have received your kind letter of the 6th instant [May 6, 1592]. The polyphonic books that Guerrero sent have now reached Toledo Cathedral and have been deposited; 2,384 reales [81,056 maravedís] will be paid for them from cathedral funds, that being the amount that you graciously say represents the whole cost of having prepared them. May Our Lord guard your Reverence many years.

G. Cardinalis Toletanus  
Madrid, May 9, 1592

The Toledan cardinal’s letter speaks of *libros de canto*. Guerrero had sent two such books copied on vellum, their contents being ten masses. Francisco Sánchez, who had made the 1588–1589 journey to the Holy Land with him, personally undertook the trip to Toledo in order to present these masses.<sup>347</sup> Ginés de Boluda (chapelmaster from March 14, 1581, until succeeded by Alonso Lobo on September 22, 1593) was the intermediary through whom the 2,164 reales authorized by Cardinal de Quiroga reached Guerrero. In addition, the Toledo chapter voted Francisco Sánchez 220 reales (7,480 maravedís) towards the cost of his journey.

Both these 1592 vellum manuscripts survive in the Toledo capitular library: the first as Codex 11 (six masses *a 4*) and the second as Codex 26 (four masses *a 5*).<sup>348</sup> Significantly, both codices contain only masses that had already been printed in 1566 and

<sup>346</sup>Cardinal de Castro not only interceded for Guerrero on this occasion but even addressed the primate on another occasion (September 10, 1582, in a letter written from Lisbon) asking for favors to Ginés de Boluda, chapelmaster of Toledo from March 14, 1581, to September 22, 1593. Castro, from the evidence presently at hand, interested himself more actively in the welfare of musicians than did any other contemporary Spanish prelate. Cf. note 264 above.

<sup>347</sup>Francisco Sánchez was Guerrero’s pupil. See Pacheco, *op. cit.*, fol. 94<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>348</sup>Rubio Piqueras, *Códices polifónicos toledanos*, pp. 27, 52.

**ILLUSTRISSIMO AC PRAESTANTISSIMO PRINCIPI, D.**  
Ludouico Christofo Pontio a Legionē, Duci Arcuēsi, Marchioni Zabare,  
Comiti de Casares, et Marchioni Dño &c. Franciscus Guerrero, S. D.



Vm superioribus diebus (illustrissime princeps) quosdā diuinis laudibus accom-  
modatos cātus typis excussos inuulgare statuissem, tu vnus ex ijs qui huiusmo-  
di delicijs se oblectarent, occurristi, cui non immerito vigilias meas dedicare. Vel  
ob id maxime, q̄ ab omnibus probatū iri, non dubitabā, quod tibi placuisse pu-  
taretur. Et (vt intelligo) gentile tibi est, residua a se r̄s rebus horas musicis imp-  
dere. Nam vt ceteros tue familie p̄claros viros p̄tereā, pater tuus vnicū nostrī  
seculi ornamentū, quanti se a primis annis in omnibus quę generosum principē  
decent, exercuerit, superuacaneū est commemorare. Nam p̄ter armoni bellica-  
rū q; rerū meditationes, eo in humanioribus studijs promouit, vt historias etiam  
latine stilo minime improbando scribere aggressus fuerit. Musicis etiā cōcētibus  
adeo delectabatur, vt non tantū alios scite et suauiter canētes frequēter audiret, sed et ipse apte et modulate ca-  
neret. Legerat enim summos heroes cōplures q; alios excellētis ingenij viros musicę arti plurimum tribuisse.  
Achillem q; ipsum ad cędes hominū natū musices suauitate demulsum irā et motus animi sedasse, atq; emergē-  
tes curas discussisse. Nec alio alleuamēto Alexandrū Macedonē recreatū fuisse, quoties de monarchia ingenti  
meditationū mole vrgeretur. Liberet mihi in tui patris laudibus diutius inmorari, nisi hęc p̄cipuā esse duce-  
rē, q̄ te talē tēq; ad magnas res obeūdas idoneū, ac plane suū mulē genuerit. Scio te (humanissime dux) earū  
artū studijs, quę sui appetētes humanissimi faciūt, teneri, accessit ad id doctissimo ac erudiēdē iuuentutis pe-  
ritissimo magistro Alfonso Methymneo. Qua propter nolim is haberi, qui te ab honesto pariter ac necessa-  
rio instituto, iniecta musices illecebra, auocare cupiā: alterū enim studiū alteri non obstat. Legimus Terpandri  
postā lyricū a Lacedemonijs, cū ciuili seditione laboraret, publico cōsilio accersitū, animos vulgi ac tumultū  
lyrę ac poeseos dulcedine sedauisse. Accipe igitur, dux illustrissime, hoc musicorum concentuum libellus,  
quibus succisuius horis animi egritudines excutias, quicūq; tibi Christoforum Morales, in quem maxima tua  
extant beneficia, in mentem reducant.

Vale.



Above the likeness of Luis Cristóbal Ponce de León, Guerrero's dedicatee, Pacheco placed the last half of I Machabees 3.4: *Similis factus est leoni in operibus suis et sicut catulus leonis rugiens in venatione* ("In his acts he was like a lion, and like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey"). According to Pacheco, he died during an assault on a mountain stronghold held by Moorish rebels.

1582. This fact of itself would strongly suggest that the printed editions (Paris: 1566; Rome: 1582) were exhausted as early as 1592. This supposition grows to a moral certainty when MS 110 in the Seville Cathedral music archive is discovered to contain masses already printed in 1566 and 1582. The date of Sevillian MS 110, which like MSS 11 and 26 at Toledo is luxuriously copied on vellum, is given on the flyleaf as 1595.<sup>349</sup>

To come now to Guerrero's nine publications. The first was issued in 1555 by the same Martín de

<sup>349</sup> Choirbook-size MS 110, luxuriously copied on vellum in 1595—a source not itemized in Higinio Anglés's "La música conservada en la Biblioteca Colombina y en la Catedral de Sevilla," *AM*, II (1947)—contains Alonso Lobo's *Petre ego pro te rogari* and *O Rex gloriae Masses* at folios 1<sup>v</sup>-16 and 46<sup>v</sup>-62. All three other masses are by Guerrero: *Dormendo un giorno* (1566), folios 30<sup>v</sup>-46, *Surge prospera amica mea* (1582), folios 62<sup>v</sup>-81, and *Saeculorum Amen* (1597), folios 16<sup>v</sup>-30.

Montesdoca<sup>350</sup> of Seville who had in 1554 printed what many scholars now concede to be premier among the seven known Spanish vihuela tablatures—Miguel de Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra*. Guerrero's *Sacrae cantiones* of 1555 appeared in five small but exquisite partbooks that by reason of their accuracy and beauty would do credit to a Scotto or a Gardano. The Latin dedication contains more information than is usually found in such formal epistles and may therefore profitably be paraphrased here:

To the most illustrious and excellent Don Luis Cristóbal Ponce de León [1518-1573], Duke of Arcos, Marquis of Zahara, Count of Casares, Lord of Marchena and other dependencies: greetings from Francisco Guerrero. Having sometime ago decided, most illustrious Sir, to publish certain songs suited for use during divine worship, I thought only of you among the many who delight in such pleasures as the lofty person to whom I should wish to dedicate the fruits of my vigils. First among the reasons for so desiring to dedicate these sacred songs was the knowledge that if you with your excellent taste approved, public approbation would necessarily follow. Then again I knew that it has been a long-honored custom in your family to devote such time as remained after serious pursuits, to the enjoyment of music. For, leaving out of account still earlier ancestors, no one needs to be reminded that your father<sup>351</sup> nurtured you from your earliest years in all those subjects that belong to the education of a truly noble prince such as you: who are now the ornament of this age. In addition to being a valiant warrior he was so consummate a scholar that he undertook narratives in Latin, the style of which is above censure. Moreover, he so enjoyed music that not only did he listen long and lovingly to skilled singers with beautiful voices but also he learned to sing himself in a very creditable manner. He was incited to pursue music by the examples of such renowned heroes of old as Achilles, who acknowledged its healing powers, and Alexander, who sought no other recreation from cares of state. I could go on with praises of your father but conclude with his having engendered so accomplished and courageous a prince as

<sup>350</sup> Although only three musical publications by Martín Montesdoca have been inventoried—namely, the Fuenllana of 1554, Guerrero of 1555, and Vásquez of 1556—each was epoch-making. He himself was an exceptionally enthusiastic amateur. For a comprehensive account of his career, see "Martín de Montesdoca: Spain's First Polyphonic Music Printer (1550's); Chantre in Guatemala Cathedral (1570's)," *IAMR*, XII/2 (Spring-Summer 1992). He knew Fuenllana personally, admired him extravagantly, and expended his utmost printer's art on the 1554 tablature.

<sup>351</sup> Rodrigo Ponce de León (succeeded to the title in 1492).





## Index quatuor vocum.

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v	Quasi cedrus	vi
vi	Que est ista	vii
vii	Ecce ascendimus	viii
viii	Gloriose Confessor: dni	ix
ix.	In illo tempore	x
x	Virgo prudentissima	xi
xi	Gabriel Archangelus.	xii
xii	Salve Regina	xiii
xiii	Regina Celi	xiiii
xiiii.	Dedisti domine.	

The above list at fol. \*3<sup>v</sup> of the Tenor partbook precedes Fernando de San Pedro's epigram decreeing the sweet solace (*dulce leuamen*) of Guerrero's vocal harmony (*vocum concordia*) to be the cure of every ill.

you, who are like him in every way. I well know, most learned Sir, how eagerly you pursue all those humane studies in which you were initiated by the erudite Greek preceptor of your youth, Alphonsus of Molyvo [island of Lesbos], and would not now entice you from these other studies did not I know that any after-hours spent with music will not interfere with them. Receive, then, most illustrious duke, these small songbooks with my best wishes that they may alleviate the sadness of any unoccupied hour, and in so doing recall to your mind Cristóbal de Morales, who received the greatest benefits at your hands. Farewell.

Copies of this, Guerrero's maiden publication, are now almost nowhere to be found. The Hispanic Society in New York possesses as one of its most valued treasures a complete set of the partbooks. These—unlike the *superius* and *tenor* partbooks of his 1570 motets owned by the same Society—are still in perfect condition, even as regards the original limp bindings. The importance of this treasure may be estimated from the fact that no other known exemplars have been brought to the New World. What is still more interesting is the fact that none of the following repositories possesses so much as a single partbook: British Library, Bibliothèque nationale, Biblioteca Nacional; not to mention libraries in Italy and Germany.

As for England, the 1555 partbooks are not in any known collection, public or private; nor are any later

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## PVGA

## FO. xvij

Dixit dominus Petra.	Ad vniſonam.	xviii
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The above index (Tenor, fol. 17) classifies the first eight motets a 5 as canonic (unison rising stepwise to the octave).

Guerrero partbooks or folios preserved in even so famous a library as the British Library or the Bodleian. Such lacunae in their otherwise admirable collections ought surely to be taken account of by anyone inclined to puzzle over the strange neglect of his masterworks in standard English reference manuals. True, Christ Church library at Oxford came into possession of two Guerrero motets before 1600;<sup>352</sup> but they easily escape attention because they are embedded in a copy of Victoria's *Motecta Fistorum Totius anni* (Rome: Domenico Basa, 1585)—this being, of course, the volume in which the younger honored the elder master by including his *Pastores loquebantur* and *Beata Dei genetrix*. So effectively, indeed, are these two motets buried amidst the Victoria motets that Aloys Hiff could publish his catalogue of printed music in Christ Church library (1919) without noticing Guerrero as the composer of the Christmas motet; and what he as a cataloguer missed, earlier historians can hardly be presumed to have noticed. Certainly, Burney and Hawkins should not be censured for neglecting Guerrero by comparison with Morales and Victoria, when neither historian enjoyed access to Guerrero's publications.

<sup>352</sup> Aloys Hiff, *Catalogue of Printed Music published prior to 1801 now in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford* (Oxford University Press: 1919), pp. 34, 71–72.



BASIS Tenoris, disparte. V

**D**um complerentur dies pentecostes, erit bonus pariter in eo  
 dem loco & hinc est repa de culofoma, rtaquiduenientis  
 spiritus vehementis, & repleuit totum domū ubi manseratis.  
 & apparuerunt illis dispersa haec dispersa lingua quae lo-  
 quuntur, & repleti sunt domus Spiritu Sancto, & ca

In his *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (1555), fol. 135<sup>v</sup>, col. 2, Juan Bermudo endorsed calling the lowest voice part *Basis*, not *bassus*. Guerrero followed suit not only in his 1555 *Sacrae cantiones* but again in his 1566 first book of masses. The *Dum complerentur Pentecost motet a 5* fittingly includes a canon between bass and tenor at the fifth (tenor enters at the *signum congruentiae*).

The second of Guerrero's published chefs-d'oeuvre, his *Canticum Beatae Mariae, quod Magnificat nuncupatur per octo musicae modos variatum* (1563), was published in the Low Countries rather than in the peninsula. For his choice of Pierre Phalèse at Louvain<sup>353</sup> as the printer instead of Montedoca of Seville, such reasons as these can be advanced: (1) Montedoca had printed only one choirbook of the *libro de facistol* type—Juan Vásquez's *Agenda defunctorum* (1556)—a small one at that (31.5 by 21 cm.); (2) any volume published by Phalèse, a renowned polyphonic specialist, could be depended upon to reach international markets more quickly and win wider fame for the composer.

Dedicated to Philip II, Guerrero's magnificats can by no means have been new, since they concord with those in the collection delivered to Toledo Cathedral in 1561. The dedication, unlike the preface to the Toledo manuscript copy, is impersonal and therefore much less interesting. In the main, Guerrero confines himself to praises of music. He ends with an appeal to Philip for protection of the sacred branches.

If F. J. Fétis was right in calling Guerrero's magnificats "one of the most precious collections of the old Spanish school," the next of his publications is certainly one of the most monumental—*Liber primus Missarum Francisco Guerrero Hispalensis Odei phonasco Authore* (Nicolas du Chemin: Paris,

<sup>353</sup> Alphonse Goovaerts, *Histoire et bibliographie de la typographie musicale dans les Pays-Bas* (Antwerp: Pierre Kockx, 1880), pp. 35–36, 230.

Octavi toni. 2.

Gloria patri & filio,  
 glo: ij  
 & spiritui sancto, ij & spiri-  
 tui sancto, ij ij

Donald W. Kummel's *Music Printing and Publishing* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1990), page 370, reproduces the above first four staves of the Gloria Patri, superior voice part, excerpted from Guerrero's *Canticum Beatae Mariae* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1563).

LIBER PRIMVS  
 Missarum Francisco Guerrero  
 Hispalensis Odei phonasco  
 Authore.

PARISIIS,  
 Ex typographia Nicolai du Chemin.  
 1566.  
 Cum priuilegio Regis.

In their "Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Nicolas du Chemin (1549–1576)," *Annales musicologiques*, 1 (1953), 268–373, F. Lesure and G. Thibault identify Guerrero's *Liber primus* as no. 83 among Du Chemin's 100 musical publications preceding his death in 1576.





ALTVS Superius. Indisperte. Secunda pars. PO. xxxvi

T dimitte nobis de bita nostra ij. ij. de bita nostra ij. sicut & nos sicut & nos dimitti mus debi toribus nostris. Ex ne nos indu cas in ten ta tionem, sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

ALTVS 2º. Francisci Guerrero. clvj.

T dimitte no bis de bi ta nostra ij. de bita no bis de bita nostra ij. sicut & nos sicut & nos dimit ti mus de bi to ribus no stris. Et ne nos indu cas ij. inten ca ti o nem. Sed li be ra nos a ma lo. A men.

In the second part of the Lord's Prayer the Du Chemin print divides the semibreve that is the eleventh note in the Montesdoca print into two minims. Otherwise, note values are the same. However, different word-placement is occasionally suggested. Which-ever is adopted, Guerrero never succumbed to the Palestrinian rule forbidding a new syllable after running crotchets (original time-values). Guerrero's fluid vocal lines, even when committed to *ne plus ultra* canons, border on the pyrotechnical.

17). Guerrero's preface (dated May 1, 1565, at Seville) contains a number of remarkably prescient phrases when the later events of Sebastian's short reign are taken into account. Though the boy was only in his twelfth year, Guerrero dwelt on the recent Portuguese victories over the Moors in Morocco as a matter of great moment: extolling the warlike disposition of the young king. Above all, he lauded Sebastian's religious zeal. According to Guerrero, Portugal exceeded every other nation in religious fervor; and also stood in the international forefront because sacred music received there her most generous support.

Guerrero's next dedicatee was Pope Pius V, the Dominican (later canonized) during whose pontificate the reforming decrees of the Council of Trent first began to take churchwide effect. Published by Antonio Gardano at Venice in 1570, the *Motteta Francisci Guerreri in Hispalensi Ecclesia Musicorum Praefecti* open with a dedication in which he deplores the efforts of those malicious persons who wish all sacred music to be curtailed. He notes, however, that extremely erudite men have resisted their attacks. He hopes that such compositions as those in the present collection will show his devout disposition. "If they win the approbation of Your Holiness in like manner as in times past you were pleased to bestow approval upon my other modest efforts—as was shown in your letter [June 22, 1566] (which I count my richest treasure)—you will encourage your servant Francisco to continue with his efforts at speaking to the hearts of pious men and at constantly improving upon his former works." *Pastores*

*loquebantur* (pars 2: *Videntes autem*), the Christmas motet later to be printed in Victoria's 1585 *Motecta Festorum Totius anni*, survives in Cappella Sistina MS 29 at folios 22<sup>v</sup>–28.<sup>355</sup> Verses of a *Miserere mei, Deus* occupy folios 10<sup>v</sup>–12 in MS 205, with attribution to "F.G." The *meas nugas* to which he refers, however, were the masses in his *Liber primus* [Paris: 1566]. Pius V had received a gift copy and had sent Guerrero a letter of congratulation dated June 22, 1566, in which he not only lauded the masses but said that he had ordered them to be sung by the pontifical choir (*AM*, ix, 70).

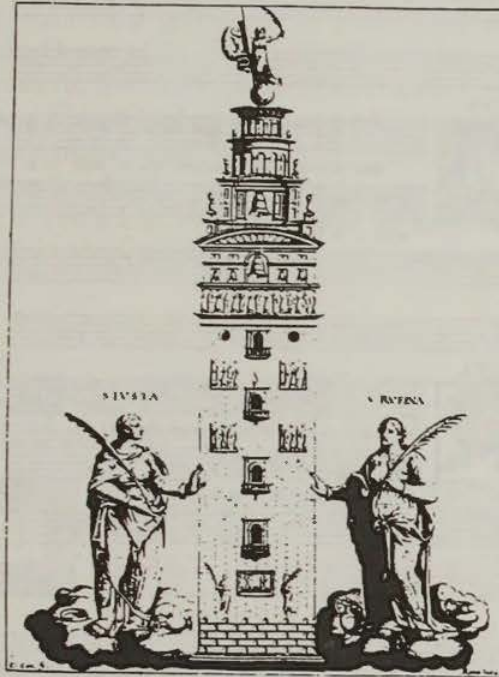
Guerrero's second book of masses—*Missarum liber secundus*, published at Rome in 1582 by Francesco Zanetto—saluted both the then reigning pontiff, Gregory XIII, and the Blessed Virgin. To the pope was dedicated the *Ecce sacerdos magnus* Mass a 5, but to the Blessed Virgin the remaining seven masses. This sumptuous folio is not only one of the largest but is one of the most luxurious of sixteenth-century publications. Of the eight masses, three are based on chant: *Ecce sacerdos magnus*, a 5; *De beata Virgine*, a 4; and the concluding Requiem Mass. The rest are parodies—*Della batalla escoutez*, a 5, of Janequin's *La Bataille de Marignan*; *Simile est regnum caelorum*, a 4, of Morales's motet of two partes left in manuscript at Toledo Cathedral in Choirbook 7, fols. 168<sup>v</sup>–172, and at Granada Cathedral in partbooks (but without the altus), and

<sup>355</sup>F. X. Haberl, *Biographischer und thematischer Musik-katalog des päpstlichen Kapellarchives* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1888), p. 142.



LIBER VESPERARVM  
FRANCISCO GVERRERO  
HISPALENSIS  
ECCLESIAE MAGISTRO  
AVCTORE.

ILLVSTRISSIMIS HISPALENSIS ECCLESIAE  
PATRIBVS FRANCISCVS GVERRERVS PORTIONARIVS,  
ET CANTORVM MAGISTER AETERNAM  
FELICITATEM D.



ROMÆ.  
Ex Officina Dominici Basæ.  
M D L XXXIII.

The two female saints on the viewer's left and right sides are Justa and Rufina. They face the 207-ft (63 m) high Giralda tower built in 1184. The debt incurred at Rome for publication of this luxuriously printed 150-folio volume came back to haunt Guerrero, who in August 1591 was thrown into debtors' prison at Seville from which he was only rescued by the cathedral chapter's decision on September 2 to pay his creditors 280 ducats (105,000 maravedis).

*Iste sanctus*, a 4, of his own like-named motet a 4 published in both 1570 (no. 19), and 1597 (no. 5) collections.

Guerrero, as has already been shown, went to Rome to proofread; upon its issue from Domenico Basa's press he personally placed a presentation copy in the hands of Gregory XIII. The letter from Guerrero to the Sevillian chapter in which he describes his half-hour audience with the pope has already been paraphrased in the above chronological table (1582).

The *Liber vesperarum* published at Rome in 1584 by Alessandro Gardano contains psalms, vesper hymns, magnificats, and Marian antiphons. In his dedication to the Sevillian Chapter, dated December

Vò gratias, atque acceptius semper DEO optimo maximo fuit, canno rem sacram celebrari, qui tanto cantorum concentu, & varia mufices apparatus in Hebreo templo fibi voluit facrificari, nec minus in auguftiori hoc, quod est ecclefia, idem per fanctos limos patris prefari iufit) eo magis abhorret, ac deteftatur eorum illum, & vocibus quali lafcivientem, atque auribus lenocinantem cantandi licentiam, quæ tantum abest, vt monenti auditori in Deum eleuet, vt facillè potius facris ipfis lafciviu fcilicet modu decantatis ad incompofitos affectus concitandos, ac in profanas curas diftrahendos quædam abutatur. quod quam fit nefarium nemo pius non videt. Vidit certe & exera Chrilli fcholam Placo, qui animaduërfo, quam fit flexuifima, & effluas mufica ad mouendos in quilibet etiam obfcuro cogitationem atque affectu moralium animos, vel in publica Reipublicæ, quam perfectam inftituebat hilaritibus, fous eriores cannu leges fanxit, nec alio quim graui, & temperato mufices genere in facris præcipue facienda permiffit vti: vbi animus maxime Deo, fibique conftare debet. Quod & noftre religionis Sanctiffimi antiftites, Romani Pontifices, penes quos eft rei Chriftianæ fumma, & inftitutio, prædantis legibus decrevere: qui eiusmodi cannu lenocinatio facrorum caftimonia, & maieltatem contempnentibus longè ab ecclefia relegatis, quidam feueriores, & grauiorem mufice moralium officijs adhibendam curarunt: quæ vi a Gregoriano cannu moderatior non multò recedat, ita ad modulorum lafciviu, minusque intellectus vociferationes non degeneret. Ego vero fæcundam huiusmodi mufice grauitatem an in illa, quæ hoc genus hætenus publicauit, operofulli, afflictu sum, aliorum elfo iudicium. correpro veteri more meo, atque inftituto nihil potius, atque antiquius habui femper, quam vt piorum oem tam auris cannu delatorem, quam vt pius illorum animos in facrorum myfteriorum dignam contemplationem excitarem. quod vel in hoc opere, opinor, me etique præftitit: quo per muficos modos variatam damus facram pfa modum, h ymanoditmq; celebrioribus quibusdam officijs ex Ecclefie ritu accomodatam: ad hæc incompofitibus Virginitas Mæria canticum, quo Deum ipfi magnificet extollit, & id etiam, quo tam regiam, ac mactem mifericordiam falutatum, quod vobis iure optimo, Patres, ac patroni mei benigniffimi, deditimus: quibus me, meque omnia accepta refero, vt qui iam inde ab infans vobis ecclefie in ferenam, honoriffimo meo muneri fcerdotio oratum, atque ædum proceffu, cuius beneficentia ergo humanitas gratias femper agam, nec non officij memoriam vlti temporis inauria in reuerti fruem. Væ ergo oro, atque obfecro, quod ad tanti beneficii cumulum fecundat, vt Francifci veftri munus libenter accipiat, & eius animum melior, atque præftantior aliat, & Deus vocis afpiret, obtulit confideret, atque id veftri celebrari odeli cantoribus, quos egregie canoros, atque ex cellentis habebat in facris vteadum dedit. Seruet Chrillus vos Mecænatem mel humilliffimi quam diuiffime, ac felliffime. Hifpali, Calendij Decem. M. D. LXXXIII.

Amplitudini veftræ deditiffimus.  
Francifcus Guerrero,

For an English paraphrase of Guerrero's dedicatory epistle to the Sevillian Cathedral Chapter (dated December 1, 1584), see the second page following. Guerrero spent the months from October 1581 to approximately June 1582 at Rome arranging for the 1582 publication of his second book of masses and the 1584 publication of his vespers volume.

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FINIS

ROMÆ.  
Apud Alexandrum Gardano.  
M D LXXXIII

Table of contents of the *Liber vesperarum*.



**CANTVS.** *Psalmus Lauda Hierusalem Sex vocibus.*

Do mi am con for sa ut fe ras por ta rum in e  
rum: be ne di gi fi li jo sa na in te.

**CANTVS SEC.** *Franciscus Guerrero.* 21

Do mi am con for sa ut fe ras por ta rum in e  
rum: be ne di gi fi li jo sa na in te.

**TENOR PRI.**

Do da hie ru sa lem domi nam: lauda be ni tu am sy ois.

Do mi am con for sa ut fe ras por ta rum tu a rum: be ne di gi fi li jo sa na in te.

**ALTVS**

Do mi am con for sa ut fe ras por ta rum tu a rum: be ne di gi fi li jo sa na in te.

**TENOR SEC.**

Do mi am con for sa ut fe ras por ta rum tu a rum: be ne di gi fi li jo sa na in te.

**BASSVS**

Do mi am con for sa ut fe ras por ta rum tu a rum: be ne di gi fi li jo sa na in te.

**CANTVS.** *Psalmus Lauda Hierusalem Sex vocibus.*

Qui e mi sit e lo quam su am ter re: ve lo cher car ri firmo e tus, ve lo ci ter cur ri firmo e tus.

**CANTVS SEC.** *Franciscus Guerrero.* 22

Qui e mi sit e lo quam su am ter re: ve lo cher car ri firmo e tus, ve lo ci ter cur ri firmo e tus.

Qui e mi sit e lo quam su am ter re: ve lo ci ter ve lo ci ter cur ri firmo e tus, ve lo cher car ri firmo e tus.

**ALTVS**

Qui e mi sit e lo quam su am ter re: ve lo ci ter ve lo ci ter cur ri firmo e tus, ve lo cher car ri firmo e tus.

**TENOR SEC.**

Qui e mi sit e lo quam su am ter re: ve lo ci ter cur ri firmo e tus, ve lo cher car ri firmo e tus.

**BASSVS**

Qui e mi sit e lo quam su am ter re: ve lo ci ter ve lo ci ter cur ri firmo e tus, ve lo cher car ri firmo e tus.

*Lauda Hierusalem* (Psalm 147), set a 6 in Tone III, even verses, occupies folios 21<sup>v</sup>-26 of the *Liber vesperarum*. Navarro's even-verse, Tone VII setting of the same psalm (*Psalmi, Hymni, ac Magnificat* [1590], folios 15<sup>v</sup>-18), concludes with a canonic Gloria a 5, but like all his other eleven psalms is a four-voice exemplar.

1, 1584,<sup>356</sup> Guerrero volubly thanks the canons for their benefits: which, as has been amply shown in the chronological table, were many. Although he may have lacked the lucrative absentee benefices that Victoria received from Gregory XIII and Sixtus V; or the munificent protection of such rulers as those of the House of Bavaria; or the income from a prosperous fur business; the Sevillian chapter supported him in his publishing ventures no less lavishly: even if sometimes belatedly (as in 1591 when he went to prison for debt).

The preface to the 1584 book of vespers music sets forth as idealistic a philosophy of church music as

do any of the prefaces written by Morales or Victoria—or, for that matter any of the manifestos written by such lesser composers as Las Infantas; it may therefore be appropriately paraphrased here.

To the most illustrious fathers of the Cathedral of Seville: Francisco Guerrero, prebendary and master of the choristers, conveys wishes for unending felicity. Just as Almighty God has always found it more desirable and acceptable that worship ceremonies should be celebrated with song and for that reason required sacrifices at the Temple in Jerusalem to be offered with a large ensemble of singers accompanied by various types of instrumental music (and I would not forget that with equal ceremony

CANTVS In Ascensionem Domini. Hymnus Iesu nostra Redemptio. Quinque vocibus.

CANON IN DIATESARON

**I**

Dei te co gar pi c tas, vi ma la no stra su perces, par cen do et vo ti com po tes, noe tu o vul tu fa rice, noe tu o vul tu fa ti ce.

**TENOR**

**I**

Dei te co gar pi c tas, .II. Ip sa te co gar pi c tas, vi ma la no stra su perces, .II. vi ma la no stra su perces, par cen do et vo ti com po tes, par cen do et vo ti com po tes, noe tu o vul tu fa ti ce, noe tu o vul tu fa ti ce.

**ALTVS** Francisco Guerrero.

**I**

Dei te co gar pi c tas, .II. Ip sa te co gar pi c tas, vi ma la no stra su perces, .II. par cen do et vo ti com po tes, noe tu o vul tu fa ti ce, .II. fa ti ce.

**BASSVS**

**I**

Ip sa te co gar pi c tas, .II. vi ma la no stra su perces, .II. par cen do et vo ti com po tes, .II. noe tu o vul tu fa ti ce, fa ti ce.

In 1632 *Jesu nostra redemptio* became the Ascension hymn *Salutis humanae Sator* (*Liber usualis*, p. 852). Both Victoria (1581) and Palestrina (1589) adopted the same *Liber usualis* plainsong. The chant source used by Navarro (fols. 54<sup>v</sup>–56) and Guerrero is not in LU. Both Navarro and Guerrero concluded with canonic verses that cite their plainsong source in their top voices—Guerrero at the lower fourth, Navarro at the unison (but Navarro's answer omits all notes except semibreves in the leading voice).

Eleven staves per page are the rule in Navarro's 1590 posthumous publication, twelve in Guerrero's of 1584.

<sup>356</sup> HSMS, II, xxxvii–xxxviii.



**CANTVS** In Festo Corporis Christi. Hymnus Pangelingus. Quatuor vocibus.

Verbum caro panem ve rum. Verbo car nem et si quis si quis san guis christi merum. et si sen sus des si cis. des si cis ad firmam dam ad firmam cor pace rum. so la si deo sus si cis. si cis. fo la si deo sus si cis.

**TENOR**

Verbum caro panem ve rum. Verbo car nem et si quis si quis san guis christi me rum. et si sen sus des si cis. ad firmam cor pace rum. so la si deo sus si cis.

**CANTVS SEC.** Franciscus Guerrero. 47

Verbum caro panem ve rum. Verbo car nem et si quis si quis san guis christi me rum. et si sen sus des si cis. ad firmam dam ad firmam cor fin ce rum. so la si deo sus si cis. fo la si deo sus si cis.

**ALTVS**

Verbum caro panem ve rum. Verbo car nem et si quis si quis san guis christi me rum. et si sen sus des si cis. ad firmam cor fin ce rum. so la si deo sus si cis.

Victoria (1581) identified the plainsong used by both Guerrero and Navarro as a *more hispano* (Spanish use) melody. Pedrell barred Victoria's De Corpore Christi hymn (*Opera omnia*, 1908), v, 95–99, in cut time. Both Guerrero and Navarro (fols. 60<sup>v</sup>–65) specify  $\circ$  mensuration (= 3/2). In the *Verbum caro* verse, Navarro placed the plainsong in his cantus, Guerrero's in his tenor (lowest voice). For another difference, Guerrero specified a richer overlay of accidentals (3 F $\sharp$ , 3 C $\sharp$ , 3 B $\flat$ ); Navarro's Roman printer included none.

His worship is even now offered by the most reverend fathers of this temple), so He finds the more detestable that abuse of lascivious and effeminate singing the only purpose of which is to caress the ears. Such abuse not only fails to lift the mind to contemplation of the Almighty but even profanes those very sanctuaries where it is heard, catering as does such music to the baser affections and the more vulgar emotions. How malicious this corruption can become no devout soul would dispute. . . . But our holy fathers, the Roman Pontiffs . . . have ordained an austere and holy music for the Church, and have safeguarded the chant with most prudent laws that banish far from the Church all the caressings of those songs that corrupt the purity and majesty of divine worship: taking care that all music used in sacred ceremonies shall be of a more austere and solemn kind, differing as regards essential spirit nowise from the original Gregorian chant. They have moreover taken due mea-

sures against lascivious inflections and any noise without meaning.

Whether I have myself cultivated with any success this devout and sober style in my own modest publications up until the present moment must be left for others to judge. But I have truly held it as my goal and desire from the very beginning not to flatter the ears of the devout so much as to predispose their minds the better toward a right regard for the sacred mysteries. I have striven toward the same goal in the present work: in which are to be found psalms in the several tones together with hymns suitable for the several seasons esteemed of greatest consequence in the year. To these have been added settings of the canticle of the Blessed Virgin in which she magnificently magnifies and praises God; and also settings of the *Salve Regina* in which she is saluted as queen and merciful mother.

All of these settings, my most worthy and esteemed





## CANTUS.

## MAGNIFICAT Quatuor vocibus.

Et mi se ri cor di a c i sa. a pro  
 gc ni c in pro gc ni ca, a pro gc ni c in pro  
 gc ni ca, ti men ti bus c um, ti men ti bus c um.

## TENOR

Et mi se ri cor di a c i sa. a progc ni  
 c in pro gc ni ca, a pro gc ni c in  
 progc ni ca, ti. ti men ti bus o  
 um, ti men ti bus c um, ti men ti bus  
 c um.

Navarro reduced to three voices in all Et misericordia verses, as did Morales also (except in Tone II).

Fathers and Patrons, are dedicated to you: to whom I am already indebted for all that I am, having served your cathedral church since infancy. You moreover took me under protection after ordination to the noble and elevated order of priest. For all your beneficence I shall never cease giving thanks to Heaven.

. . . Seville, December 1, 1584

In 1589 a collection of spiritual part-songs, appeared, many of which had been composed originally to secular lyrics but were now refitted to sacred texts. The flavor throughout all sixty-one items remains distinctly popular. The cardinal to whom *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* was dedicated—Rodrigo de Castro,<sup>357</sup> ruler of the Sevillian see during Guerrero's last seventeen years—has already

<sup>357</sup> See above, notes 240, 264, 346. Cf. also Alonso Morgado, *Historia de Sevilla* (1587, repr. for *Archivo Hispalense*, 1887), pp. 303, 307.



Mosquera de Figueroa (1547–1610), after taking his *bachillerato* at Salamanca, graduated a *licenciado* from the Universidad de Osuna (jurisprudence faculty). He showed the *grandeza de su ingenio* in rhetoric, poetry, and music, *tocando gallardamente una vigüela*.

been mentioned as a consistently staunch friend and supporter. The preface by Cristóbal Mosquera de Figueroa (d. 1610), auditor-general of the fleet commanded by Marqués de Santa Cruz, contains several valuable observations.

Just as Aristoxenus was preëminent among the Greeks, Boethius among the Romans, Morales among the Italians [*sic*], Josquin among the French and Picards, and Gombert among the Flemish, so among the Spanish Francisco Guerrero stands out. In his copious and elegant polyphonic compositions he has ornamented our Spain; for so widely has his fame traveled among all discerning musicians that no collector thinks his library complete without works by the celebrated Guerrero. Among his merits that deserve applause are his pioneering success in fitting music to Spanish verse so that the very life and rhythm of the poetry are preserved.

Mosquera de Figueroa, even though a well-informed amateur, makes of his fellow-Sevillian Morales, an



Italian. But he is on solid ground when he bespeaks the enthusiasm of the high-born amateurs of his time for Guerrero's Spanish songs, which he avers were among the works Guerrero composed first (even if among his latest in reaching print). Moreover, he typifies the sentiment of his contemporaries in placing Guerrero above all other Spaniards alive or dead.

In the same year, 1589, a second collection was published by the same printer, Giacomo Vincenti, at Venice: *Mottecta Francisci Guerreri in Hispalensi Ecclesia musicorum praefecti. . . . Liber secundus*.<sup>358</sup> This second book of Venetian motets is, by contrast with its predecessor, offered to Christ Himself. The dedication concludes with this devout hope: "I would not seek the transitory gifts of mortal kings nor their fleeting riches. My sole desire is to continue singing Thy praises in Heavenly Courts which I now everyday sing in Thy temples here below." A reprint of this same dedication stands at the front of Guerrero's valedictory publication, his *Motecta Francisci Guerreri* published by Giacomo Vincenti at Venice in 1597. In this farewell collection of seventy items he repeats thirty-four of the forty motets published in 1570, adding thereto the harvest of his later years. When Guerrero in 1582, 1589, and 1597 dedicated his final masses and motets either to the Virgin Mary or to Christ, he was caught up in the same fervor that caused Victoria to turn aside from kings and princes for three of his later dedications (the junior master offered his 1583 *Motecta* to the Virgin, his *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* to the Blessed Trinity, and his 1589 *Motecta* [published at Milan] to the Virgin.)

The above nine publications span forty-two years and represent the sum of Guerrero's works known to have been issued under his personal supervision. In addition, *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, A/1/3 [*Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, III (Kassel/Basel: Bärenreiter, 1972), 395, item G4866], erroneously credits him with a volume of motets published at Venice by Giacomo Vincenti in 1547—when he was a mere 19 years of age. Since Giacomo Vincenti (who died in 1619) did not begin to publish anything independently until 1586 (Claudio Sartori, *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani* [Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1958], page 165), the date "1547"

is an obvious mistake (should be "1597"). *RISM* also credits Guerrero with an imprint first itemized in Giovanni Tebaldini's *L'archivio musicale della Capella Lauretana Catalogo storico-critico* (Loreto: Amministrazione di S. Casa, 1921), page 22. According to Tebaldini, an appendix bound with Tomás Luis de Victoria's *Officium hebdomadae sanctae* (Rome: Domenico Basa, 1585), contains this imprint: *Passio Secundum Mattaeum / et Joannem More Hispano / auctore Francisco Guerrero / in Alma Hispalensi Ecclesia / Magistro* (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1585). Whether printing of these passions—like that of Guerrero's two motets published in Victoria's *Motecta Festorum Totius Anni* (Rome: Domenico Basa, 1585)—was personally supervised by Guerrero, remains unknown.

But certainly he did not personally intervene in two other publications that must be added to the list of sixteenth-century imprints containing his music:<sup>359</sup> (1) *Magnificat, Beatissimae Deiparaeque Virginis Mariae Canticum* (Nuremberg: Friedrich Lindner, 1591) and (2) *Sacrarum symphoniarum continuatio. Diversorum excellentissimorum authorum Quaternis, v. vi. vii. viii. x. & xii. vocibus tam vivis, quam instrumentalibus accommodata* (Nuremberg: Paul Kaufmann, 1600). Neither of these German prints contains anything not already encountered in Guerrero's personally supervised publications, but both serve neatly to prove the geographic spread of his reputation and the viability of his music outside the peninsula. In the Lindner publication his magnificats appear beside Vincenzo Ruffo's. In the Kaufmann, his two motets *O Domine Jesu Christe* and *Ibant Apostoli gaudentes (a 4)* occupy positions of honor as items 1 and 2 in the collection; *Gaudent in coelis animae sanctorum (a 5)* stands apart as item 14. Guerrero wrote two different motets *a 4* with *O Domine Jesu Christe* as text: one occurring on page 19 of his 1570 motets as a motet for Palm Sunday, the other as item 12 in his 1589 *Mottecta . . . Liber secundus*. It was the first of these which Kaufmann extracted for publication in 1600, a generation having elapsed since the original imprint. In the long Kaufmann title the editor promises that the motets to follow will be found equally suited for voices or instruments. In view of the important role allotted instruments in the Seville Cathedral during the en-

<sup>358</sup>Contents listed in Anglés-Subirá, *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (Barcelona: 1951), Vol. III, pp. 4-5.

<sup>359</sup>Eitner, *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke* (Berlin: Leo Liepmannssohn, 1877), p. 615.



tirety of Guerrero's service, we cannot be surprised that in Kaufmann's collection "for voices or instruments," two Guerrero motets should stand first. Just which instruments were used during his incumbency at Seville, as well as the manner of their combination or alternation with voices, will be discussed presently.

Still a third and final class of publication—in addition to the nine personally supervised, and two alien, imprints thus far mentioned—must now be examined: namely, the vihuela tablatures of Fuenllana (1554) and Daza (1576). These contain a total of thirteen Guerrero items—five of which are secular songs. Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* accounts for nine items (two of which are secular). Daza's *El Parnasso* accounts for four (three of which are secular; one—*Esclarecida Juana*—being misattributed to Villalar). Fuenllana's tablature lists seven of these (items 6, 77, 78, 79, 81, 144, 145 in Howard Mayer Brown's numbering scheme [*Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600 A Bibliography*, pp. 154–158]) simply as by Guerrero, without any identifying "Francisco." But since concordances for the *Pater noster* (folios 96<sup>v</sup>–98) and *Ojos claros [y] serenos* (folios 143–144) have been found in his 1555 *Sacrae cantiones* and in *olim* Biblioteca Medinaceli MS 13230 (now March Library, Madrid, R.6829 = 861) respectively, it seems probable that when Fuenllana attributed anything to "Guerrero" rather than "Pedro Guerrero," he meant Francisco. Furthermore, all seven items attributed in *Orphénica lyra* to "Pedro Guerrero" are secular *sonetos*, whereas but two of those ascribed to "Guerrero" are secular.

The sacred items in *Orphénica lyra* include the following: (1) *fabordones* in each church mode at folios 108<sup>v</sup>–111—all eight being set throughout *a 4* except the festal Tone VI *fabordón* that augments to five voices in the last *verso*; (2) *Fecit potentiam (a 2)* at folio 3<sup>v</sup>; (3) and (4) two *Pange lingua*'s, one *a 3* at folios 94<sup>v</sup>–95<sup>v</sup> and the other *a 4* at folio 95 [= 94<sup>360</sup>]; (5) *Pater noster (a 4)* at folios 96<sup>v</sup>–98; (6) *Sacris solemnibus (a 3)* at folios 95<sup>v</sup>–96; (7) *Suscepit Israel (a 2)* at folio 3. The secular items are *Ojos claros* at folios 143–144 and *Torna Mingo a enamorate* at folios 144–145 (both *a 4*).<sup>361</sup>

<sup>360</sup>In the imprint, fol. xciv should read xciv.

<sup>361</sup>Apparently a unicum in Fuenllana. For transcriptions into modern notation of Guerrero's items in Fuenllana's tablature, see Charles Jacobs, ed., *Orphénica lyra* (Oxford: Clarendon

The sacred item in *El Parnasso*, an *Ave Maria*, occupies folios 49–52. The secular items include the following: (1) *Adios, verde ribera* at folios 87<sup>v</sup>–88<sup>v</sup>; (2) *Esclarecida Juana* at folios 90<sup>v</sup>–91<sup>v</sup>; (3) *Prado verde y florido* at folios 83–84. All four of these *Parnasso* items are for vocal quartet. The *Ave Maria* concords with the Hail Mary to be found in Guerrero's 1555 *Sacrae cantiones*.

## MASSES

In his *Libro de descripcion de Verdaderos Retratos* (1599), Francisco Pacheco credited Guerrero with several handwritten pages for every day of his long life. No such abundant quantity of manuscript music now survives in the Seville Cathedral music archive. Nonetheless, four complete masses, each *a 4*, do still exist in manuscript copy: *Dormendo un giorno*, *Iste sanctus*, *Saeculorum Amen*, and *Surge propra amica mea*. These four, like the ten preserved in manuscript copy at Toledo, duplicate masses to be found in imprints (1566, 1582, and 1597). One may

Press, 1978): items 6 (*Suscepit Israel, a 2*), 7 (*Fecit potentiam, a 2*), 81 (*Pange lingua, a 4*), 82 (*Pange lingua, a 3*), 83 (*Sacris solemnibus, a 4*), 85 (*Pater noster, a 4*), 101–109 (Fabordones in Tones I–VI setting *Donec ponam* verse or more, Tone VI setting *Sicut erat*, VIII setting *Magna opera*, VIII setting *Quoniam confortavit*), 149 (*Ojos claros, serenos, a 4*), 150 (*Torna, Mingo = Guarda fuera, a 4*). Felipe Pedrell, *Catàlech de la Biblioteca Musical de la Diputació de Barcelona*, II, 149, published the complete texts of Jacobs's items 149 and 150.

Jacobs's numbering of items differs from Howard Mayer Brown's scheme. Item 85 (accompanied vocal duet) concords with the *Pater noster, a 4*, that opens Guerrero's maiden motet collection, *Sacrae cantiones* (Seville, 1555). Item 149 is an intabulation of *Ojos claros, serenos*, the lyrics being by Gutierre de Cetina (see note 391). Fuenllana allots the vocal part to the bass.

Jacobs could find no concordances for the seven italicized numbers in the list given at the beginning of this note. The largest bloc of these *unica* are the *fabordones*. Murray C. Bradshaw published transcriptions of Guerrero's Tone IV *fabordón* and of the Gloria of the Tone V in his *The Origin of the Toccata* (American Institute of Musicology, 1972 [MSD 28]), pp. 62–64, and of the Tone VI *Sicut erat* in *The Falsobordone* (American Institute of Musicology, 1978 [MSD 34]), pp. 83–84.

*Torna, Mingo* transcribed by Jacobs as a G minor song for accompanied bass, magnificently dramatizes the "antes yo rauiando muera" ("before I die raging") tag line that is repeated throughout. Guerrero's contributions to *Orphénica lyra*, upholding as they do his reputation as a youthful prodigy, amply deserve a separate monograph.



therefore suppose that Guerrero's masses, like Victoria's, extend only to the number printed during his lifetime. It is true that a Guerrero *L'Homme armé (a 4)* not printed in any sixteenth-century edition was reported to have been seen at the Real Monasterio de Santa Ana in Ávila during the early 1930's,<sup>362</sup> but in 1950 the pertinent manuscript could not be found at Ávila. Nor had it come to light at Ávila when in 1982 José M.<sup>a</sup> Llorens Cisteró edited four masses by Guerrero in *MME*, xxxviii. However, on pages 24–25 of his introduction to this volume, Llorens did mention a 357-folio late sixteenth-century manuscript catalogued as Manuscript 40 among Oporto Municipal Library musical treasures. Among its 121 compositions *a 4* and *a 5* appear the four-voice Masses *Lome arme* and *Dormendo un giorno* attributed to "Guerrero." Since the copies of these works sent Llorens by the Oporto librarian Luis Cabral were "lamentably incomplete," Llorens suspended judgment as to the total number of Guerrero's masses, but instead limited himself at page 24 to listing the eighteen found in printed editions: eleven of which are *a 4*, six *a 5*, and one *a 6*. Only these eighteen were transcribed and studied in Luis Merino Montero's pathbreaking two-volume Ph.D. dissertation, "The Masses of Francisco Guerrero" (University of California at Los Angeles, 1972); and to date only masses published under Guerrero's supervision in his lifetime have been edited by José María Llorens Cisteró in the *MME* series intended to encompass his *opera omnia*.

In alphabetical order those for four voices may be listed thus: *Beata Mater* (1566),<sup>363</sup> *De beata Virgine* (1566 and 1582), *Dormendo un giorno* (1566), *Inter vestibulum* (1566), *Iste sanctus* (1582), *Pro defunctis* (1566 and 1582), *Puer qui natus est nobis* (1582),<sup>364</sup> *Saeculorum Amen* (1597), *Simile est regnum coelorum* (1582); those for five voices: *Congratulamini mihi* (1566), *Della batalla escoutez* (1582), *Ecce sacerdos magnus* (1582), *In te Domine speravi* (1566), *Sancta et immaculata* (1566), *Super flumina*

*Babylonis* (1566); and the one for six voices: *Surge propera amica mea* (1582). Since the latest mass in the above list, *Saeculorum Amen* (1597), still calls for only four voices, Guerrero stands in marked contrast with Victoria, who—following the polychoral trend of the times—published an eight-voice mass in 1592, and two *a 8*, one *a 9*, and one *a 12* in 1600; or, for that matter, with Palestrina, who began with an eight-voice in 1585; and three of whose later masses *a 8* were issued in 1601. Guerrero does, however, customarily augment with one or two added voices in his last Agnuses: *Della batalla* reaching eight, for instance. Indeed, he augments so uniformly in his four-voice masses that the apparent breaking of the rule in Hilarión Eslava's transcription of *Simile est regnum coelorum (Lira sacro-hispana* [1869], i, ii, 111–131) would in itself cast doubt over his version; since in his edition this mass would seem to end lamely with a single Agnus *a 4*. Comparison with the original, however, immediately discloses that Eslava omitted the last Agnus; to say nothing of the other respects in which his—the first modern reprint of a Guerrero mass—belies the original.

Harry Edwin Gudmundson minutely analyzed both Guerrero's *Della batalla escoutez* Mass and Victoria's *Pro Victoria* in his "Parody and Symbolism in Three Battle Masses of the Sixteenth Century," University of Michigan Ph.D. dissertation, 1976 (order number 76-19147). His method was novel. Having adopted at the outset the thesis that the Janequin source chanson first published in 1528 beginning "Escoutez tous gentilz Galloys la victoire du noble roy François" in no way sullies or stains Guerrero's and Victoria's masses based on it, Gudmundson divides the chanson into the various incises from which Guerrero and Victoria derived material. According to Gudmundson, both Guerrero in 1582 and Victoria in 1600 chose the motives from Janequin's chanson to be parodied with consummate skill and care—always bearing in mind the allegorical and analogical significance of the parodied incises. At pages 152–154 he thus analyzes the close of Guerrero's Gloria:

In the analysis of Janequin's *Missa La Bataille* it became evident that whenever the composer combined material from two or more locations in his model there was usually an extra-musical purpose in his action. Frequently this meant that a symbolic message or idea was to be understood from a comparison of the texts involved. The same holds true for Guerrero's *Missa de la batalla escou-*

<sup>362</sup> *Grove's Dictionary*, 3d ed., ed. by H. C. Colles (1935), II, 477.

<sup>363</sup> Printed in *Tesoro de la música polifónica en México: El Códice del Convento del Carmen*, ed. by Jesús Bal y Gay (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1952), I, 114–144 and 223–226.

<sup>364</sup> Printed in *Anthologie des maîtres religieux primitifs*, ed. by Charles Bordes, deuxième année: *Messes* (Paris: Schola Cantorum, 1894), pp. 159–182.



tez. The final statement of the Gloria text affirms the unity of Jesus Christ, the Son, with the Holy Spirit in the glory of the Father. Guerrero's choice of music from his model for setting this section [measures 110–126 of the Gloria] symbolically reinforces the meaning of the text. The text of the phrase from measures 43–47 of the chanson expresses the unity of the soldiers as they prepare to enter the battle, while the words of the final measure of the chanson rejoice in the victory achieved. This is coupled with a single statement in the Cantus, measures 118–120, of the melodic motive from measures 13–16 of the chanson, also a reference to the victory of the king, providing a subtle reference to Christ, the Alpha and Omega, by the association of material from the beginning and ending of the model.

Concerning the close of Agnus II Gudmundson writes (pages 155–156): "The political peace achieved through the victory celebrated in the final phrase of Janequin's chanson becomes, in Guerrero's interpretation, a symbol of the spiritual victory and peace expressed in the final phrases of Agnus II. In the pervading application of the short descending motive Guerrero recalls that peace descends to man from God. To heighten the sense of finality, Guerrero includes a version of the ascending three-note 'tag' from the end of Janequin's chanson to close his Agnus II."

According to Gudmundson, no one bettered Guerrero in complying with Cerone's rules for composing a perfect parody Mass (deduced by Lewis Lockwood in "On 'Parody' as Term and Concept in 16th-Century Music," *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music*, 1966, pp. 572–573). In particular, Guerrero excelled in following these two rules not observed by others: (1) the ending of major divisions should use, though in diverse ways, the ending of the model; (2) the more use that is made of internal motives from the model, the more praiseworthy the elaboration will be.

No less clinching a proof of Guerrero's genius, according to Gudmundson, is his skillful unification of the entire *De la batalla escoutez* Mass with a "unifying motive." This motive combines the Superius of measures 1–6 and the Bassus of measures 7–9 of Janequin's *La Guerre*.

The two halves of the unifying motive possess the same intervallic contour: a descending third followed by a major second. Together they span the upper and lower tetrachords of the hypolydian mode. In his using of the derived motive, Guerrero freely employs either or

both halves of the unifying motive, as needed in his counterpoint.

Gudmundson supplies 16 musical examples culled from all five major divisions of Guerrero's Mass to illustrate how the unifying motive is applied. In the Gloria, retrograde versions turn up in measures 34–40, followed by a cantus statement in measures 43–47, where he reverses the order of the two halves of the unifying motive.

Guerrero's skill as a trained vocalist in spinning out an extended melodic line from the barest materials is demonstrated in his setting of the phrase "Crucifixus etiam pro nobis, sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est," measures 85–96 of the Credo. Although this section is set in an essentially homophonic manner, Guerrero succeeds even here in endowing Cantus I and II with extended elaborations of the first half of the unifying motive.

Gudmundson next explains how, in his opinion, Guerrero exploited the unifying motive to preach such abstract doctrines as the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and Son together (*qui ex Padre Filioque procedit*). "At the same time that all this musical activity is going on, Guerrero symbolically interprets the phrase that identifies the Holy Spirit's primary function as Giver of Life (*et vivificantem*). He borrows the lively trumpet motive from *La Guerre* (beginning at measure 101 of Pars II) to carry the words of this phrase." The statement regarding the Resurrection (*et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum*) gains a festive aspect when Guerrero draws on the fanfare of fifes and drums from measures 29–33 of Janequin's chanson for the Cantus II affirmation. On the other hand, to set the words *peccatorum* and *mortuorum* in the Credo (measures 175–176, 179–181) Guerrero retrogrades the unifying motive.

Without further quoting Gudmundson, his methods should now be clear. For him, every gesture made by Guerrero in all five main movements testifies to the consummate artist, the supreme craftsman, and the profound theologian. On a different level, Gudmundson waxes no less enthusiastic in behalf of Victoria's *Missa pro victoria*, which according to him has been completely misunderstood by analysts who profess to see in it a falling off or weakening of Victoria's powers.

Guerrero's masses may also be contrasted with Victoria's by reason of the number of voice parts that each composer is willing to accept in individ-



ual movements as his irreducible minimum. The younger composer, usually the richer harmonist, never reduces below a trio in his masses. But the elder, whose effects are as often achieved by his *gallardo contrapunto*<sup>365</sup> as by his juxtaposition of chords, reduces in the Crucifixus of his *Congratulamini mihi* Mass (one of the most successful movements in this mass) to a duo between first treble and tenor.<sup>366</sup> The dramatic quality of this duo is all the more poignantly felt because the preceding section, *Et incarnatus est*, was scored full. After the sonorous solidly packed chords *a 5* used to set the words "Et homo factus est," the sudden bareness of the duo as strikingly reminds the hearer of the nakedness of Christ stretched on a cross between two thieves as does a *paso* carried about during Holy Week. For a Flemish composer of Josquin's generation the Pleni was an appropriate movement for a duo; but Guerrero insists on putting even a change of vocal texture to dramatic account. In still other ways he manifests his extraordinary sensitivity to the changes of tone color which result from shifts in vocal registration. When he adds a voice part, he may simultaneously change the vocal combination—as, for instance, in the Agnuses of his *Ecce sacerdos* Mass: the first of which ("miserere nobis") lachrymously congeals in the middle registers (CAATB); whereas the second ("dona nobis pacem") brilliantly expands at both vocal extremes (CCATBB). Even when he retains the same number of voice parts in successive movements, he not infrequently changes his voice combination for a clearly recognizable expressive purpose; and not merely for the aesthetic value of contrast.

As for the general character of the vocal lines, Guerrero—himself a singer of *escogida voz*<sup>367</sup>—soars with melodies of markedly individual contour and grace; whereas Victoria—himself primarily an organist—contrives more interesting and novel chord-progressions. If an attempt is made to count the number of accidentals appearing in their printed masses, Guerrero is found to occupy a halfway house between Morales's penury and Victoria's prodigality. However, obligatory chromaticisms are specified in the imprints as early as Kyrie II of the first mass in his *Liber primus* (1566), *altus II* being

in this instance directed to sing *eb, d, c#*, to set the word *eleison* (mm. 73–74).

All three composers—Morales, Guerrero, and Victoria—published bitextual masses. In Morales's *Ave Maria* and *De beata Virgine (a 5)* are to be found certain movements during which the tenor sings the angelical salutation while the remaining voices sing the appropriate texts of the Credo- or Sanctus-movements. In Victoria's *Ave maris stella* and *Guadamus*, both of which were published in his first volume of masses (1576), both contain bitextual movements. But Morales and Victoria, each with two published masses containing bitextual movements, are both exceeded by Guerrero in this respect. During the Benedictus of the opening mass in his *Liber primus* (1566) he pits the tenor singing "Sancta et immaculata" against the three other voices singing "Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini." During the Sanctus of his *Beata Mater* Mass in this same 1566 book he requires the superius to sing "Beata Mater, et innupta Virgo, gloriosa Regina mundi: intercede pro nobis ad Dominum"; during the Osanna of the same mass the *altus* apostrophizes "Beata Mater" four times (in breves and longs) while the other voices sing the prescribed liturgical text. Undeterred by any change of custom, Guerrero continued to indulge in the same bitextual practice as late as his *Liber secundus* (1582). The second mass in this collection—the one mass in the entire collection dedicated specifically to Pope Gregory XIII—is bitextual in Kyries, Sanctus, and Agnus movements. During Kyrie I the tenor sings the entire *Ecce sacerdos* antiphon in notes of various values. During Kyrie III the three words "Ecce sacerdos magnus" are four times repeated by *altus I* (singing breves, then semibreves). During the Sanctus (folios 33<sup>v</sup>–34 = *MME*, xxxviii, 62–64) *altus I* sings the antiphon text: here treated, as during Kyrie III, in *cantus firmus* fashion. Throughout Agnus I, at a distance of two breves, *altus II* and tenor make a canon at the fifth (words and melody, as before, deriving from the antiphon). During Agnus II, *cantus II* sings the entire text of the antiphon through the word "justus": then sings "dona nobis pacem" five times.

On the most external level, Palestrina's *Ecce sacerdos, a 4*, can be contrasted with Guerrero's *Ecce sacerdos, a 5*, because Guerrero is more concise (Palestrina's Kyrie movements total 92 breves, Guerrero's 81; Palestrina's Gloria totals 149 breves

<sup>365</sup> Espinel, *Diversas rimas*, fol. 46<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>366</sup> *Liber primus missarum*, fols. 50<sup>v</sup>–51.

<sup>367</sup> Pacheco, *op. cit.*, fol. 95.



compared with Guerrero's 110; his Credo totals 260 breves against Guerrero's 202). As for other contrasts: Palestrina cites the *Ecce sacerdos* cantus firmus as a Mode VII melody. Not so Guerrero, who makes his every movement F Major music (one-flat key signature) and throughout transposes the Gregorian *Ecce sacerdos* cantus firmus to Mode VI.

Whether shorter movements of a five-voice Mass in F Major give Guerrero's *Ecce sacerdos* a more "up-to-date" sound than Palestrina's four-voice mixolydian, *Ecce sacerdos*, with the plainsong quoted in Pfundnoten in every movement (including Gloria and Credo movements), will not be argued here. However, some critics may still contend that Guerrero was less progressive because he had not yet given up polytextual composition in 1582—thirty-eight years after Palestrina had published a similarly entitled mass that was to be his one and only bitextual essay. In Guerrero's favor was the national custom. Among Spanish composers, not only bitextual masses but also polytextual magnificats continued in vogue long after Guerrero's death. Indeed, this was a custom to which even distinguished foreigners acceded while residing in Spain. Philippe Rogier's *Missae sex* (Madrid: 1598) opens with such a mass: one voice singing the acclamation, "Philippus secundus Rex Hispaniae," in unremitting breves during all except the single section in which he reduces to three voices, the Benedictus (Philippe Rogier, *Opera omnia*, edited by Lavern Wagner [American Institute of Musicology, 1974], 1, 21–22). For his cantus firmus, Rogier employs in this instance a soggetto cavato derived as rigorously from the vowels as the canus firmus of Josquin's notorious *Hercules dux Ferrariae* Mass. Among polytextual magnificats (which seem to have been published only in Spain), Sebastián de Vivanco's 1607 collection published at Salamanca provides the most noteworthy example: the Gloria Patri (a 8) of his fourth tone Magnificat combining no less than three different Marian texts with the ascription of praise.

Closely akin to the bitextual interludes of Guerrero's masses are those sections in which he takes one or more words of the ordinary, weds the word (or words) to a concise melodic figure, and then repeats that figure incessantly throughout the entire movement (after the manner of an ostinato). This was of course a unifying principle already used by Morales in the Benedictus of his *Quem dicunt homines* Mass (a Richafort parody), Guerrero uses

it during the Sanctus of his *Sancta et immaculata* Mass, in which movement the second treble repeats a figure comprising the first six notes of the head motive in the source motet. Only the one word "Sanctus" is sung to the melodic figure (a-d-a-f-bb-a); this motto-phrase then serves as a five-times-repeated ostinato during the course of the movement. In the Sanctus of his second mass, *In te Domine speravi*, he makes use of precisely the same unifying device. From the head motive of the source motet he derives a six-note ostinato (g-g-bb-f-g-d) that altus II repeats three times. In Agnus I of his third mass, *Congratulamini mihi*, superius II repeats another ostinato (g-c<sup>1</sup>-d<sup>1</sup>-c<sup>1</sup>): again made from the head motive of the source motet. The Osanna of the *Beata Mater* Mass in his 1566 collection has already been cited as a movement with double text.<sup>368</sup> Throughout, the altus sings an ostinato that becomes a four-fold repetition of the words, "Beata Mater." In his second collection (1582), Guerrero continues to exploit ostinati of diverse types: as, for instance, in Agnus I of *Della batalla escoutez*, during which cantus II sings a four-note figure identified by Gudmundson as derived from measures 1–6 and 7–9 of the parody source (c<sup>1</sup>-a-a-g; f-d-d-c); and in Agnus I of his *Simile est regnum coelorum* Mass. During the latter, the tenor sings G-A-B-G-c-d-e in semibreves; then after a breve's rest, recites the same figure backward, thus—e-d-c-G-B-A-G. Above his cancrizans initium he inserts this legend: *Vado et venio ad vos* ("I go away and I am coming to you").<sup>369</sup> These are, of course, Jesus's words at John 14:28. The whole verse reads: "Ye have heard how I said unto you, I go away, and come again unto you; if ye loved me, ye would rejoice because I said, I go unto the Father: for the Father is greater than I." Since the transformation of every learned device into a symbol is so characteristic not only of

<sup>368</sup> See *Tesoro*, ed. by Bal y Gay, 1, 223–224.

<sup>369</sup> Pedro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples: Juan Bautista Gargano, 1613), page 1118, alludes to a *Vado et venio ad vos* canon in the last Agnus of Guerrero's *Puer qui natus est* Mass. Unless Cerone enjoyed access to some other version than the 1582 printed copy, his memory must have tricked him into confusing Guerrero's *Puer qui* with the *Simile est* Mass. Cerone carried the allusion somewhat further, mentioning a similar "coming-and-going" canon in an unspecified Orazio Vecchi (1550–1605) motet. Since the earliest known imprint containing any Vecchi motet appeared as late as 1587, Guerrero's *Simile est* Mass (if not the *Puer qui*) was first in the field with a *Vado et venio ad vos* scheme.







vol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di: 25

vol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di: do - na no - bis pa - cem,

ta mun - di: do - na no - bis pa - cem,

pec - ca - ta mun - di: do - na no - bis pa - cem,

36 do - na no - bis pa - cem,

no - bis pa - cem,

do - na no - bis pa - cem,

do - na no - bis pa - cem,

no - bis pa - cem,

do - na no - bis pa - cem,

- di: do - na no - bis pa - cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem,

do - na no - bis pa - cem,

na no - bis pa - cem,

cem,

cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem,

no - bis pa - cem,

40 do - na no - bis pa - cem,

do - na no - bis pa - cem,

bis pa - cem,

cem,

cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem,

pa - cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem,

bis pa - cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem,

cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem,

do - na no - bis pa - cem,

pa - cem,

bis pa - cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem,

do - na no - bis pa - cem,

45 do - na no - bis pa - cem,

cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem,

do - na no - bis pa - cem,

na no - bis pa - cem,

do - na no - bis pa - cem,

do - na no - bis pa - cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem,

Just as the quality of Guerrero's art cannot be appreciated without studying his use of symbols, so also his message cannot be fully understood without a close analysis of his learned devices. His imitations are often quite subtle. For instance, the Sanctus of his *Simile est regnum coelorum* Mass (*Lira sacro-hispana*, I, ii, 129; Mapa Mundi edition, Spanish Church Music, Series A, No. 53 [1981], pages 18–19) opens with a pair of mirror imitations—first between alto and soprano, next between tenor and bass. His canons often go beyond the usual two-in-one variety. In the *Pater noster*, a 8, included in his 1555 *Sacrae cantiones* and reprinted at the close of his *Liber primus missarum* (by way of an appendix), he does not rest content until he has made of the Lord's Prayer a canonic *tour de force* (four-in-eight variety). His *Inter vestibulum* Mass in the same 1566 *Liber primus* closes with a three-in-one canon that

is no less to be admired. Here he simultaneously contrives to quote the source motet (Morales's *Inter vestibulum et altare*) in the three other voices, while spinning a *trinitas in unitate* canon in altus, superius II, and tenor I—the threads of which canon are always twisted from filaments of Morales's cantus. Properly to appreciate Guerrero's remarkable though unobtrusive feat, one should compare Morales's four-voice *Inter vestibulum et altare* motet, phrase by phrase, with Guerrero's six-voice Agnus. In the accompanying example only the Agnus appears; but since Morales's motet has been at least twice reprinted with modern clefs, a more thorough comparison can easily be made by having recourse to Anglés's or Rubio's 1953 editions of the motet.<sup>372</sup>

<sup>372</sup> MME, xiii, 17–23; *Tesoro sacro-musical: Suplemento polifónico*, 39 (July–Sept., 1953), 52–59.



The aesthetic of the source motet and the parody mass will also be better appreciated if some attention is given to Morales's penitential text (Joel 2:17): "Let the priests, the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar, and let them say, Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thine inheritance to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them; why should they say among the nations: Where is their God?" In his last Agnus, Guerrero's three-in-one canon dramatizes the insistent entreaties of those "ministers of the Lord who weep between the porch and the altar"; while the three outer voices perhaps symbolize the people who stand outside the sacred enclosure.

Another *Liber primus* mass in which formal canon recurs frequently is the four-voice *Beata Mater*. The Credo movements are composed throughout "ad fugam in diathessaron." The order of entries appropriately symbolizes the ideas of raising and lowering: in the Patrem, the altus is answered by superius; in the Et incarnatus, the superius by altus; in the Crucifixus, the altus by superius; in the Et in spiritum, the altus by superius. The final Agnus (*a 5*) of this mass includes canon, but here at the unison between two trebles. As for *Liber secundus* masses, the *Ecce sacerdos* dons formal canon at the fifth between altus II and tenor in Agnus I; the *Iste sanctus* wears one at the unison in the last Agnus (*a 5*); and the *De beata Virgine* boasts one between tenor and cantus II at the octave: again in the concluding five-voice Agnus.

Guerrero's technique of parody shows certain individual facets. Just as he yields to no other Spaniard in contrapuntal mastery, so also his virtuosity as parodist equals his best sixteenth-century compatriots'. True, Morales staked out the path that he was to follow. In such parodies as *Aspice Domine Quæramus cum pastoribus* and *Si bona suscepimus* (Gombert, Mouton, Verdelot) Morales delighted in finding ways to entwine in a new parti-colored braid, melodic strands that in the source motets by no means counterpointed with each other but were, on the contrary, spun out one after the other. From the moment of printing of his first mass, Guerrero proves his mastery of just this same art—that of weaving loose threads drawn out of a source motet into a new, tightly meshed web. Appropriately, he begins by using this parody technique—learned from Morales—upon one of his master's own motets, the winsome four-voice *Sancta et immaculata virginitas*.

So eager is he to use Morales's head motive in as many new combinations as possible that in Kyrie I he introduces it a dozen times within 30 breves (= bars in the transcription). Since this head motive normally occupies 3 breves, the net result is a continuous overlapping of "entries" in the manner of a baroque fugue-stretto. What happens in Guerrero's "parodies" is marvelously proleptic: he becomes so excited with the numerous combinations possible when using only a limited number of motives from his source motet that he begins to write contrapuntal movements of the baroque type (in which subject and countersubject dominate a whole movement). This is not to say that Guerrero consciously decided to embark upon new seas any more than those who first sailed for the "Indies": but rather that he became so engrossed in his master's method as to write, without premeditation, contrapuntal movements in which a single subject keeps turning up in one voice after another throughout the whole movement. In Kyrie I of his *Sancta et immaculata*—shown here as an example—the "subject" dominating the whole movement duplicates the head motive of the source motet. Guerrero makes his "countersubject" from the continuation of the head motive found in Morales's bassus at mm. 7–9. In the Kyrie shown by way of example, roman numerals designate "subject" and "countersubject." (If Morales was his musical godfather, the likeness of motive I to the beginning of Josquin's *Missa Sine nomine* establishes beyond dispute who was Guerrero's "grandfather.")

Since in the rest of the *Sancta et immaculata* Guerrero's parody technique is revealed as admirably as in any of his eighteen masses, his procedures in the other movements are summarized here. Morales divided his reprise-motet into two *partes* of approximately equal length (71 and 70 bars). Measures 33–66 duplicate mm. 105–138. The motet supplies Guerrero with seven motives (the head motive remains the one most frequently quoted throughout the entire mass). These several motives first appear in the motet at the following measures: II (bassus, mm. 7–9); III (altus, mm. 15<sub>4</sub>–17, and bassus, mm. 17<sub>4</sub>–21<sub>3</sub>); IV (bassus, mm. 33<sub>2</sub>–35<sub>3</sub>, and cantus, mm. 37<sub>2</sub>–40<sub>1</sub>); V (cantus, mm. 44<sub>3</sub>–46<sub>3</sub>, and tenor, mm. 45<sub>4</sub>–48<sub>3</sub>); VI (tenor, mm. 72–73<sub>4</sub>); VII (bassus, mm. 86<sub>3</sub>–89<sub>1</sub>). Morales himself develops each of motives III–VII in a distinct point of imitation—bandying III in six entries, IV in four, V





drawn from Morales: instances of this occurring in both the Crucifixus (in which he again dramatically reduces his number of voices after a preceding section scored full) and in the Sanctus.

Because he quotes motives from his source anywhere and everywhere, objection might be taken that Guerrero shows even less originality than the sixteenth-century composer of parody masses had a right to exhibit. This objection collapses, however, if account is taken of the uses to which he puts motives drawn from his sources. In the *Sancta et immaculata*, for instance, he never quotes Morales's polyphonic complex. Rather, he always excerpts Morales's motives, and of them devises new and unforeseen combinations. Strictly speaking, indeed, such a mass as the *Sancta et immaculata*, because of this procedure, does not even exemplify the classic concept of parody; for, according to the classical definition, the whole polyphonic complex itself (and not just motives drawn out of that complex) should be quoted at least occasionally in a parody mass. If an excursion into semantics be allowed, a better classification for a mass such as this one of Guerrero's would be in a category, then, of new name—*permutation* mass. It is significant, moreover, that such a type should have developed in a Spanish milieu—tentatively sprouting in Morales's masses and luxuriantly blossoming in Guerrero's—Spain being the nation above every other one in sixteenth-century Europe where the *glossa* and the *diferencia* enjoyed their heyday.

Account having now been taken of Guerrero's procedures in his parody—or, better, permutation—masses, our next concern must be to examine his masses of plainsong derivation. Again as in Morales's two books, Guerrero includes a *De beata Virgine*, in both his 1566 and 1582 collections. The 1566 is perhaps the more interesting because of its text, which in Kyrie and Gloria movements is as heavily troped as Anchieta's movements in the *Missa de Nuestra Señora* (= *de beata Virgine*) composed cooperatively with Escobar some half-century earlier.<sup>373</sup> It is the more interesting also because when placed side by side, Anchieta's treatment of the same melody is found to differ pronouncedly from Guerrero's. The accompanying illustrations therefore include: (1) the tenth-century plainsong Kyrie, as edited by the Solesmes Benedictines; (2) Anchieta's

discantus, ca. 1500; (3) the initium of the troped Kyrie as printed (with sharps) in Luys de Villafranca's *Breue instruccion de canto llano* (published at Seville in 1565 with approbations signed by Pedro Fernández and Francisco Guerrero); (4) Guerrero's superius (*Rex virginum*), tenor (*Christe*), and superius (*O Paraclite*), 1566. In Anchieta's Kyries, every phrase except the first begins on the "downbeat" of the measure. Small note-values occur only toward the end of phrases. Seven of the nine phrases close with the same syncopated tag. Guerrero, a half-century or so later, eliminates all traces of the static, posed marble to be seen in the earlier art-work, and instead dissolves the chant into fluid rhythms. He divides the plainsong into a greater number of phrases—eleven—without changing the total number of measures. Each successive phrase within sections (except the last two in *O Paraclite*) begins on a different "beat" of the measure from its predecessor; and the rhythms at the end of phrases are quite different at each of the eleven cadences. As would be expected, the cadences themselves are much more varied in their harmonic implications. Whereas Anchieta parsimoniously restricts himself to V-I and IV-I cadences, Guerrero begins (1) with a leading-tone cadence; and then proceeds in this order: (2) phrygian, (3) authentic, (4) authentic, (5) leading-tone, (6) authentic, (7) deceptive, (8) IV-V, (9) leading-tone, (10) half, (11) authentic. Though a categorical comparison of the accidentals that they require cannot be attempted, it is significant that Guerrero inserts a printed sharp before the third note in both tenor (meas. 2) and superius (meas. 4). This sharp, as Villafranca's instructor (1565) reveals, was considered obligatory at Seville when the *Rex virginum* was sung even as a plainchant. (Present evidence would tend to show that the Gregorian repertory never received a richer overlay of accidentals—sharps, especially—than at Seville, ca. 1565.)

Guerrero's two Requiems (1566 and 1582) differ pronouncedly in their lengths, the second being extended with the *Libera me* responsory and its versicle which belong to the Burial Service (after Mass).<sup>374</sup> Among the unusual movements chosen in his 1582 Requiem for polyphonic setting is the *Hei mihi Domine* that belongs to the second nocturn of matins in the Office of the Dead.<sup>375</sup> This particu-

<sup>373</sup> *MME*, I, 35–61.

<sup>374</sup> *Liber usualis*, 1947 ed., pp. 1126–1128.

<sup>375</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1150–1151. Guerrero's *Hei mihi* is in his 1589



## Missa de beata Virgine

Georgius Geminus Drexler *Liber usualis* (1947 ed.), p. 25.

Ky-ri- e e- le- i- son. *ry.*

Chri- ste e- le- i- son. *ry.*

Ky- ri- e e- le- i- son. *ij.*

Ky- ri- e e- le- i- son.

Juan de Anchieta (*Missa de Nuestra Señora*). *MME*, I, 35–37.

Rex, vir- gi- num a- ma- tor, De- us, Ma- ri- æ de-  
- cus e- le- i- son.

Chri- ste, De- us de Pa- tre, ho- mo na- tus Ma- ri-  
æ Ma- tre, e- le- i- son.

O Pa- tris- ci- te ob- um- bras cor- pus Ma- ri-  
æ, e- le- i- son.

Luis de Villafraanca, *Breve instruccion* (1565), fol. 13<sup>v</sup>.

Rex, vir- gi- num a- ma- tor De- us

Francisco Guerrero, *Liber primus missarum* (1566), fols. 79<sup>v</sup>–80<sup>v</sup>.

Rex, vir- gi- num a- ma- tor De- us, Ma- ri- æ  
de- cus e- le- i- son, e- le- i- son.

Chri- ste, De- us de Pa- tre, ho- mo na- tus Ma- ri- æ  
Ma- tre, e- le- i- son, e- le- i- son.

O Pa- tris- ci- te ob- um- bras cor- pus Ma-  
ri- æ, e- le- i- son, e- le- i- son.

lar portion of the 1582 *Missa pro defunctis* was the first movement of either Requiem to become available in modern reprint—Pedrell having elected to include it (all voices being transposed down a fourth) in his *Hispaniae schola musica sacra*, Volume II (pp. 8–12). In contrast with most of the movements in his second Requiem, this noble *Hei mihi* quotes the plainsong prototype in current Roman use only sporadically. At best, only one or two phrases—“*Quid faciam miser*” in trebles and “*ubi fugiam*” in tenor—recall the plainsong. Even then they seem to do so more by coincidence than by design. Also

by way of distinction, *Hei mihi* calls for six voices: a greater number than any other movement throughout either Requiem (both of which are for the most part scored *a 4*). Lastly, it differs from the generality of his Requiem movements because it is composed in motet style (series of imitative points), rather than as paraphrased chant with accompaniment scored for the three lower voices.

As Morales had done in 1544, Guerrero in both his 1566 and 1582 Requiems consistently alternated short monodic passages with polyphony. The three Agnuses in both 1566 and 1582 Requiems are each, for instance, composed as alternating movements: with the words “*Agnus Dei*” being sung each time in plainsong. This alternation between monody and polyphony also distinguishes the *Libera me* responsory appended to the 1582 *Pro defunctis* (*Quando caeli movendi, Dum veneris, and the last Libera me*

and 1597 motet publications. In motets as such, Guerrero refrained from quoting plainsong. The fact that *Hei mihi* found its way into the 1589 and 1597 collections strongly suggests that any faint resemblances to a plainsong source discernible in the motet were merely the result of chance.



are each sung as plainchant; whereas the first *Libera me* [a 4]—as well as the three versicles, *Tremens factus* [a 3], *Dies illa* [a 3], and final *Requiem aeternam* [a 4]—are each set polyphonically).

Guerrero's second Requiem can be shown to have been sung in the New World as late as 1650. In the same decade that his *Liber vesperarum* was in daily use at the Lima Cathedral his second Requiem was being copied into both Choirbook 3 (folios 6<sup>v</sup>-28) and loose partbooks at the Puebla Cathedral in Mexico. For the sentimental reason that it obviously belonged to the "American" repertory in an earlier day, as well as for its intrinsic musical value, a sample from this 1582 Requiem merits reproduction here. The *Dies illa* versicle enjoys a further advantage: it typifies Guerrero's treatment of plainsong in most movements of his Requiems. Crosses above treble notes (accompanying example) indicate those quoted from the plainchant. Still another interesting discovery awaiting the student of Guerrero's masses must be mentioned in connection with this excerpt. Guerrero is the first peninsular composer who consistently observed Zarlino's ten rules for setting Latin text (broached in *Le istitutioni harmoniche* [quarta parte, cap. 33] of 1558 and repeated in his *Istituzioni harmoniche* of 1573<sup>376</sup>). Lastly, it will be worth noting that Guerrero uses in this example, as elsewhere in his Requiems, a number of ligatures not often encountered in the works of other Spanish composers after 1550—the *cum proprietate et sine perfectione* two-note ligature, and the three-note type beginning as a *ligatura cum opposita proprietate*, for instance.<sup>377</sup>

As for stylistic and liturgical analysis of both 1566 and 1582 Requiem from another pen: Luis Merino Montero said the last word in Chapter 6 of his definitive dissertation, "The Masses of Francisco Guerrero." In volume 1, at pages 159, 171 and following, he wrote:

The earlier (1566) version stems from a liturgical form differing in several respects from the Roman Mass of the Dead, as reformed by the Council of Trent. The local liturgy was in use at Seville until January 5, 1575, the date

<sup>376</sup> Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (Venice: 1558), pp. 340-341; *Istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice: Francesco de i Franceschi Senese, 1573), pp. 421-422.

<sup>377</sup> See Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900-1600* (4th ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1949), pp. 90-91.

Missa pro defunctis (1582)  
Dies illa \*

Puebla Choirbook 3, fols. 26<sup>v</sup>-27. Francisco Guerrero

Di- es il- la, di- es i-  
Di- es il- la, di- es i-  
-rae, ca- la- mi- ta- us, et mi- se- ri- ae, et  
ca- la- mi- ta- us, ca- la- mi- ta- us, et mi- se- ri- ae, et  
mi- se- ri- ae, di- es ma- gna  
mi- se- ri- ae, di- es ma- gna et  
et a- ma- ra val- de, et a- ma- ra val- de.  
et a- ma- ra val- de, et a- ma- ra val- de.

\* That day is a day of wrath, calamity, and misery: that great and very bitter day.

when the cathedral chapter decreed the exclusive use of the Roman rite. In the version of his Requiem published at Rome in 1582, Guerrero made as many changes and substitutions as were needed to conform with the newly adopted rite.

In order to conform with the Roman liturgy, Guerrero (1) eliminated the *Dicit Dominus: Ego sum resurrectio*; (2) changed the text of the Gradual and Offertory to match the Roman missal of 1570; (3) replaced the *Sicut cervus* tract with the *Absolve Domine*; and (4) substituted the Roman version of the Communion chant. Also in 1582 he added two more movements, the *Libera me, Domine* (belonging to the Burial Office) and a six-voice motet, *Hei mihi Domine*.

The text of the latter motet (published by Felipe Pedrell at Barcelona in *Hispaniae schola musica sacra* [1894], II, 8-12 and by Bruno Turner at London in the *Mapa Mundi* series Spanish Church Music, No. 17A [1978]) belongs to the responsories of the *Officium defunctorum*. But



Guerrero incorporates no plainchant in it, as he does in every other portion of the 1566 and 1582 versions of his Requiem. Therefore, while the version of 1566 resembles both Requiems of Morales, in that it contains solely elements belonging to a Mass for the Dead, the revised version of 1582 can be likened to Victoria's Requiems (1583 and 1605) in that it includes elements from the Burial Service and the Office of the Dead.

The Tracts of 1566 and 1582 differ not only in their texts but also in the amount of polyphony included. In the *Sicut cervus* (1566) Guerrero supplies polyphony for the first and second verses, whereas in the *Absolve Domine* (1582) he sets polyphonically only the first verse. In both the 1566 and 1582 Tracts he abstains from plain-song incipits. On the other hand, in both 1566 and 1582 versions the plainchant initiums for Guerrero's "Introit" ("Requiem aeternam") and offertory ("Domine Jesu Christe Rex gloriae") include more words (those italicized) than do the initiums in non-Spanish Requiems of his century. In this detail, as in numerous others, Guerrero aligns himself with Morales's Conde de Ureña Requiem and with Vásquez's Mass of the Dead in his *Agenda defunctorum* (Seville, 1556). Guerrero intrusts the plainsong to the top voice throughout the Introit, Gradual, Offertory, Agnus, and Communion of 1566 and 1582; and to the tenor throughout the Tracts of 1566 and 1582. (The tenor is the plainchant bearing voice also in Morales's and Vásquez's settings of the *Sicut cervus* Tract).

As might be expected, Guerrero's Requiem in both 1566 and 1582 versions is not as contrapuntally imitative as his other Masses are. He shifts to the familiar (chordal) style in the Gradual, Communion, and Offertory, to underscore particular words or phrases. However, imitative writing is extensively found in more movements than in either of Morales's Requiems. Double imitation, which is everywhere else a typical feature of Guerrero's Mass style, is very much in evidence in Kyries I and II, as well as in the course of the Offertory (measures 15–21), Sanctus (mm. 33–37), Agnus (mm. 50–52), 1566 Communion *a 5* (mm. 109–112), and 1582 Communion *a 4* (mm. 8–12), Guerrero's propensity for creating a highly unified continuum among the voices surrounding the cantus firmus by means of extensive imitation of single subjects or by repetitions of motives in the individual voices is also everywhere in evidence throughout both versions of his Requiem.

Altogether, Guerrero's superb artistic mastery places his 1566 and 1582 Requiem versions among the most magnificent and dramatic of his creations. In the Mass of the Dead published last among the nine masses in 1566 and eight in 1582 he rises to heights fully equal to the ascents of Morales and Victoria in their better known masterpieces.

Guerrero's best known motet, *Ave Virgo sanctissima*, not only served as the source for Géry de Ghersem's 1598 mass but also for Juan Esquivel's 1608 mass. There can be little doubt that the uninformed estimate that makes of Guerrero a merely mellifluous composer of Marian praises owes something of its origin to the excessive popularity of this one motet—which to judge from Pacheco's praise must have become a veritable Rachmaninoff C<sub>♯</sub> minor Prélude shortly before 1600. The words set by Guerrero belong to that of an antiphon sung in sixteenth-century Spain on June 24 (Nativity of John the Baptist). The *Ave Virgo sanctissima* plainsong had already been printed in a *Liber processionarius* at Alcalá de Henares as early as 1526, and was therefore no parvenu melody in Guerrero's day.<sup>378</sup> Unlike Juan Navarro, who composed a setting of the same antiphon text, Guerrero chose to adopt only the words and to ignore the traditional melody associated with them: contenting himself instead with a passing allusion at mm. 24–33 to quite another plainsong, the *Salve Regina*. Because of the high order of Navarro's creative gift, a comparison of his *Ave Virgo sanctissima*<sup>379</sup> with Guerrero's should prove instructive.

The plainsong itself is in Mode VIII. Navarro, who treats it in cantus firmus style, is therefore committed to the hypomixolydian; whereas Guerrero chooses Mode I. Navarro assigns the first three plainsong incises to his tenor, the fourth and sixth to cantus, fifth to altus, and seventh (and last) again to tenor. The first few notes of each plainsong incise are heavily weighted with *Pfundnoten*—notes of small value being reserved for the ends of each incise. Guerrero, however, dislikes the knottiness of such long notes in motets, reserving them exclusively for vespers music. In magnificats and hymns he will

<sup>378</sup> Copies of Miguel de Eguía's Jeronymite processional of 1526 may be seen at both The Hispanic Society (complete) and The New York Public Library (imperfect). Indiana University owns a third copy (perfect). The *Ave Virgo sanctissima* antiphon occurs at fols. 85<sup>v</sup>–86.

<sup>379</sup> Printed (with flaws) in Elústiza-Castrillo, *op. cit.*, pages 116–118. Corrections: meas. 17<sub>4</sub>, bassus, should read A, not F; meas. 18, cantus, eliminate dot after semibreve d<sup>1</sup>, and lengthen minim b to semibreve; meas. 42<sub>2-4</sub>, altus, eliminate notes with descending stems. No account is taken of necessary ficta at such places as meas. 25<sub>2</sub>, altus; nor at cadences.



frequently draw a plainsong strand through his skein, but in motets he prefers to thread every part with free-flowing lines. Navarro introduces five wide leaps within the first half-dozen bars and makes of the octave an expressive interval, using it within words. But Guerrero never leaps upward in either of his trebles a greater distance than a fourth throughout his 74-bar motet; and five of the six octave skips in inner voice parts coincide with punctuation in the text. Navarro's motet demands for its successful execution trebles of crystalline purity who can rise repeatedly to  $g^1$  in the first space above the clef without strain and without a loss of pitch. In spacing his four voices, he occasionally submerges the three lower voices below Middle  $c$  while the trebles soar to a distance of an octave and a third, fourth, or even sixth above the nearest voice. Guerrero, who chooses  $d^1$  for his highest treble note, keeps all five voices grouped so compactly that no gap wider than an octave ever separates any two adjacent voices throughout all 74 measures.

Guerrero's motet has been admired for its "sweetness" by every critic who has studied it. If Ornithoparchus—whom John Dowland translated in 1609—had it correctly, then: "Euery Song is so much the sweeter, by how much the fuller it is of formall Closes."<sup>380</sup> In defining his terms, Ornithoparchus (as translated by Dowland) wrote as follows: "Being that euery Song is graced with formall Closes, we will tell what a Close is. Wherefore a Close is . . . a little part of a Song in whose end is found either rest or perfection. Or it is the coniunction of voices (going diuersely) in perfect Concords."<sup>381</sup> If Ornithoparchus and Dowland were right in believing that "sweetness" depends on the frequency of "formall Closes," then Guerrero's *Ave Virgo sanctissima* is indeed "sweeter than the honeycomb." His nineteen V-I cadences, not to speak of his half-dozen leading-tone cadences (VII $\sharp$ -I), make a dramatic contrast with Navarro's slim total of six V-I cadences. To solidify the harmonies, Guerrero's bass always participates in the closes; whereas Navarro's frequently drops out just at the moment of resolution: the tenor being left with the duty of singing the lowest note in the resolving chord. Not only does Guerrero cadence

frequently, but also in every instance his cadences are so deployed as to further his overall harmonic scheme. For instance, the first five cadences are all authentic—G minor serving as the resolving chord. The next three are leading-tone cadences; and again resolve each time to G minor. Following these, he writes five more V-I cadences (mm. 25–33), each of which still resolves to the G-minor chord. Thus, he confines himself exclusively to G minor as the flowerbed over which to sip his honey during the first 33 bars. Only at meas. 34 does he move into another field. However, having abandoned the old he stays out of it through the whole of the second section (mm. 34–61); never once writing another cadence that resolves into G minor until he reaches meas. 62. The remaining strains (mm. 62–74) serve as a coda. As for the cadences in his second section: these resolve successively to chords of D minor (meas. 36), F Major (meas. 44), B $\flat$  Major (mm. 50–51), and D minor (mm. 55–56). In the "coda" he recapitulates his over-all harmonic scheme by writing in close series three authentic cadences that resolve successively to chords of G minor (mm. 63–64), F Major (meas. 66), and D minor (mm. 69–70). The last four measures conclude with the only plagal cadence in the motet. It is for his *vale* that he saves his linked sweetness, "long drawn out." (D Major serves as the ending chord in the amen cadence.)

In contrast with this ordered scheme, Navarro not only shies away from authentic cadences—writing as few as possible—but surrounds his leading-tone F's with such frequent skips of a fourth or fifth that ficta sharps can only now and then be intruded. If by printing frequent sharps in both the 1566 and 1570 editions of his motet Guerrero showed in which direction his sympathies lay, Navarro, on the other hand, by his voice-leading countermanded any close approach to modern major or minor syntax. To sum up: Guerrero's setting won later-day sympathies because his *Ave Virgo* is essentially a "G-minor" piece (which happens to end on the "dominant" chord); Navarro's, although it communes in high and holy places, is more removed, more abstracted, and more reticent. Guerrero's exhibits more virtuosic contriving with its canon between the upper two voices. But the leaven of "learning" never causes his sweet dough to turn into sour any more than does, for instance, the equally felicitous canon at the octave in the last movement of Franck's sonata.

*Ave Virgo sanctissima* seems to have been recog-

<sup>380</sup> Andreas Ornithoparchus, *Micrologus, or Introduction: containing the art of singing*, trans. by John Dowland (London: T. Adams, 1609), p. 85.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.



nized for its full worth by Guerrero himself from the first moment of publication. Not only did he give it pride of place among the three motets that he elected to include in an appendix to his *Liber primus missarum* but also he twice republished it, first in his 1570 and second in his 1597 motet collection. *Usquequo Domine oblivisceris*<sup>382</sup> and the eight-voice *Pater noster*, the companion motets published with *Ave Virgo sanctissima* in the 1566 *Liber primus missarum*, were also to be repeated in other collections—both recurring in his 1570 collection, and the *Pater noster* having already appeared in his 1555 *Sacrae cantiones* as well. If we go beyond the three motets in the 1566 *Liber*, still further arresting instances of such reprinting await us. To take only the concordances between the 1555 and 1570 collections for an introduction to the problem: *Ambulans Jesus (a 5)*, *Dedisti Domine habitaculum (a 4)*, *Et post dies sex (a 5)*, *Gloriose confessor (a 4)*,<sup>383</sup> *Pater noster (a 8)*, and *Regina coeli (a 4)* are carried over from one collection into the other. But the four-voice settings of the *Salve Regina* in both 1555 and 1570 collections differ, as do the two four-voice settings of Luke 11:14 entitled *In illo tempore* (1570 adds Luke 11:27b). It goes without saying that the *Ave Maria*, *Beatus es*, *Ductus est Jesus*, and *Simile est regnum coelorum* motets found in the two books differ—since in each instance the number of voice parts conflicts. In summary, twelve motets of the same title occur in the 1555 and 1570 collections. Six are duplicates; the other six differ.

The problem of duplicates having been introduced by reference to the 1555 and 1570 imprints, one next asks: Why did Guerrero—and he alone among the principal Spanish composers—reset the same motet texts in so considerable a number of instances? Both Morales and Victoria did, it is true, compose more than one setting of such a Marian antiphon as the *Salve Regina*. Victoria composed two settings of the half-verse found at Lamentations 1:12a. The first version (1572) is a motet and the second (1585) a responsory. He also composed two settings of the Corpus Christi text *O sacrum convivium*: one a 6,

<sup>382</sup> Psalm 12.

<sup>383</sup> In *Sacrae cantiones* (1555) the text honors Jerome; in the *Motteta* (1570), Dominic; in the Santiago Codex at Valladolid, “N” (the name of any desired saint). This motet, as printed in both 1555 and 1570 versions, extended to two *partes* (*Pars 2: Et ideo*). Elústiza-Castrillo, *op. cit.*, pages 86–88, printed only *Pars 1*.

the other a 4. But these are solitary examples in comparison with Guerrero’s many. Would it be correct to infer that with some texts—the *Ave Virgo sanctissima* (1566, 1570, 1597) affording as good an example as any—Guerrero felt that his first try could not be improved upon; but with certain other texts, such as the *O Domine Jesu Christe* (which appears as a four-voice motet in both the 1570 and 1589 collections, the music being different in each instance), he felt dissatisfied with his earlier setting and therefore returned for a second time to the same words?

If any satisfactory answer is to be found, it should be sought through an analysis of two diverse settings: preferably with the same number of voices, of equal length, and in similar contrapuntal style. Furthermore, the text should belong to a specific occasion in the liturgical year rather than being one so general in character as to suit almost any day in the calendar. For such an analysis, the above-mentioned settings of *O Domine Jesu Christe* suggest themselves as a suitable test case. Both the 1570 version and the 1589 call for the same number of voices; both use  $\Phi$  for a “time signature”; both are of approximately equal length (65 breves [1570] and 63 [1589]); and both are composed as a series of loose imitative points. Indeed, so conspicuous are the likenesses between the setting that appears at page 19 of the 1570 partbooks headed *Dominica Palmarum*, and the version that appears as number 12 in the 1589 partbooks, that after a superficial glance at the two a critic might declare no artistic problem to be involved. Guerrero, such a critic might say, wrote a second setting of this Palm Sunday motet text—just as some such Romantic composer as Schubert composed two settings of Goethe’s *Am Flusse* (1815 and 1822) or even three of Schiller’s *Der Jüngling am Bache* (1812, 1815, 1819)—not in the hope of succeeding better the second time, but because he found certain texts particularly congenial. Moreover, to contend that he did succeed better with this text the second time than the first finds no support in any judgment delivered by his contemporaries; for it was the 1570, rather than the 1589, version that was chosen for reprint in *Sacrarum symphonia-rum continuatio. Diversorum excellentissimorum auctorum* published at Nuremberg by Paul Kaufmann in 1600.

But to proceed with a more detailed examination of the two settings. First: although the text is the



same and the over-all length nearly equal, Guerrero emphasizes certain phrases in the one motet as compared with the other. The translated text will clarify this distinction: (1) O Lord Jesus Christ, (2) I adore thee, (3) wounded on the cross, (4) drinking gall and vinegar. (5) I entreat Thee (6) that Thy wounds be (7) the remedy of my soul. In the 1570 version he allots the following number of measures to these seven successive phrases:  $21 + 6 + 7 + 7 + 7 + 3 + 14 = 65$ . In the 1589 version his scheme runs as follows:  $15 + 7 + 4 + 14 + 6 + 6 + 11 = 63$ . The most striking difference in proportion is to be found in his treatment of phrase (4). In the 1570 motet, "drinking gall and vinegar" occupies only half the number of bars allotted this clause in the 1589 version. For a second distinction, only the 1589 motet contains any lengthy melismas; and those are appropriately assigned the word "drinking" (mm. 37-39). For a third difference, the 1570 motet is in Mode IV, the 1589 in Mode I. If in his 1570 motet he is to stay within his mode, he may then use no accidentals other than sharps (G#, C#, F#). His "harmonic" vocabulary cannot go beyond the following chords: E Major and minor, F Major, G Major, A Major and minor, C Major, and D Major and minor—a total of nine. Missing from this group is the major chord built over B. Because of the limitation on accidentals, the all-important chord built over the final of the mode can be approached only by a plagal cadence. The 1589 motet, on the other hand, is cast in Mode I. As a result it becomes at once possible to use flats (Bb, Eb) as well as sharps (C#, F#)—the "harmonic" vocabulary being significantly enlarged to include the following twelve chords (several of which are related to each other only remotely): D Major and minor, E minor, Eb Major, F Major, G Major and minor, A Major and minor, Bb Major, C Major and minor. More importantly, he can with the accidentals at his disposal "modulate" (transitorily) as far afield as the "keys" of Eb Major and C minor. Analysis of the 1589 motet discloses that he indeed puts to fullest use all these added "harmonic" possibilities. Best of all, he uses them with unmistakable dramatic intent. Throughout phrases (1) and (2) he specifies only Bb's, F#s, and C#s. But suddenly, at the appearance of the word *vulneratum* in phrase (3), he specifies an Eb chord. During only seven semibreves (his values) he travels at mm. 23-26 through this succession of chords: A Major-D minor-Bb Major-Eb Major-C minor-G Major;

these chords being used to set the phrase "wounded on the cross." Palestrina, when setting the first phrase of his eight-voice *Stabat Mater* conceived no more poignant succession.

Guerrero in 1570 set the words *in cruce vulneratum* with a gently drooping series of first-inversion chords. The words that follow—*felle et aceto*—received scarcely less neutral treatment. No radically new "key"-area was explored when the words "gall and vinegar" were mentioned, nor did any change of pace, of vocal registration, or of contrapuntal manner, stab the listener into awareness. On the contrary, the harmonies continued to revolve closely within the orbit of A minor throughout mm. 28-38, veering off toward D minor only momentarily in meas. 35. When setting the same clauses in his 1589 motet, he explores not only a hitherto unheard key-area, but more particularly that of Eb: this being the area which stands in so-called Neapolitan relationship to the dorian D-minor tonality established during the first 15 bars of the 1589 motet. Having terminated the section setting the words *felle et aceto potatum* at meas. 40 in his 1589 motet, he thereafter excludes Eb-Major and C-minor chords from any further participation, thus proving the Neapolitan effect not to have been introduced haphazardly. In the 1589 version, the progression of the harmonies remains continually interesting, moreover, until the very end. An especially fine touch graces meas. 46, where he transitorily modulates to F Major territory when arriving at the word *te* in the phrase "I entreat Thee."

If our analysis is valid, then Guerrero in his second setting chose these expressive devices in order to stress the words "drinking gall and vinegar": (1) he doubled the number of measures allotted this phrase; (2) he emphasized the word "drinking" with melismas elsewhere absent from either setting; (3) he introduced in the 1589 motet a sudden flatted supertonic at mm. 24-25 and 28-29—this being a harmonic relation that was not yet to have lost its "pathetic" quality when Beethoven came to write the opening page of his Opus 57. The new concern with expressivity in Guerrero's 1589 motets follows, of course, the trend manifest in Marenzio's *Motecta festorum totius anni* (Rome: 1585) and in the publications of lesser madrigalists. Because of his consummate mastery of traditional motet techniques, Guerrero succeeds better than his juniors, however, in infusing passion without breaking the old molds.



Just because it is more the spirit than the letter which quickens in his later motets, it would be easy to pass over in silence the 1589 motets in four and five parts as if they were conservative throwbacks,<sup>384</sup> and to consider only his twelve-voice *Duo Seraphim*, his eight-voice hymns, *Te Deum* and *Pange lingua*, his eight-voice antiphon, *Regina coeli*, and eight-voice motet, *Ego flos campi*, as truly progressive specimens. But should our analysis be accepted, such is not the case. What lastly must be observed of his 1589 *O Domine Jesu Christe*, and by implication of certain companion motets in the 1589 set, is its peculiarly Ignatian tendency to dwell on just those physical details of Christ's passion which are physically harrowing. The *Spiritual Exercises* with their emphasis on the tears, the perspiration, and the blood, are counterparted by Guerrero's emphasis in 1589 on the "drinking of the gall and vinegar."

Another aspect of Guerrero's motet style which will repay study is his use of learned devices. Morales introduced formal canons more sparingly in his motets than in his magnificats and masses. Victoria wrote three motets *a 5* in which the two trebles follow each other in a canon at the unison: *Gaude Maria* (1572), *O lux et decus Hispaniae* (1583), and *Resplenduit facies ejus* (1585). In addition, he included a four-in-two canon in his six-voice motet *Trahe me post te* (1583). For the rest, he neglected formal canon in this branch of his repertory. Guerrero, the most distinctively Spanish of the trinity, contrasts sharply with both Morales and Victoria in the frequency in which he introduces formal canon in his motets. Already in his maiden publication at Seville, he begins with eight canonic motets *a 5*. The first is labelled *fuga ad unisonum*, the second *fuga ad secundam*, the third *fuga ad tertiam*, the fourth *fuga ad quartam*, and so forth through the eighth. But—typically Spanish in his treatment of any learned device—he chooses scriptural texts that in each instance express the ideas of following, returning, or sending. The first, *Dixit Dominus Petro*, sets John 21:19b–22. To show how apt is the sense of this passage for canonic treatment, it must here be

quoted verbatim: "The Lord said unto Peter, 'Follow me.' Turning round, Peter saw following them the disciple whom Jesus loved, the one who, at the supper, had leaned back upon his breast, and said, 'Lord, who is it that will betray thee?' Peter therefore, seeing him, said to Jesus, 'Lord, and what of this man?' Jesus said to him, 'If I wish him to remain until I come, what is it to thee? Do thou follow me.'"

Each of the remaining canonic texts is aptly chosen to illustrate the mandates of following, returning, sending. In *Ambulans Jesus* (Matthew 4:18–20), Jesus walking beside the sea of Galilee, sees two brothers, Simon Peter and Andrew, and says to them, "Come follow me, and I will make you fishers of men": at once they leave their nets and follow him. In *Trahe me post te* (Song of Songs 1:3a [Vulgate]; 7:6–8), the single verse, "Draw me: we will run after thee," is matched with three others describing the beauties of the mystic spouse. In the fourth motet, *In illo tempore* (John 17:1–3), Jesus prays that the Father will glorify the Son so that he may in turn glorify the Father. In *Dum complerentur* (Acts 2:1–4), the Holy Spirit prompts the apostles to tell the mighty works of God in various tongues. In *Et post dies sex* (Mark 9:1–5), Jesus takes Peter, John, and James up to the Mount of Transfiguration. In *Hoc enim bonum est* (1 Timothy 2:3–7a), God wishes all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth. In *Simile est coelorum regnum* (pt. 1: Matthew 21:1–2; pt. 2: Matthew 20:3–4), a householder sends laborers into his vineyard.

As if it were insufficient for him to have composed his first canonic motet at the unison, second at the second, third at the third, and so forth; to have chosen none but scriptural texts; and, what is more, to have set only texts that express the mandates of following, returning, sending; Guerrero went even further in such instances as *Ambulans Jesus* and *Et post dies sex* by setting *Ambulans* as a canon at the second because Jesus sees "two" brothers, and *Et post* at the sixth because after "six" days Jesus takes his disciples to a high mountain. True, he cannot always be quite so exact. *Dum complerentur* for Pentecost ("Fiftieth day") is set as a canon at the fifth, and *Trahe me post te* (the Virgin who is mother, daughter, spouse) as a canon at the third. But when an exact number is not mentioned in the text itself, Guerrero's canonic number can be rationalized.

<sup>384</sup>P. Samuel Rubio reprinted the following items *a 4* from the 1589 *Motecta* in his *Antología polifónica sacra*, Vol. II (Madrid: Ed. Cocolsa, 1956), at pages 313–318, 95–101, 205–212: *Dum aurora finem daret* (St. Cecilia), *Exaltata est*, *Sancta et immaculata* (2d pars, *Benedicta tu*). He transposed *Exaltata est* (TTBB becoming CCAT).



All this planning may seem extremely schematic and even "Gothic" in the opprobrious sense that peninsular scholars such as Pedrell have been wont to give that adjective. These 1555 canonic motets, however, stand at the forefront of Guerrero's one collection of motets published in Spain and dominate his only motet collection dedicated to a Spaniard. At the time of publishing them he had never traveled beyond Andalusia and can have known at first hand only the repertoires sung in the Seville, Jaén, and Málaga cathedrals. Pedrell, interestingly enough, published one of these very canonic motets of 1555—*Trahe me post te*. However, neither in his analytical notes nor in his transcription<sup>385</sup> did he betray the fact that Guerrero headed this motet *fuga ad tertiam*. Rather, Pedrell seems to have missed the canon between the two trebles in *Trahe me* just as he had in *Ave Virgo sanctissima*, another motet printed in the same 1894 volume of *Hispaniae schola musica sacra*. And it is just here, of course, that Guerrero's great art that conceals art must be admired. One of the anomalies of Spanish musical criticism has been the categorizing of Guerrero's style as merely tender and graceful when his was so consummate a mastery of counterpoint that Zarlino could call him the "most eminent" musician of their generation. If others attempt such feats as an eight-in-four canon the listener feels a sense of strain. But because Guerrero solves even the hardest problems with the ease of Bach's *Canonische Veränderungen*, he can deceive an unwary editor into believing that he has written simply an expressive piece of music.

*Trahe me post te* hides its learning, then, so successfully that only the forewarned student is likely to notice the canon at the third. What seizes the listener's attention is not the learned device, but such bold strokes as the sweeping contrapuntal lines during the first 24 breves contrasted with the sudden delicious serenity of the music at mm. 25–38; or, again, the exulting urgency of the ascending passage that leads to the words *palmae* and *palmam* in mm. 39–41 and 53–56; or, further, the extraordinary suave sonority obtained at mm. 22, 38, 43, 46–49, 55–56, 58–60, and 62–64 by lacing the outer parts in a succession of parallel tenths while inner parts move

freely in various types of contrary and oblique motion. As in his music generally, Guerrero accepts every change of sentiment in the text as a signal to vary the rhythmic pattern, "key"-area, or vocal registration. These shifts occur at moments of punctuation in the text, and in *Trahe me post te* result in the following musical divisions: I, mm. 1–9; II, mm. 10–15a; III, mm. 15b–24; IV, mm. 25–38; V, mm. 39–50; VI, mm. 51–65; VII, mm. 66–77; VIII, mm. 78–87. Any discussion of "key"-area will confuse the student who must rely on the 1894 reprint (Pedrell chose to transpose this motet down a whole tone). Recourse should therefore be had to Eslava's edition (*Lira sacro-hispana*, I, ii, 105–110), where the original pitches are retained. Sections I, III, V, VI, VII cadence to A minor; II, IV, to C Major; and VIII to A Major. Within sections the harmonies remain continually lithesome. At his most expansive climax Guerrero modulates transitorily to G (meas. 44).

When using Eslava's edition, the student should remember that even he was not wholly faithful to the composer. The 1555 partbooks certify that Guerrero did not write consecutive fifths between "altus" and "bassus" at mm. 23b–24; nor did he break his canon at meas. 31b in "cantus 1"; nor did he skip to and from a dissonance in the "tenor" at meas. 49a—of which solecisms in grammar he is accused in Eslava's edition. In the first instance, the semibreve in the bass at meas. 23b should have read F rather than D; the notes in meas. 23a should have read A (dotted minim) followed by G (crotchet). In the second instance, the cantus should have read e<sup>1</sup> instead of c<sup>1</sup>. In the third, the tenor should have read c (crotchet), B (crotchet), e (minim). Eslava's text-underlay also calls for animadversion—he having made it appear that Guerrero frequently violated Zarlino's rules. The underlay in the original 1555 edition proves that at even so early a date Guerrero did not begin a new syllable after four running crotchets (unreduced values); nor did he intrude new syllables into the middle of a group of running crotchets.

Both Eslava in 1869 and Pedrell in 1894 chose from Guerrero's more than one hundred motets precisely the same two for publication—*Ave Virgo sanctissima* and *Trahe me post te*. Since these both treat of Marian subjects, and since for a known fact, *Ave Virgo* did enjoy astounding popularity around 1600, foreign scholars, with no more support than

<sup>385</sup> *HSMS*, II, xxv–xxvi and 18–23. Reese (*Music in the Renaissance*, p. 595) printed a short excerpt, using Pedrell's transposed version as source.

is provided by these nineteenth-century editions and Pacheco's testimony, have concluded that this particular pair of motets must be Guerrero's twin pearls; and that they can justly be taken as representative of his total achievement.<sup>386</sup> The dangers of making any value-judgments based solely on the editions of Eslava and Pedrell become all too apparent when other hitherto unmentioned lapses in these two editions are acknowledged. In the first place, Pedrell slavishly followed Eslava's errors of transcription—in *Trahe me post te*, for example. Pedrell did, it is true, transpose both *Ave Virgo* and *Trahe me*. He also added expression marks. Although these editorial labors do change somewhat the appearance of the music, they cannot be used to prove that he consulted original sources. In the second place, *Ave Virgo* and *Trahe me* are not representative of Guerrero's entire motet repertory, since they are both canonic. For a third objection, neither *Ave Virgo* nor *Trahe me* is in two *partes*. On the other hand, not only are two of the canonic motets in the 1555 collection—*Simile est regnum* and the eight-voice *Pater noster*—each divided into two *partes*; but, more importantly, eleven of the twenty-three non-canonic motets in this collection are in two *partes*. (The *Salve* is in three.) As for the 1570 collection: twenty-two out of a total of thirty-nine<sup>387</sup> are in two *partes*. (The *Salve* is again in three, but differs from the 1555 setting because of the alternate-verse treatment found in the 1570 setting.) For a fourth objection, *Ave Virgo* and *Trahe me* are not representative: in that they are the only Marian canonic motets in either the 1555 or 1570 collections. Of a total of thirty-two canonic and non-canonic motets in the 1555 collection, eight treat of Marian subjects; of a total of thirty-nine in the 1570, ten treat of Marian subjects. In making these counts, any text that mentions the Blessed Virgin, even such a one as *Elizabeth Zachariae*, is included. *Surge propera* is also counted, since traditional exegesis applies its Song of Songs text to Mary. Without for a moment questioning Guerrero's devotion, it still seems an exaggeration to distinguish him from Morales and

<sup>386</sup>Mitjana, *Francisco Guerrero*, pages 64–66, showed no broader acquaintance with Guerrero's motet repertory than these two items. What is more, he knew only the Pedrell transcription of *Trahe me* and therefore ignorantly classified it as a "seventh-tone" motet (*ibid.*, p. 66).

<sup>387</sup>Pedrell, *HSMS*, Vol. II, p. xxxv, counts 40. His no. 6 should be *pars* 2 of his no. 5.

Victoria (or even from Palestrina) with some such sobriquet as *el cantor de María*, when in sober reality three-fourths of his motets are devoted to quite other sacred subjects.

Although Pedrell in 1894 contented himself with merely duplicating Eslava's limited choices of a quarter-century earlier, he did unwittingly add one new item to the sum of Guerrero's motets now to be found in modern reprint when in 1902 he published the first volume of Victoria's *Opera omnia*. In his 1585 *Motecta Festorum Totius anni*, Victoria had extended hospitality to two six-voice motets by Guerrero—*Pastores loquebantur* (folios 7<sup>v</sup>–10) and *Beata Dei genetrix* (folios 36<sup>v</sup>–40). Both these were plainly labeled as Francisco Guerrero's at recto leaves in Victoria's sumptuous Roman folio. The first, a Christmas motet (*In eodem festo natalis Domini*), comprises a single *pars*. The second, for September 8 (*In nativitate Beatae Mariae*), continues with a second *pars*—*Ora pro populo*. By an oversight, Pedrell caught Guerrero's name at the top of folios 37–40, but missed it at the top of folios 8–10. In consequence, he published Guerrero's *Pastores loquebantur* as Victoria's (*Opera omnia*, I, 142–146). Though misattributed, this motet does at least enjoy the distinction of having been transcribed accurately (so far as notes are concerned) from an original sixteenth-century source, rather than from a secondary nineteenth-century source.

Guerrero himself reprinted this motet in his 1589 *Liber secundus*. In addition, it survives in Cappella Sistina MS 29. In the Vatican copy, *Pastores loquebantur* continues, however, with a second *pars*—*Videntes autem*. It is perhaps not this knowledge alone which causes the listener to feel a certain sense of incompleteness in the single *pars* chosen by Victoria. Even so, a study of this *pars* in the Pedrell transcription should temper the notion that Guerrero reached his apogee only when treating languid or sentimental texts. Here he gives us instead a brilliant and forthrightly jubilant setting of Luke 2:15b–16. The vocal scoring calls for CCATBB—the two trebles constantly crossing each other as do also the two "bearded shepherd" basses. The top melody that one hears, and also the lowest bass line, cannot therefore be read out of any single voice part. Instead, the sounding lowest and top lines are both synthetic. When he arrives at the word *festinantes* ("rejoicing") the pace quickens into a paroxysm of crotchets—Guerrero's energies here for the first time



in the motet bursting forth in a series of sharply accented syncopations (mm. 43–46). But immediately upon reaching the word *invenerunt* (“they found”), he suddenly broadens out into spacious breves and semibreves. As so frequently occurs in his other motets, he holds his most striking chordal sequence in reserve for the climactic clause in the motet text. In *Pastores loquebantur*, he reaches his climax when the shepherds who have hastened from the hillside to the stable find Mary and Joseph and the Christ-child. Up to this moment the cadences have succeeded each other in this order: (1) authentic to G Major, meas. 15; (2) authentic to D minor, meas. 19; (3) complete to C Major, mm. 24–25; (4) authentic to C Major, meas. 42. When the pace slackens suddenly at *invenerunt* he veers into a new chordal area and at meas. 53 for the first time makes an authentic cadence to A Major. His precise intent can by no means be doubted; the 1585 imprint specifies both G $\sharp$ 's and C $\sharp$ 's at mm. 53–54. During the phrase “infant lying in a manger” he writes this succession of chords: A Major, D Major, G Major, C Major, F Major, G Major, A Major (mm. 54–57). During mm. 58–61 he repeats the same progression, except that he substitutes the D-minor chord for the penultimate G-Major. Since this particular group of measures, 54–61, marks his only use of any such colorful harmonic progression, Guerrero's dramatic intent shines through with unusual clarity. In the last dozen bars (which set the word *Alleluia*) he rings changes on I, IV, and V chords in what may anachronistically be called the key of C Major: with a half cadence to close the *pars* (the final chord is built over G).

As if Pedrell's 1902 reprint were insufficient, still another motet was reprinted with a misattribution in the Elústiza-Castrillo Hernández *Antología musical* (Barcelona: 1933). By an oversight the first of Francisco Guerrero's two motets in this volume was at page 86 attributed to his brother Pedro Guerrero. The Valladolid codex from which the transcription was made does, however, correctly attribute *Gloriose confessor Domini* to Francisco. That the younger brother was indeed the composer can under no circumstances be doubted; both the 1555 and 1570 imprints (Seville and Venice) include it at folios 8<sup>v</sup>–9 and pages 22–23 respectively. In the imprints, this motet continues with a second *pars* not to be found in the Elústiza-Castrillo Hernández 1933 transcription. The omission of second *pars* and even the

misattribution are inconsequential, however, when compared with the bad luck in transcribing the notes. As early as meas. 6, the cantus in the transcription has a semibreve on the third beat ( $\frac{3}{4}$  time signature); whereas both manuscript and print calls for only a minim. As a result, the cantus during mm. 7–8 lags a minim behind the three lower parts. At mm. 19–20 the tenor goes wildly astray. Guerrero's intentions are further traduced in this 1933 edition by the omission of numerous obligatory accidentals. True, the “key-signature” of one flat is correctly shown. On the other hand, the six obligatory sharps (= naturals) before B's and an E which are to be found in the 1570 printed edition are all omitted from the 1933 transcription of the motet.

Like thirty-one of the thirty-nine motets published in the 1570 collection, *Gloriose confessor Domini* is assigned by Guerrero to a specific day in the calendar—in this instance, August 4 (Feast of St. Dominic). The other three nonscriptural saints for whose feasts he provides specific motets in the same collection are: Jerome (*Quasi stella*), Sebastian (*Beatus es*), and Clement (*Dedisti Domine habitaculum; 2nd pars, Vidit supra montem*). He groups these saints' motets between his Easter (*Regina coeli laetare*) and his Common of One Martyr motets (*Iste sanctus*). Guerrero's over-all plan for the 1570 collection calls for an introductory motet, then eleven covering the year from Advent to Easter; next, four honoring nonscriptural saints,<sup>388</sup> then five for various commons. A sheaf of miscellaneous motets for Rogation Day, November 30, August 6, June 24, and other more general occasions brings the collection to a close. Unlike his masses, the motets in the 1570, 1589, and 1597 collections always begin with those *a 4*, proceeding thence to those *a 5* and *a 6* (*a 8* and *a 12* in 1589 and 1597).

As a rule, his motets of two *partes* do not adhere to an aBcB pattern. Among the twenty-two of two *partes* in the 1570 collection only two (*Canite tuba* and *Dedisti Domine*) are in responsory form. He sets duple signatures at the head of every motet in both the 1555 and 1570 collections, but does occasionally lapse into triple meter in mid-course: as, for instance, during second *partes* of *Hic vir despiciens*,

<sup>388</sup> The *Salve Regina* (Ad te, Et Jesum, O clemens) breaks the scheme somewhat, since it occurs as an interpolation between *Gloriose confessor* (De sancto Dominico) and *Beatus es et bene tibi* (De sancto Sebastiano).

*Prudentes virgines*, and *Virgo divina* (1570, pp. 35, 37, 45). In each instance, the change of meter coincides with a changed viewpoint in the text. To illustrate: the words *media autem nocte* (p. 37), and they alone, are set in triple meter during *Prudentes virgines*. Only black notes are used in this triple-meter passage. Obviously they signalize the darkness of midnight (*media nocte*) when the Bridegroom's approach is announced to the waiting wise and foolish virgins. In four of the 1570 motets—*O Domine Jesu Christe*, *Dedisti Domine*, *Ambulans Jesus*, and *Usquequo Domine*—Guerrero heads the motet with C (instead of the usual  $\text{C}\flat$ ). In each instance C implies a slower pace than  $\text{C}\flat$ .

Only a few accidentals are to be seen in the 1555 Sevillian edition of Guerrero's motets. Fuenllana's 1554 intabulation of the opening *Pater noster* (a 4) discloses, however, that sharped leading-tones were invariably added at cadences; and frequently within phrases. Guerrero himself specified numerous sharps in later editions of those 1555 motets that he chose to reprint at Venice in 1570 and 1589. *Ambulans Jesus* in the 1555 print (folios 18<sup>v</sup>–19), for example, shows no sharps. The 1570 reprint (p. 41) specifies five sharps in cantus and tenor. *Et post dies sex* shows none in the 1555 (folios 22<sup>v</sup>–23). Two sharps are to be found in the cantus of the 1570 (pp. 42–43). In Victoria's 1585 *Motecta*, Guerrero's six-voice *Beata Dei genetrix* (folios 36<sup>v</sup>–40) contains no less than twenty-six flats and sharps.

Throughout the 1570 set, two flats appear in the "key" signature of only *Clamabat autem mulier Cananea*. The 38 other motets carry no signature, or call for the single flat. Twenty of the 32 motets in the 1555 collection have a signature of one flat. The remaining 12 lack any accidental in the signature. Of the 20 with B $\flat$ , 15 end on G and 5 on F. Of the dozen without accidental, 4 end on G, 3 each on A and E, and 1 each on D and C. Among the 13 motets of two *partes* in the 1555 collection, the first and second *partes* usually conclude with chords built over the same final (nine motets); occasionally with authentically related chords (three); and only once with plagally related chords. The final cadence at the end of any *pars* always involves a V-I or IV-I progression in the 1555 collection, except in *Virgo prudentissima*. In two of the fourth-tone motets, *Beatus Achacius* and *In illo tempore*, the bassus several times touch E $_1$ , a lower note than any in Morales's motets.

Only one of Guerrero's 1555 motets confides a constantly reiterated ostinato to a single part, namely no. 11, *Veni Domine et noli tardare* (a 5). In this Advent motet, superius II sings no other text than the words found in the title. Guerrero repeats the ostinato four times; and inserts rests of three breves between each repetition. Morales in his motet a 6 of like title (published at Venice in 1549 and at Nuremberg in 1554) assigned a similar ostinato to a tenor voice (which, however, descends a step in pitch at each of its five successive recurrences in each *pars* of the motet). Not to be outdone, Guerrero's 1570 F Major motet with a repeated long-note ostinato in an inner voice that best shows his skill is his setting of the passionate Biblical love verses, *Surge propera amica mea*, a 6 (SSAQT $\flat$ B). All voices except the *superius secundus* sing this Song of Songs text (2.10b–13):

Arise, make haste, my love, my dove, my beautiful one, and come. For winter is now past, the rain is over and gone. The flowers have appeared in our land, the time of pruning has come. The voice of the turtle is heard in our land. The fig tree has put forth her green figs. The vines in flower yield their sweet smell. Arise, my love, my beautiful one, and come.

In order to teach the allegorical significance usually read by theologians into this declaration of love, Guerrero assigns to an inner voice (cantus II) an ostinato in breves singing the *Veni sponsa Christi* ("Come bride of Christ") antiphon, first six notes (*Liber usualis*, p. 1214). During both *pars 1* and *pars 2* the ostinato is repeated five times, each time separated by four breves rest. In *pars 1* the ostinato starts successively on c $^1$ , b, a, g, and f. In *pars 2* it starts successively on f, g, a, b, c $^1$ . With such apparent effortlessness does Guerrero carry through the scheme that only the forewarned listener realizes what has been woven together in this magnificent tapestry of sound. Guerrero preaches a sermon as profound as a homily by Luis de León when he joins the "bride of Christ" antiphon to the Song of Songs text. This is Spanish art at its pinnacle.

Guerrero's four motets for eight voices published in 1589 and 1597 *Ego flos campi*, *Regina coeli*, *Laudate Dominum in coelis*, and *O altitudo divitiarum* only await concert performances to reveal him as unsurpassed in his century when so many voices are involved.



## CANCIONES Y VILLANESCAS ESPIRITUALES (1589)

If Guerrero's masses, magnificats, and motets merely equal but do not surpass Morales's and Victoria's in quality and substance, his 61 Spanish songs (33 *a 5*, 20 *a 4*, and 8 *a 3*) published at Venice in 1589 demonstrate, on the other hand, his superiority to all other sixteenth-century peninsular composers when the setting of vernacular poetry is the task in hand.

The title itself is unique. *Canciones*, of course, means "songs" in the generic sense. But *villanesca* was a term that had made its first peninsular appearances in the vihuela tablatures of Pisador (Salamanca: 1552) and Fuenllana (Seville: 1554).<sup>389</sup> In these imprints the term had been applied exclusively to examples of Italian origin. Pisador had intabulated ten *canzoni villanesche* by Vincenzo Fontana and Willaert; Fuenllana had intabulated three—one each by Giovane Domenico da Nola, Fontana, and a hitherto unidentified composer. Since it is to be presumed that Guerrero knew at least the Nola and Fontana examples in Fuenllana's tablature, he cannot have failed to observe the musical characteristics of this light and frolicsome Italian type. True, Nola and Fontana had disagreed on the question of writing consecutive fifths (only Nola gave way to this license). On the other hand, both had agreed to set their texts (always with refrain) syllabically, to eschew imitation, to embrace a chordal style (usually *a 3*) throughout, and to choose light, patter-like rhythms. However, by the time that Esteban Daza published his *El Parnasso* (Valladolid: 1576), the term had lost its vogue in Italy—where *villanella*

replaced it after 1570—and had become domesticated in Spain to mean a thoroughly madrigalian Spanish song: preferably *a 4*. Eight part songs—three by Rodrigo Ceballos, two each by Francisco Guerrero and Juan Navarro, and one by an anonymous composer—were intabulated in Daza's 1576 imprint under the heading of villanescas.<sup>390</sup> In place of Nola's deliberate *gaucheries* of part writing, Daza's examples show closely worked imitation alternating with finely wrought homophonic passages. Not only is the subject always amatory but the treatment is always serious: mere banter being forgone. Further to distinguish the lyrics, the verse includes no burdens. Just as it is obvious that the term had been domesticated by 1576, so also it is immediately apparent to anyone who studies Guerrero's *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* that in 1589 he understood the term wholly in the Spanish sense that Daza gave "villanesca"—even if he did publish his collection at Venice.

Early lexicographers frequently knew so little about music as to lead dictionary-users astray when technical terms are at stake. But still further to prove that the term *villanesca* had lost all its Italian associations before 1600, the definitions in both Covarrubias's *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (Madrid: 1611) and John Minsheu's *A most copious Spanish dictionary* (London: 1617) may be cited. Covarrubias writes: "Villanescas are those songs which country folk are wont to sing when at leisure. But courtiers, changing them for the better, have composed happy little songs in the same mode and measure. Villancicos, so well known at Christmas and Corpus Christi, have the same origin." John Minsheu writes: "Villanescas. *Cantiones quas canunt rustici*. A Carol or Countrie Song." Villancico is Minsheu's next term. He defines it with the one word: *Idem*. Richard Perceval in his *Bibliotheca hispanica* (London: John Jackson, 1591) defined villancico as "a sonet"—which is probably as near an equivalent as one is likely to find, if "sonet" be taken in the loose sense that Byrd had given it when

<sup>389</sup>Diego Pisador classed the following items as "villanescas" in his *Libro de música de vihuela* (Salamanca, 1552): (1) *A quand' haveva*, a 4 (Willaert), fol. 89; (2) *La cortesía*, a 3 (Fontana), fol. 88; (3) *Lagrima mesti & voi sospir dolenti*, a 4 (Willaert), fols. 89<sup>v</sup>-90; (4) *Madonna mia fa*, a 4 (Willaert), fols. 90-90<sup>v</sup>; (5) *Madonna mia la vostra*, a 3 (Fontana), fol. 87<sup>v</sup>; (6) *O bene mio fa*, a 4 (Willaert), fols. 90<sup>v</sup>-91; (7) *O dolce vita mia*, a 3 (Fontana), fol. 87; (8) *Quanto debb'allegrarse*, a 3 (Fontana), fol. 87<sup>v</sup>; (9) *Sempre me fing'ò*, a 4 (anonymous), fols. 88<sup>v</sup>-89; (10) *Tutta s'arissi*, a 3 (Fontana), fol. 88. In addition to these items (traced by Professor John Ward Pisador ciphers at fol. 87. *Io ti vorria contare* from Fontana's same *Canzone villanesche* of 1545. Miguel de Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* of 1554 contains three items classed as "villanescas": (1) *Madonna mia* (Fontana [same as (5) above]), fol. 131<sup>v</sup>; (2) *Oymé, oymé dolente*, a 3 (Nola), fol. 131; (3) *Quando ti veggio*, a 3 (anonymous), fol. 131-131<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>390</sup>Esteban Daza classed the following as "villanescas" in his *El Parnasso* (1576): (1) *Adios verde ribera*, a 4 (F. Guerrero), fols. 87<sup>v</sup>-88<sup>v</sup>; (2) *Ay de mi, sin ventura*, a 4 (Navarro), fols. 85<sup>v</sup>-87<sup>v</sup>; (3) *Callese ya Mercurio*, a 4 (anonymous), fols. 94-95<sup>v</sup>; (4) *Dime, manso viento*, a 4 (Ceballos), fols. 93-94; (5) *Duro mal, terrible llanto*, a 4 (Ceballos), fols. 91<sup>v</sup>-93; (6) *Esclarecida Juana*, a 4 (Villalar [but *recte*, F. Guerrero]), fols. 90<sup>v</sup>-91<sup>v</sup>; (7) *No vez amor*, a 4 (Navarro), fols. 89-90<sup>v</sup>; (8) *Pues ya las claras fuentes*, a 4 (Ceballos), fols. 84-85.



three years previous to the issue of Perceval's dictionary he had published his *Psalmes, Sonets, and songs of sadnes and pietie* (London: 1588).

Guerrero went on to qualify his 1589 songs as "espirituales." According to Mosquera de Figueroa, writer of the 1589 prologue,<sup>391</sup> the verse of Guerrero's canciones had many times been originally secular. Where the lyrics had been amatory, changes were therefore necessary. That such textual revisions were made in at least ten songs would be known even had Mosquera de Figueroa not forewarned us. In what was formerly Medinaceli MS 13230 (now March R. 6829 = 861) the music belonging to items 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, and 54 of *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* recurs with secular texts. In their original amatory guise they have been printed in the modern edition of the *Cancionero musical de la Casa de Medinaceli* at nos. 1, 79, 92, 44, 90, and 59 (MME, VIII and IX). Still another concordance is to be seen between item 45, *Huyd huyd*, of *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* and no. 70 in the modern edition of the Medinaceli songbook. In this one song, however, it was not necessary to change the words—they having been moralistic to begin with. At the Museo Lázaro Galdiano (Madrid) a single soprano manuscript partbook inventoried as item 15411 shows at folio 15<sup>v</sup> a secular song, *Acaba de matarme*, which in *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* is printed with revised text as item 41. At Valladolid Cathedral an alto partbook (MS 255) contains at folios 17, 18, 18<sup>v</sup>, 21, 106<sup>v</sup>, 107<sup>v</sup>, and 108<sup>v</sup> songs entitled respectively: *Divina ninfa mía*, *Prado verde y florido*, *Dexó la venda*, *Vana esperanza*, *Claros y hermosos ojos*, *Baxásteme señora* and *Mi ofensa es grande*. These reappear in *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* with revised texts (except *Vana esperanza*, which is textless at Valladolid, and *Mi ofensa*, the lyrics of which required no changing) as items 42, 40, 36, 44, 2, 3, and 11.

<sup>391</sup> Pacheco, *op. cit.*, fols. 43–44, states that Cristoval Moxquera was born in Seville. His parents were *licenciado* Pedro Moxquera de Moxcoso and Leonor de Figueroa. He studied at Salamanca where he graduated a bachelor of canon laws (*Bachiller en los Sagrados Canones*); then became a licentiate in jurisprudence at the University of Osuna. An extremely versatile student, he mastered not only the classic tongues but Italian as well. Meanwhile, he diligently pursued music, eventually becoming an adept vihuelist (*tocando gallardamente una viguela*). Upon completing his university courses he served successively as *alcalde mayor* at Utrera and *corregidor* at Puerto Santa María.

Lastly, *Adios verde ribera* (item 37 in Guerrero's 1589 imprint) had been intabulated for solo voice and vihuela (with secular text) in Daza's *El Parnasso* of 1576. Thus disregarding *Mi ofensa es grande* and *Huyd huyd* (items 11 and 45 in the 1589 imprint) because the original texts were of sufficiently moralistic nature not to require revision, and eliminating duplicates, we discover a total of ten purely secular songs in Spanish sources which were in 1589 printed as sacred songs in *Canciones y villanescas espirituales*.

In one of these ten songs such drastic textual changes were made that Guerrero had to revise the music as well. The secular lyrics of *Ojos claros, serenos* were by Gutierre de Cetina (1520–1557), a Sevillian who travelled first to Italy (where he translated Petrarch to perfection) and later to Mexico.<sup>392</sup> The poet asks his lady why she turns her "clear and serene eyes" upon him with such fury that he is consumed in rabid torments. He wishes her nonetheless to continue at least glancing at him. First published in Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* of 1554 with secular text, Guerrero's music had to be revised considerably before the sacred version could be printed in

<sup>392</sup> Pacheco, *op. cit.*, sketches Gutierre de Cetina's biography at fols. 70–71.





Ojos claros y serenos

Prosa

[Verso 1<sup>o</sup>] O - jos cla - ros y se - re - nos,  
[Verso 2<sup>o</sup>] O - jos cla - ros y se - re - nos,  
[Verso 3<sup>o</sup>] O - jos cla - ros y se - re - nos,  
[Verso 4<sup>o</sup>] O - jos cla - ros y se - re - nos,

11  
a - jos cla - ros y se - re - nos, al des - can - do  
[O - jos cla - ros y se - re - nos] al  
O - jos cla - ros y se - re - nos, que de - des -  
a - jos cla - ros y se - re - nos, al des - can - do

12  
que mi - rar solo a la - ba - dos, ¿por qué si me mi -  
des - can - do mi - rar solo a la - ba - dos, ¿por  
que mi - rar solo a la - ba - dos, ¿por qué si me mi -  
que mi - rar solo a la - ba - dos, ¿por qué si me mi -

13  
ría, al me mi - rar, mi - rar al - ra - dos? Si que - so  
que, al me mi - rar, mi - rar al - ra - dos? Si que - so  
ría, mi - rar ay - ra - dos? Si que - so  
ría, mi - rar al - ra - dos? Si que - so

14  
más pla - de - nos, más he - lio - po - re - ción a que - so mi -  
más pla - de - nos, más he - lio - po - re - ción a que - so mi -  
más pla - de - nos, más he - lio - po - re - ción a que - so mi -  
más pla - de - nos, más he - lio - po - re - ción a que - so mi -

15  
ría, no me mi - raré con i - ra, por que no pa - re - ción me - nos her -  
ría, no me mi - raré con i - ra, por que no pa - re - ción me - nos her -  
ría, no me mi - raré con i - ra, por que no pa - re - ción me - nos her -  
ría, no me mi - raré con i - ra, por que no pa - re - ción me - nos her -

16  
me - nos. ¡Ay, ay, tor - men - tos ra - biosos! O - jos  
me - nos. ¡Ay, ay, tor - men - tos ra - biosos! O - jos  
me - nos. ¡Ay, ay, tor - men - tos ra - biosos! O - jos  
me - nos. ¡Ay, ay, tor - men - tos ra - biosos! O - jos

17  
cla - ros y se - re - nos, ya que al me mi - rar, mi - rar al  
cla - ros y se - re - nos, ya que al me mi - rar, mi - rar al  
cla - ros y se - re - nos, ya que al me mi - rar, mi - rar al  
cla - ros y se - re - nos, [ya que al] me mi - rar, mi - rar al

18  
me - nos, mi - raré al me - nos, ya que al  
me - nos, [me - raré] me - nos  
mi - raré al me - nos, ya que al me mi - rar, mi - rar al  
mi - raré al me - nos, [ya que al] me mi - rar, mi - rar al

19  
me mi - rar, ya que al me mi - rar, mi - rar al me - nos,  
ya que al me mi - rar, mi - rar al me - nos,  
me - nos, [ya que al] me mi - rar, mi - rar al  
me - nos, [ya que al] me mi - rar, mi - rar al

20  
mi - rar al me - nos, mi - raré al me - nos,  
mi - rar al me - nos, mi - raré al me - nos,  
mi - rar al me - nos, mi - raré al me - nos,  
mi - rar al me - nos, mi - raré al me - nos

1589: the reason being that the “clear and serene eyes” become those of Christ which Peter offended by his thrice-repeated denial. In the sacred version, the penitent beseeches Christ to cast a pitying glance of forgiveness upon him even as Peter was once forgiven: “for I too bitterly weep . . . and, besides, You died for me.” The words “I weep” occur at the same juncture in the sacred version as “Alas, Alas, what rabid torments” in the secular; and the words “and besides, You died for me” at the same juncture as “and even though you [angrily] behold me.” In the rest of the 1589 rewrites, no such drastic change of sentiment was involved; and therefore identical music could be used for sacred and secular versions. Item 4 in the 1589 imprint sets a sonnet by Garcilaso de la Vega (1501-1536), *En tanto que de rosa y azucena*, of which only two lines have been changed. Item 5 sets a 15-line madrigal by the Sevillian poet Baltasar de Alcázar (1530-1606). Among seventy-six words only fourteen have been changed. In one instance he selected an entirely new poem to replace the secular original. At item 54, Lope de Vega’s *Si tus penas no pruebo* replaces *Tu*





was copied with a mixed signature—two flats prefixing the tenor part while single flats prefixed each of the two upper parts. In *Si tus penas*, on the other hand, all three voices carry the single flat: printed  $e\flat$ 's being added where required in the tenor voice (mm. 3 and 14). Printed  $f\sharp$ 's are shown at mm. 1, 4, 9, 12, and a printed  $h\sharp$  (=  $b\flat$ ) at meas. 20. But in the Medinaceli manuscript no sharps were inserted anywhere in *Tu dorado cabello*. Summarizing: the printed versions differ from the secular originals (1) because of certain slight rhythmic adjustments made in order to improve the declamation of the sacred verse, and (2) because a copious supply of sharps has been added. They do not differ significantly from the secular originals so far as pitches or note values are concerned—except in *Ojos claros, serenos*.

In his prologue to *Canciones y villanescas espirituales*, Mosquera de Figueroa not only tells us of the number originally composed to secular texts; he says, also, that Guerrero wrote the 1589 songs at the beginning of his career. So far as *Ojos claros, serenos* is concerned this statement can be corroborated from the fact that Fuenllana published an intabulated version of the secular original as early as 1554. The secular song can hardly have been composed, therefore, much later than 1550; in which year Guerrero was only twenty-two years of age. As for the other songs, no equally objective proof can be brought forward. But what should be of interest, if the majority were indeed composed before 1555, is the immediate contemporaneity of the poems he set. In 1550 neither Gutierre de Cetina (item 34) nor Gregorio de Silvestre (item 10) can have been over thirty; nor can Baltasar de Alcázar (items 5 and 36) have been over twenty. Guerrero's secular poets, with the exception of Garcilaso de la Vega (d. 1536), would therefore have been yeasty Andalusian personalities who had not yet broken into print when he set their verse. Or at least this would be so if Mosquera de Figueroa was correctly informed when he declared at the end of his prologue that *Canciones y villanescas espirituales*, although the most recently published of Guerrero's collections, contained his earliest compositions.

As for the forms in which verse and music are cast, Guerrero divides the contents of the 1589 imprint into a first bloc of songs *a* 5, a second bloc *a* 4, and a third *a* 3; he also divides each of the three blocs into (1) songs without initial refrain and (2) songs with initial refrain. Type 1 songs are through-

composed, even when the poetic original comprises several strophes. If the poem is long (items 9, 10 and 39, for instance), he may articulate his setting in two *partes*. Not only do Type 1 songs lack opening refrains, but also repeated passages of any kind are rare. Exceptions to this rule are found in items 38 (*Esclarecida madre = Esclarecida Juana*) and 54 (*Si tus penas = Tu dorado cabello*). In item 38, the last 16 bars are repeated; in item 54, the first 13. Type 2 songs are all *da capo* or *dal segno* villancicos. In the majority, the coplas—like the trios of classic minuets—reduce parts. In the 20 five-part villancicos, for instance (items 13, 15–33) 8 reduce to three parts (items 15, 19, 21, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33); 5 reduce to solo voice (items 16, 18, 25, 26, 28); and 2 to four parts (items 22, 24). The rhyme-scheme of the coplas usually has nothing to do with that of the estribillo. Only in items 18, 19, 23, and 30 of the five-part villancicos, for instance, does the rhyme spill over into that of the *da capo* section. It does not spill over in any of the three-part villancicos (items 58–61).

The order in which Type 1 songs are arranged, at least insofar as the five-part examples are concerned, seems quite logical. Those seven with  $B\flat$  in their signatures come first. The next five lack signatures. The first seven are all susceptible of classification as major or minor in the modern sense. The next four can be classified as phrygian, or phrygian transposed up a fourth. The last is a mixolydian example. The two "major" examples (items 4 and 5) mention such delights as roses, lilies, a clear fountain, a green walk, larks, and nightingales. The phrygian, or transposed phrygian, examples begin with one in which the poet implores Fortune not to plunge him into an abyss by turning her wheel (item 8); continue with one in which the poet execrates Death for his theft of a promising youth (item 9); another in which the poet passionately cries that he cannot love God (item 10). In the next (item 11) the poet confesses an enormous sin. It can hardly be doubted that Guerrero, who turns even a time signature to expressive account, intended to catch the flavor of bitter dregs with the phrygian mode. In the villancicos (Type 2 songs), on the other hand, he rejoices perpetually. Therefore he never uses an E-mode in the twenty Type 2 five-part items. He casts his Type 2 songs in the F-mode with  $B\flat$  in the signature eight times (items 17, 21–26, 31–32); in the C-mode four times (items 13, 19, 28, 29); and in D-modes ( $\flat$  or  $\flat$ ), G-modes ( $\flat$  or  $\flat$ ), and A-mode ( $\flat$ ) the remaining eight times (15, 24; 18; 16; 27, 23; 20, 30).

That Guerrero was indeed self-conscious in his choice of modes could be inferred from the texts associated with each. But, in addition, Mosquera de Figueroa in his prologue explicitly affirms as much:

There are some who use Tone IV (which is suited for laments), saying that it assuages equally the sorrow of those who by nature are merry and bustling, and of those who by nature are sluggish and retarded; of those whose disposition is gross and of those whose disposition is attenuated. The composer of this collection eschews this particular mode because he himself is on the whole of a cheerful and mild disposition, and tends to pursue moderation in all things. There is another mode called the phrygian [Mode III] which distracts and harasses the mind. The ancients abhorred it. Porphyry called it barbaric because it so easily provokes fighting instincts and a bestial fury. Others have characterized it as bacchic, frantic, headlong, perturbed. . . . This also is a mode not favored by the composer of the present collection—whose style tends to be quieter and more self-controlled, although he always rises to sublime artistic heights. As is at once apparent, our composer himself prefers the ionian mode (which some have characterized as florid, brilliant, and pleasing), and the dorian (which is a more profound, chaste, and controlled mode).

If by ionian we understand the C-mode or the F with flat; and if by the dorian we mean the D-modes or the G with flat; then Mosquera's remarks on Guerrero's modal preferences in *Canciones y villanescas* are not only apt but also illuminating. With the self-consciousness of a painter choosing his colors, Guerrero chose his modes to express different emotions.

Just as he selects his modes with an expressive goal in mind, so also he freely "modulates" to strengthen the emotional impact of the lyrics. When temporal blessings cause the poet's spiritual damnation and God's day-by-day favors make him hard and stiff-necked, Guerrero responds by modulating through the following chords at "favor, punishment" (*Baxóme mi descuydo*, mm. 32–33): A Major–D minor–C minor; at "gracious, hard" (mm. 36–39) he writes the following chordal succession: F Major–A minor–G Major–C minor–G Major–F Major–A minor. When, in another song, the poet pauses after asking the rhetorical question, "Where is now that happy time when I pressed smooth and delicate flowers and drank cool water?" to complain, "A cruel grief and bitter hour has intervened," Guerrero changes mood not only with a pause followed by slow chords for the beginning of the reply, but also with these harmonies for the words ". . . cool

water? There intervened a cruel grief . . ." (*Dezidme fuente clara*, mm. 60–63): G Major–C Major–F Major–E $\flat$  Major–G minor–[B $\flat$  Major]. When the poet turned metaphysician in *Pluguiera a Dios* admits the excellency of God but immediately confesses that he loves Him not and is instead a great sinner, Guerrero seizes upon the words "I am a great sinner" to write this astonishing succession of chords (mm. 50–59): A minor–D Major–G Major–C Major–A minor–B Major–E Major–A Major–F $\sharp$  minor (first inversion)–B minor–G Major (first inversion)–C Major–B Major–E Major–A Major (first inversion)–D Major–D minor–E Major–F Major–D minor–E Major–A Major–F Major–[D minor]. That Guerrero went to extravagant harmonic lengths in this last passage would be known even without analyzing the chords. In this passage, Guerrero not only pits f $\sharp$  against f $\flat$  (meas. 57) and calls for c $\sharp$  followed by c $\flat$  in the same voice (meas. 59) but even dares to specify printed d $\sharp$ 's<sup>394</sup>—the most "inharmonious" of all accidentals—in the inner voices (mm. 53, 55). This bold succession is but one of several such passages in *Pluguiera a Dios*. For instance, at the words "my very great guilt" (mm. 61–62) he writes an F $\sharp$  minor–G Major–F Major sequence.

To summarize: (1) Guerrero picked his modes with expressive intent, just as Mosquera de Figueroa forewarned in his prologue; (2) he freely modulates within the entire range of what would now be called "related keys"; (3) secondary dominants are his escalators from key to key; (4) even more remote "modulations" sometimes occur—these more violent wrenches in the harmonies invariably illustrating a changed viewpoint in the text. His poets shift their sentiments frequently in Type I songs, but much less often in Type II; corollarily, Type I *canciones* contain the boldest harmonic experiments. Both types abound in false relations. On principal beats in both types he frequently writes unprepared augmented-sixth chords (d–f $\sharp$ –b $\flat$ ; E–G $\sharp$ –c). He also proves in *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* to have

<sup>394</sup>A century later, Andrés Lorente in his *El porqué de la música* (Alcalá de Henares: Nicolás de Xamares, 1672), page 218, thought one of the most remarkable features of an organ constructed at Alcalá in 1670 (by a builder from Navarre) to be the keyboard; because to the customary black keys for E $\flat$ 's and G $\flat$ 's were added others for D $\sharp$ 's and A $\flat$ 's. As late, then, as 1670 most Spanish organs lacked D $\sharp$ 's and A $\flat$ 's—according to Lorente. If organs lacked them, their occurrence in Spanish sacred vocal polyphony continued to be just as exceptional.



been one of the earliest composers who specified in print, and with clear harmonic intent, an Italian sixth chord (e<sup>b</sup>-g-c<sup>1</sup>♯: *Pues la guía d'una estrella* [item 27], meas. 13).

Guerrero's other ways of adumbrating text are less exceptional but still of sufficient interest to be worth enumerating. When the poet asks to be humbled (*Baxóme mi descuydo*, mm. 1-3), a descending scale-figure passes imitatively through each of the five voices at the word "abase." Later in the same song Guerrero word-paints *cumbre* (= crest) with a leap of an octave in the bass to d, and in the top voice to a high g<sup>1</sup>. When the poet beseeches Fortune "not to cast me down into the depths with your wheel" (*O dulce y gran contento*, mm. 31-35), the several parts—and especially the conspicuous outer parts—plummet scalewise downward tenths, or less. Still other types of word-painting can be listed. To objectify such abstract ideas as "happiness, glory, heaven" (*A un niño llorando*, mm. 35-42, for instance, he calls for brisk syncopation in the fastest triple meter possible, C3).

All the villancicos (Type II songs) teem with pert, frisky rhythmic figures. Triple meter, absent from Type I songs, is frequently to be found in Type II. The entire villancico may be set in C3 (items 15, 20, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31), or in C♯3 (items 17, 23). Shifts back and forth into triple meter may enliven the villancico in mid-course (items 19, 21, 24). Certainly, the C3 songs never suggest a tempo of less than presto; nor the C♯3 of less than allegro. The sharp and frequently displaced accents heard in the triple-meter songs later were to become the stock-in-trade of every Spanish baroque composer of villancicos. As far away as Peru and Mexico, Juan de Araujo (ca. 1646-1712) and Antonio de Salazar (1650-1715) were still imitating Guerrero's triple-meter mannerisms at the turn of the century. Another tag that later composers imitated to excess was the "hark-hark" beginning. One voice starts with a "hear, hear" figure which the others take up imitatively (items 13, 16, 19, 22). In still other ways Guerrero's technique of villancico composition obtained so widespread and long-continuing a hold on Spanish successors that even today his villancicos are often called the most typical pieces in his entire repertory—perhaps because echoes of them are still heard at Christmas and Epiphany in Spanish cathedrals.

Although Guerrero's villancico style can be proved to have become essentially popular, he forbears using folk melodies. Even when for a stretch

someone sings a solo in his Type II songs, the melodies echo none of Salinas's folk song snippets. *Cantus firmi* are not employed, nor are plainsongs quoted. Unlike the majority of villancicos composed in the century to follow, Guerrero's never divide neatly into equal-length phrases, nor do they cadence at regular intervals. Only rarely does he call for repeats within either the estribillo or the coplas. Where by way of exception he does condescend to repeat within the estribillo, as in *Hombres, victoria* (item 22), he disguises the repetition rather cleverly. In this one song, mm. 10<sub>3</sub>-15 equal 21-26. But the top two voices interchange their parts at the repeat. Also, he switches beats: notes taking a principal stress in mm. 10<sub>3</sub>-15 come on a secondary stress in mm. 21-26. This same technique of switching stresses can be studied in an even better-known item, *Si tus penas no pruebo*, at mm. 20<sub>4</sub>-30 and 30<sub>2</sub>-42. During the repeat, the principal and secondary stresses are reversed, just as in *Hombres, victoria*.

Juan Vásquez—who among Guerrero's contemporaries most nearly approaches him when the Spanish language is being set—as early as 1560 acknowledged that "Francisco Guerrero has so penetrated the secret, and has so demonstrated how to vivify the meaning of a text" that he stands as the climax of the age. Mosquera de Figueroa praised Guerrero in still more glowing terms when he called him the foremost of his epoch in knowing how to identify the rhythm of music with that of poetry, the emotional connotations of music with the sense of the lyrics: no one else knows so well how to devise musical figures that with true-to-life fidelity proclaim the inner meaning of the text, said Mosquera. As means of doing all this, Mosquera cited Guerrero's opposition of "swiftness to slowness, harshness to softness, sweetness to bitterness, wrangling to repose."

The *Canciones y villanescas espirituales*, even if originally wedded to secular lyrics, exemplify in sure ways the Spanish religious temperament. No foreign sixteenth-century composer of Latin church music who turned aside to write vernacular sacred music approaches him in the vividness and lifelikeness of his settings. Their earnestness and intensity befit the religious temper of a land where every truly popular poem was always changed sooner or later *a lo divino*. The tradition reached at least as far back as Alfonso X, who could not rest content until he had poured all the ardor and zeal of an earthly love into a heavenly love.