

Spanish Polyphonists in the Age of the Armada

CHURCH MASTERS ACTIVE DURING THE REIGN OF PHILIP II

JUST AS TALLIS AND BYRD stand at the heads of their generations in English music, so Guerrero and Victoria tower above contemporary Spanish composers. But the scales are not equally balanced when English is compared with Spanish music during the reigns of Elizabeth I and Philip II because of the sheer weight of numbers in the peninsula. For a Christopher Tye there was a Juan Navarro; for a Robert White, an Alonso Lobo; for a Peter Philips, a Sebastián de Vicanco; for a Richard Deering, a Juan Esquivel. However, only a very ingenious Plutarch bent on writing "parallel lives" at any cost would find enough figures to pit against all the following composers: (1) José Bernal,^{*1} (2) Ginés de Boluda,² (3) Diego del Castillo,³ (4) and (5) Francisco⁴ and Rodrigo de Ceballos,⁵ (6) Bernardo Clavijo del

Castillo,⁶ (7) Juan Bautista Cómes,⁷ (8) Ambrosio Cotes,⁸ (9) Bartolomé de Escobedo,⁹ (10) Bartolomé Farfán,¹⁰ (11) Mateo Flecha the Elder,¹¹ (11A) Mateo Flecha the Younger,^{11^A} (12) Juan García de Basurto,¹² (13) Pedro Guerrero,¹³ (14) Fernando de las Infantas,¹⁴ (15) Andrés López,¹⁵ (16) Francisco de Montanos,¹⁶ (17) and (18) Alonso¹⁷ and Pedro Ordóñez,¹⁸ (19) Diego Ortiz,¹⁹ (20) Pedro de Pastrana,²⁰ (21) Juan Ginés Pérez,²¹ (22) Pedro Periañez,²² (23) Juan Pujol,²³ (24) Sebastián Raval,²⁴ (25) Bernardino de Ribera,²⁵ (26) Melchor Robledo,²⁶ (27) Francisco de Sepúlveda,²⁷ (28) Francisco Soto de Langa,²⁸ (28A) Alonso de Texeda [= Tejada],^{28^A} (29) Andrés de Torrentes,²⁹ (30) Luis de Vargas,³⁰ (31) Juan Vásquez,³¹ (32) Pedro Alberch Vila,³² (33) Andrés Villalar,³³ (34) Martín de Villanueva,³⁴ and (35) Nicasio Zorita.³⁵ And even this list of thirty-seven composers, all of whom were active in the sacred field during the reign of Philip II, can by no means pretend to completeness. It fails, for instance, to include any vihuelist or any of the composers of comparable worth—such as Hernando Franco (1532–1585) and Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo (*ca.* 1553–*ca.* 1620)—who emigrated to North and South America.

*All of the footnotes for references 2–35 follow continuously for the next 50 pages, after which footnotes again appear on their page of reference.

¹Eslava (*Lira sacro-hispana*, I, i, 167–170) printed a motet *a 4*, *Ave sanctissimum el gloriosum corpus*, by "Antonio" Bernal (the opening strongly resembles Victoria's *O magnum mysterium*). Collet (*Le mysticisme musical espagnol*, pp. 261–262), claimed that Bernal's Christian name should be "José" and said that after singing in the chapel of Charles V, Bernal became chapelmaster of San Salvador, the collegiate church in Seville. At Toledo, Codices 12 (not 40 as erroneously reported in *MME*, VIII, 22) and 24 contain the Pentecost hymns *a 4*, *Qui Paraclitus diceris* and *Veni Domine*, by Bernal [= Vernal] González. Former Biblioteca Medinaceli MS 13230 contains a ferial Mass *a 4*, a motet *a 4*, *Domine memento mei*, and a passion *a 4* begin-

ning *Non in die festo*—all ascribed to Bernal; and at fol. 40^v a secular song, *Navego en hondo mar*, attributed to Bernal Gonçales. A romance by Bernal, *A las armas moriscote*, keeps company with Morales's *De Antequera sale el moro* in Fuenllana's vihuela tablature *Orphénica lyra* (1554). Among the unsuccessful contenders for the Cordova chapelmastership in April, 1567, was a certain Bernal (Mitjana, *Don Fernando de Las Infantas*, p. 122).



² **Ginés de Boluda**, son of Gaspar de Boluda and Catalina de Yniesta, was born at Hellín. His parents were natives of this historic town in Albacete province. On March 14, 1581, he became chapelmaster at Toledo Cathedral with an annual salary of 44,000 maravedís. Shortly thereafter he asked the elderly primate Gaspar de Quiroga to raise his salary to 100,000 maravedís—the amount paid his predecessor Andrés de Torrentes (d. September 4, 1580). He felt it unjust for some mere singers to receive more than 44,000 maravedís. On September 10, 1582, the cardinal of Seville, Rodrigo de Castro, came to his rescue with a personal letter to the primate from Lisbon, whither Philip II had summoned him on state affairs. Castro's personal intervention suggests some previous link. Possibly Boluda had attended Castro while the latter was still bishop of Zamora or Cuenca. While at Zamora, Castro had accepted the dedication of Salinas's *De musica libri septem*; his musical refinement exceeded that of any Spanish prelate of the age, if his patronage measures his intelligence.

In his letter to the primate (published with other Boluda documentation in Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, *Biografías y Documentos sobre Música y Músicos Españoles*, 1 [Madrid: Fundación Banco Exterior, 1986], 90), Cardinal de Castro reminds the senior prelate that a request was made for a salary raise on a previous occasion. Previously, Cardinal de Castro had said that such a raise would be accounted a personal favor to himself as well as to Boluda. Castro reminds the aged primate that others have been granted pay increases and that Boluda obviously merits one.

Some two months before Torrentes's death an inventory of all the music books belonging to Toledo Cathedral had been ordered. When completed on August 13, 1580, the inventory showed a total of only twenty-one polyphonic choirbooks; no. 8 was Victoria's 1576 book of masses and magnificats, nos. 9 and 11 were hand copies of Guerrero's works, and no. 10 contained magnificats and motets by Ceballos. Boluda immediately set about enlarging the polyphonic collection. On March 2, 1582, Georges de La Hèle's 1578 book of masses luxuriously printed by Plantin at Antwerp was purchased. In October, 1583, Guerrero's 1570 motets were added. On September 9, 1585, he recommended payment of 200 reales (6,800 maravedís) for Victoria's *Missarum libri duo* (Rome: 1583). (See Barbieri, *op. cit.*, 1, 497, for further details.) On April 28, 1586, for his *buen servicio* to the cathedral, Boluda was rewarded with 10,000 maravedís; and was paid 35,118 maravedís plus 42 fanegas of wheat for the board, lodging, and instruction of six cathedral choirboys. In 1587 he received an honorarium for his composition of villancicos; in the same year he took a one-month tour through the Castilian provinces in search of new singers. He stopped in Palencia, Burgos, Logroño, and Valladolid. After his certifying that a new volume of Victoria's motets (probably that of 1585) would be of great use, the chapter on September 13, 1588, approved paying Victoria 100 reales—such sum to be personally transmitted by Boluda. On September 24, 1590, he recommended paying 29,580 maravedís to a certain cathedral instrumentalist, Alonso Gascón, who was also an expert copyist. Gascón had copied 73 leaves of *canciones* and motets *a 5* and *a 6* for the cornetts to play, and 55 leaves of vocal polyphony (including Victoria's *Ascendens Christus Mass a 5*) for the *capilla* to sing. Other Toledo notices prove that

instrumentalists took no less active a part in music at the primal cathedral than at Seville during this epoch. The instrumentalists mentioned by name played *chirimías*, *sacabuches*, and *cornetas*. Much documentation also survives concerning dancers in religious processions during Boluda's and Lobo's incumbencies of the Toledo chapelmastership.

During 1590–1591, Boluda acted as an intermediary in negotiations for the purchase of two large carpets for Toledo Cathedral. These were woven in the hamlet of Lietor near his birthplace Hellín. Meanwhile, however, efforts to increase the Toledo polyphonic collection did not lag. Francisco Sánchez, who had accompanied Guerrero to the Holy Land (1588) came in the spring of 1592 bearing two books of his teacher's masses luxuriously copied on vellum. In a covering intercessory letter, Rodrigo de Castro, the Sevillian cardinal who had intervened for Boluda a decade earlier, recommended the manuscript copies to the Toledan primate in the warmest terms. Cardinal Quiroga replied on May 9 with a very courteous offer of 2,384 reales (81,056 maravedís) for Guerrero's ten masses. Ginés de Boluda was again the intermediary through whom the money was transmitted. During the next year Alonso Lobo, transferring from the vice-chapelmastership at Seville, replaced Boluda. Lobo was confirmed in the Toledan chapelmastership on September 22, 1593. After 1593 Boluda's whereabouts are not again documented until December 22, 1600, on which date the *Actas capitulares* of the Capilla Real at Granada record Boluda's presence at Seville ("que escriba al maestro Boluda que está en Sevilla, si quiere venir a la capellanía de maestro de capilla que está vaca en esta Real Capilla"). However, Boluda refused with a courteous letter received at Granada February 16, 1601, in which he thanked them but said that he could not come, because he no longer planned to continue as maestro de capilla ("y como no puede venir porque no piensa ya seguir el dicho oficio" [Dionisio Preciado, ed., *Alonso de Tejada: Obras Completas*, 1, 54–55]).

Vicente Espinel lauded Boluda [= Boluda] in his *La casa de la memoria* (Madrid: 1591), claiming that his fame would live eternally because of his conquest of the *nuevo estilo* (new style). Toledo Codex 8 (in a handwritten appendix) shows at page 92 Boluda's setting *a 4* of *A solis ortu usque ad occasum* (Ps. 112:3 [Liber usualis numbering]) followed by a Gloria Patri, *a 5*. Four motets and a set of lamentations follow. These, although unattributed, may be his. Codex 22 contains a Holy Week fabordón, *Quoniam ipse liberavit me*; Codex 25 an *Asperges me hyssopo*, 21 a *Missa de feria, a 4* (Kyrie, Sanctus through Osanna, Benedictus, and Agnus). Codex 12, fols. 54^v–55, contains *Qui pascis inter lilia* (*Hymnus in festo Leocadie*), his four-voice setting of stanza 2 of the hymn *Jesu corona*. This, and second stanzas of four other hymns, are copied in Guadalupe Monastery Choirbook I, folios 50^v–60. The same Guadalupe Choirbook I contains his Tone III and Tone VII settings of Psalm 147 (even verses, beginning with *Quoniam confirmata*). For further details concerning Boluda's music in Guadalupe Choirbook I see David Crawford, "Two Choirbooks of Renaissance Polyphony at the Monasterio de Nuestra Señora of Guadalupe," *Fontes artis musicae*, xxiv/3 (July–September, 1977), 158–162. Concerning his works at Toledo, see Robert Stevenson, "The Toledo Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks" *FAM*, xx/3 (September–December 1973), 94. In 1953 G.A.

Trumpff announced the preservation of a Hexachord Mass and a psalm *a 4*, *In exitu Israel de Aegypto*, in a large choirbook now in Germany but copied (on paper) at Toledo in 1696. See *AM*, VIII, 121.

³**Diego del Castillo**, a brother of the equally famous organist Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo, was appointed organ prebendary in the Seville Cathedral on April 28, 1581. The sumptuous grand organ built by the Flemish *organero* Maestre Jox between 1567 and 1579 imposed certain difficulties so far as registration was concerned. Therefore, Castillo was instructed by the chapter on November 3, 1583, to prepare some guidebooks describing its stops (*libros de las mixturas y tonos del horgano grande*).

Francisco Correa de Arauxo in his *Facultad orgánica* (Alcalá: 1626) referred to Castillo at fol. 3^v in the following terms: "When I began to study music in this city [Seville], not a trace of anything for organ using accidental [sharp] signatures was to be found. It was not until some years later that I saw the first examples of such music in cipher: they being certain Verses in Tone VIII transposed to D. The earliest to cipher these was Peraza [Sevillian organist, 1573–1580]; and then a little later Diego del Castillo, organ prebendary at Seville [1581–1583] and afterward organist in the royal chapel. Both of these [Peraza and Castillo]—like various others—inserted sharps every time F's occurred [in such Tone VIII transposed Verses]. After considering, however, the philosopher's dictum that it is foolish to make many gestures when but a few will do, and after pondering also on the commonly accepted method of avoiding the constant repetition of B♭'s solely by prefacing a piece in which such occur with a capital B—thus eliminating the tiresome repetition of flats every time the note B appears—I thought it advisable to place at the beginning of pieces with sharp signatures a single ♯ if only F's are to be sharped throughout, ♯♯ if both F's and C's are to be sharped, ♯♯♯ if F's, C's and G's are to be sharped." This long abstract from the *Facultad orgánica* should serve three purposes. First, it should clarify Correa's meaning when he says that nothing ciphered for organ with *accidental* signatures was to be seen at Seville in his early youth. By *accidental* he meant in this connection sharp accidentals. The Verses in Tone VIII ciphered by Peraza, and ending on D, ran through the following octave. D–E–F♯–G–A–B–C–D. Peraza and Castillo, following the current Spanish system, would have ciphered F's with 1's, G's with 2's, A's with 3's, and so on, through E's with 7's. In Tone VIII verses ending on D, they were therefore obliged to cipher thus: 1♯, 1'♯, 1'♯♯, in order to designate the notes F♯, f♯, or f'♯. Correa, on the other hand, found a way to avoid such repetitiousness. Second, the quotation shows clearly that organ tablatures were already in vogue at Seville (as elsewhere) long before either Gerónimo Peraza or Diego del Castillo appeared on the Sevillian scene. Third, the quotation from Correa's *Facultad orgánica* deserves study because his words were interpreted by Pedrell (*Diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico*, p. 323, col. 2) to mean that Castillo himself published an organ tablature. Actually, the word *rastro* in Correa's text means "trace" or "sign." Other scholars have therefore been rather reluctant to infer from Correa's text that Castillo necessarily published his tablature: especially since Pedrell never adduced any supporting evidence for such an interesting claim.

Castillo occupied the Sevillian organ prebend for approxi-

mately thirty-two months. Shortly before December 14, 1583, he was appointed organist in the royal chapel. At the order of Philip II he was paid on December 16 an initial sum of 73,000 maravedís for salary, plus 29,200 for *ayuda de costa* (cost-of-living allowance). On February 24, 1584, his annual cost-of-living allowance was raised to 114,500 maravedís—his stated annual salary remaining at 219,000. On April 4, 1588, Philip granted him an annual pension of 400 ducats (150,000 maravedís) in place of the previous cost-of-living allowance: this pension to be charged against income from the diocese of Cuenca. Henceforth until death he was carried in fiscal records of the House of Castile as "nuestro capellán y músico de tecla"—*tecla* being the generic term in sixteenth-century Spanish for keyboard instrument just as *Klavier* was in eighteenth-century German. Hernando de Cabezón, son of the great Antonio, shared with Castillo the title of royal *músico de tecla*. As early as May 29, 1594, their signatures begin appearing conjointly on salary receipts (Biblioteca Nacional, MS 14024.9).

One other manuscript at the National Library in Madrid deserves mention because of the light that it throws on Castillo, as well as upon the four organs at El Escorial which he was asked to examine in 1587: *Relacion delo que declaro Diego del Castillo se devia remediar en los quatro organos de S. Lorenzo el Real . . . 1587 años* (MS 14025.194). In this *relación*, Castillo itemizes the few improvements that he thinks might be made. At the time of his visit one organ had been tuned a minor third lower than the others. Both Castillo and Melchor de Miranda, chief organist at Toledo, suggested that a fourth would be preferable. They counseled the prior not to worry over the stiffness of the action so long as it was even. Castillo's other suggestions were equally practical.

The earliest imprint containing a description of Castillo's art seems to be Vicente Espinel's *Diversas rimas* of 1591 (fol. 47^v). In *La casa de la memoria*, Espinel characterizes Castillo as a "pure and unique talent who dominates his instrument completely," adding that "his is a learned and discreet temperament"; and that "both as performer and as composer he scales lofty heights." After Espinel's 1591 imprint the next published description of Castillo's art is found in *Discursos sobre la filosofía moral de Aristoteles* by Antonio de Obregón y Cerezeda, a canon of León and a royal chaplain. Although dedicated to Philip III while he was still a prince, and therefore written before 1598, this didactic work was not published until five years after he ascended the throne (Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1603). At pages 181–182 Obregón writes thus: "A *claviórgano* had arrived the day before from Germany, a gift from a great sovereign to His Highness. It proved to be a most rare and right royal instrument both on account of its wide variety of cunningly devised mixtures, string and flute stops; as well as for its rich workmanship and the beautiful ornamentation of its exterior. Diego del Castillo, His Majesty's chaplain and organist, was summoned to demonstrate to His Highness the potentialities of the instrument. He proceeded first to test the full organ with a series of quite solemn chords [*algunas consonancias muy graves*], then with several florid passages [*flores*], and lastly with various modulations [*passos peregrinos*] such as he who was most singular in his art knew how to introduce with excellent effect. His Highness showed that he was greatly pleased with the instrument, and said that he would enjoy hearing Castillo



accompany a singer. Luis Honguero, an eminent member of the royal chapel and chamber musician was called for; he sang with such a naturally reposeful countenance, such admirable virtuosity, such suaveness, sweetness, breath control, and evenness . . . that His Highness was delighted beyond measure.”

Still another revealing allusion to Castillo's art is made in Fray José de Sigüenza's *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, tercera parte, libro cuarto, discurso XXIII (Madrid: Imp. Real, 1605). According to Sigüenza, a young friar named Diego de la Concepción—a rank amateur—was frequently asked to play the grand organ at El Escorial; “though he knew very little, what he did play sounded admirably”; at least to some of the friars. Sigüenza continues thus: “I recall that once Diego del Castillo, the renowned royal keyboardist, upon hearing him play, asked me if his own playing sounded like that of this young friar? Laughingly I replied, No, because your flights are beyond our comprehension, but what our friar does sounds very well indeed to us.” Sigüenza admits that the young friar knew enough to sense his own defects. This anecdote deserves study in the original Spanish (see *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, xii, 673, col. 2). One infers that Castillo's art was caviar to the general.

Probably still under fifty, Castillo died on May 11, 1601. His mother, who was his survivor and legatee, collected on June 7, 1602, the back pay still owing him. In 1623 his estate—which included a considerable amount of property in Guadalajara (35 miles southeast of Madrid)—passed to his brother Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo: three years later to be inherited by the latter's two sons, Antonio and Francisco.

Castillo belongs in the present company of vocal polyphonists by virtue of the two motets *a 5*, *Quis enim cognovit* and *O altitudo divitiarum*, published by Eslava in *Lira sacro-hispana*, I, ii, 165–169, 171–173. The first is in transposed dorian, and the second in transposed phrygian; both set impersonal scriptural texts. Each is conceived as a series of closely worked imitative points. Castillo tightly braids these points; as a rule threading in a new strand before time has been given for the previous subject to be woven through all parts. Analysis that would divide the motets into clearly articulated sections is made the more difficult because of his parsimonious use of V–I cadences. In *Quis enim cognovit*, mm. 94–106 = 116–128. But even this repetition fails to sectionalize the motet (the repeated bars are neither prefaced by, nor concluded with, a clear-cut cadence).

⁴**Francisco** and **Rodrigo Ceballos** have been confused frequently. According to Pedrell (*Diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico*, pp. 334–335), Francisco served as chapelmaster at Burgos from 1535 to ca. 1572. José López-Calo's researches at Burgos Cathedral correct Pedrell's dates. In 1526 Francisco de Ceballos was appointed a singer in Burgos Cathedral with the right to succeed his father as maestro de capilla. From a beginning salary of 10,000 maravedis *per annum* he was raised to 30,000 in 1538. After a further raise dated 1544 he was still not satisfied and therefore in 1552 requested permission to transfer to the nearby Huelgas convent at a higher salary. To hold him, Burgos Cathedral authorities that year hired his son Bernabé at an annual 20 ducats to help him with the chore of teaching the choirboys, and other duties.

Francisco de Ceballos died in 1556, in which year Rodrigo Ordóñez succeeded him at an annual 70,000 maravedis and a

wheat allowance equal to that allowed him at Zamora, whence he came. (Rodrigo Ordóñez returned to Zamora in 1559, came back to Burgos in 1561 at a 200 ducat annual salary, and left again in 1564 claiming higher salary offers elsewhere.)

So far as compositions go, both Hilarion Eslava in *Lira sacro-hispana* (I, i, 96–108) and Pedrell erred in attributing to Francisco de Ceballos three motets transcribed from Toledo Codex 7 that are not by him but instead by his nephew Rodrigo who died in 1581 (see *MME*, viii, 23). At present, no composition attributed to uncle Francisco can be called his. Because of the generation to which Rodrigo belonged, if for no other reason, *el gran cavallos cuyas obras / Dieron tal resplandor en toda España* (“the great Ceballos, whose works shine so brightly throughout all Spain” [Vicente Espinel, *La casa de la memoria*, 1591]) would have had to be Rodrigo, not Francisco.

⁵According to Elústiza-Castrillo, *Antología musical*, page lxxxv, **Rodrigo de Ceballos** was born about 1530 in Aracena, a town 50 miles northwest of Seville with a history reaching back to classical times. On the other hand, López-Calo identified him as one of the five musicians with the name of Ceballos, Caballos, or Cauillos cited in various Burgos Cathedral capitular acts between 1507 and 1554. The five were: Rodrigo I, cited in 1507 as a Burgos Cathedral singer, in 1510 as singer and *maestro de canto*, and in 1521 as maestro de capilla. In 1526 Rodrigo I's first son, Francisco de Ceballos, was appointed a Burgos Cathedral singer at a yearly 10,000 maravedis. Additionally, he was required to help his aging father with the choirboys. In 1535 or 1538 Francisco succeeded Rodrigo I as chapelmaster with a beginning salary of 30,000 maravedis. In turn, Francisco's son Bernabé was in 1552 appointed to help now fatigued Francisco with teaching and whatever else was onerous.

In 1533 Rodrigo I's second son, Juan de Ceballos was readmitted as a Burgos Cathedral singer after brief expulsion for having with other singers participated in a fiesta outside the cathedral without chapter permission. Juan fathered Rodrigo II, the sole known composer among the Ceballos clan and the subject of the present biographical note.

On October 7, 1553, now presumably in his early twenties, Rodrigo II (henceforth, Rodrigo) was commissioned by the Sevillian cathedral chapter to copy two or three choirbooks in which would be contained several up-to-date masses. At that time he was residing in the city but was without employment. To accommodate him, the chapter decided on a pay-as-you-go financial arrangement. He was given some latitude in choosing the repertory: a fact which in itself suggests that his musical opinions were already considered trustworthy.

Rodrigo Ceballos is next heard of as a competitor for the chapelmastership at Málaga which, after falling vacant upon Morales's death in the early autumn of 1553, was again vacant on April 19, 1554—this time because of Guerrero's renunciation of the appointment (see Mitjana, “La capilla de Música de la Catedral de Málaga [1543–1569],” pp. 48, 52–54). The six competitors in the new trials held during the week beginning Monday, June 18, 1554, were Juan de Cepa, Rodrigo Ceballos, Rodrigo Ordóñez, Francisco de Ravaneda, Gonzalo Cano, and Melchor Galvez. Cepa, originally from Ciudad Rodrigo diocese, had served the Duchess of Calabria as chapelmaster. Rodrigo Ordóñez, maestro de capilla at Zamora in 1553 (Rubio Piqueras, *Música y músicos toledanos*, p. 81), succeeded Fran-

Jacaltenango choirbook, Gloria of Rodrigo Ceballos's *Missa Tertii toni*, pp. 36–37. Ten concordances for the Guatemalan source are listed in Paul Borg's "The Jacaltenango Miscellany: A Revised Catalogue," *IAMR*, III/1 (Fall 1980), page 57.

cisco de Ceballos as chapelmaster of Burgos Cathedral in 1556. After various goings and comings, he was to be eminently desired at Salamanca in 1574, and highly praised by Vicente Espinel in 1591. Ravaneda—a contributor to Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* of 1554 (*Puse mis amores*, fol. 141^v, lament of a betrayed maiden [Jacobs's transcription is at pp. 780–785 of his 1978 edition])—was a sacred composer of distinct merit, if the preservation of his first-tone Magnificat alongside other settings of the canticle by Jean L'Héritier, Gascogne, Peñalosa, Torrentes, and Morales are considered sufficiently eminent company (Rubio Piqueras, *Códices polifónicos toledanos*, p. 37; not listed, however, in Stevenson, "The Toledo Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks," *Fontes artis musicae*, 1973/3, September–December, 87–107).

The week-long competition ended on June 24. To advance his own candidacy, youthful Rodrigo had in advance obtained a letter from three Burgos Cathedral canons to Bernardo Manrique, bishop of Málaga 1541–1564, and to the Málaga Cathedral chapter recommending "Rodrigo, son of Juan de Ceballos and nephew of Francisco de Ceballos," for the post. A vote could not be taken immediately however. On the preceding April 12 a royal decree had required all cathedral chapters to examine henceforth the family background of each candidate prior to naming the winner. At last, on November 5, the required information had been gathered, whereupon Cepa was voted first choice and Ceballos second. These two names were forwarded to court: Cepa was approved, and formally inducted on Christmas Eve.

Ceballos had in the meantime returned to Seville, where in January, 1556, he was found singing, either in the cathedral or

in some such church as San Salvador, by the treasurer of Cordova Cathedral (acting as a scout). On Friday, January 31, the Cordovan chapter met to discuss a letter from the treasurer to the archdeacon describing the discovery of an "excellent soprano (*cantor tiple*) of both ability and character who has agreed to come here at the same salary of 1,000 reales (34,000 maravedís) and two cahizes of wheat which he has been receiving in Seville." The chapter at once invited Ceballos to appear for a personal interview; and on June 1, voted to set his salary at 30,000 maravedís plus 17 fanegas of wheat. Ten days later the appointment took effect. By its terms he was to assist the elderly Alonso de Vieras, who had been chapelmaster at Cordova during the previous quarter century. His contract also stipulated that he should board and instruct two choirboys (the rest apparently residing with a certain Pedro de Blancas), that he should conduct only in the chapelmaster's absence, and that he should give regular lessons in plainsong, counterpoint, and harmony to all the singing clergy in Cordova Cathedral. At that epoch, the cathedral hired no more than four adult professional singers—one for each part. The highest paid of these was the contralto, who received twice as much as the tenor. In addition, the adult music staff included an organist and four or five *menestriles* (Mitjana, *Don Fernando de Las Infantias*, p. 120).

Ceballos's next step was to seek holy orders. To obtain these he needed to show the ordinary a certificate of appointment to some chaplaincy. The same Cordovan treasurer who had sponsored his coming now induced the chapter to name him to a chaplaincy, but upon the condition that he resign it immediately after being ordained. The chapter acceded to the request and on October 14, 1556, granted him a fortnight's leave of absence to



Bloomington, Indiana, Lilly Library, Guatemalan Music Manuscript 3, Credo of *Missa Tertii toni*, folios 4^v-5. Paul Borg's transcription of the entire Mass enters his Indiana University 1985 Ph.D. dissertation, "The Polyphonic Music in the Guatemalan Music Manuscripts of the Lilly Library," II, 397-412 (Credo begins at page 403).

visit Seville for his ordination (*ibid.*, p. 119, n. 2). Upon returning he continued to find even greater favor in the eyes of the Cordovan bishop and chapter. On May 21, 1557, the chapter decided "that two chapelmasters having proved a superfluity, their worships ought to terminate Alonso de Vieras's contract, and to install Rodrigo de Ceballos as sole chapelmaster" (*ibid.*, p. 118).

The next three years proved a period of intense creative activity. In the spring of 1560 Ceballos was able to send the Málaga chapter a book containing his first fruits (Gerónimo de Barrionuevo carried it to the port city). The Málaga chapter, remembering Ceballos's excellent account of himself in 1554, voted to send him a letter of thanks as well as six ducats. Meanwhile the Cordovan chapter gave further tokens of approval. On August 2, 1560, the canons voted him a lifetime lease on certain houses *enfrente de Santa Ana*—generously fixing the annual rental at less than half the usual figure (4,000 maravedis and 4 pairs of chickens instead of the accustomed 9,210 and 9 pairs). Even this concession could not sway him, however, when in the next year he received an offer dated June 28, 1561, to become *maestro de capilla* of the royal chapel at Granada. On October 1, 1561, he handed in his resignation. Two weeks later Diego Ximénez was offered the succession—occupying it for but a short time, however; after which the senile Alonso de Vieras was called back as an interim appointee. On June 21, 1563, Ceballos was invited to sit as judge during a set of examinations in Cordova to select a worthy successor to himself. After a series

of tests, Andrés de Villalar on July 3, 1563, gained the post with 30 votes against three for Diego Ximénez and one for Gerónimo de Barrionuevo (*ibid.*, pp. 121-122). On November 30, 1561, Philip II had signed a cedula making Ceballos a royal chaplain, "despite the opposition of the chaplains who were not musicians" (*no obstante la activa oposición de los capellanes no músicos*, according to López-Calo).

A year before the death of Philip II, a volume of Ceballos's magnificats, hymns, and *fabordones* belonged to the library of the royal chapel at Madrid (*Música sacro-hispana*, Vol. x [1917], p. 155, item 157). In the capitular library at Toledo, Codex 7—reaching 336 leaves—is prefaced with a table of contents listing 52 motets (22 *a* 4, 24 *a* 5, 6 *a* 6), a *Salve Regina*, and three masses by Ceballos. According to the compiler of the table of contents, "this book contains all the motets that Ceballos composed" (Rubio Piqueras, *Códices polifónicos toledanos*, p. 23). Unfortunately, the "ink has so corroded the paper that it is impossible to transcribe so much as a single composition in the volume" (Pedrell, *Diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico*, Vol. I, p. 336, col. 2). Whether this last quoted judgment would be held as true now as when Pedrell uttered it in 1897 was impugned in Robert J. Snow's monograph, *The Extant Music of Rodrigo de Ceballos and its Sources* (Detroit: Information Coordinators [Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography 44], 1980), who at his pages 24-25 stated that "a few of the works in it can be transcribed if one exercises patience"—among them two of Ceballos's three known Masses: the *Veni*



Bogotá Cathedral, unnumbered music manuscript, *Magnificat 4.º tono*, verses 1 and 3, pp. 29–30. First catalogued by Robert Stevenson in “The Bogotá Cathedral Music Archive,” *JAMS*, xv/3 (Fall 1962), 298–299. Ceballos’s Magnificats “are one of the most important musical treasures in South America.” See also *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington, D.C.: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1970), p. 11, for data concerning older and newer copies in the Bogotá archive.

Domine, a 4, at folios 315^v–336, “based on an antiphon sung in Advent and a work as yet not found in any other source”; and the *Simile est regnum caelorum, a 4*, at 268^v–292, parodied on the same Morales motet levied by Guerrero for his like-named *Missa* published at Rome in 1582. Apart from Toledo 7, Ceballos’s *Simile est regnum caelorum* Mass survives at Guatemala Cathedral in Choirbook I at folios 133^v–152 (Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources*, pp. 68 and *31 [item 59]) and in an unnumbered choirbook at Jaén Cathedral with the title *Missa a 4 en Rogaciones* (Snow, *The Extant Music*, pp. 39 and 94–95 [facsimile of Kyrie and Christe]).

On the other hand, Ceballos’s *Missa Tertii toni* (built on the motto *mi fa mi ut re mi*; all ending chords built over A) survives not only on Toledo 7, fols. 292^v–313 but (occasionally abbreviated) in no less than nine other sources—including Ávila 1 (pp. 33–62) and 2 (pp. 182–213). Huesca 52 (fols. 29^v–40), and Santiago de Compostela 3 (fols. 43^v–62). But even more interesting for Americanists is its survival in Guatemala Choirbook 1 at folios 54^v–71, in the Jacaltenago choirbook, and in a San Miguel Acatán manuscript now at Lilly Library. Catalogued Bloomington 3/1, the latter source served for Paul Borg’s transcription in his dissertation “The Polyphonic Music in the Guatemalan Music Manuscripts of the Lilly Library” (Indiana University, 1985), pp. 397–412 (concordances listed at pp. 176–177; discussed at pp. 70–73).

The *Missa Tertii toni* now available in Paul Borg’s transcription is without doubt the same as the *Missa mi fa la fa sol la (a 4)* by Ceballos in a Toledo choirbook copied in 1696, but carried to Germany, was announced by G. A. Trumpff without specifying the present location of the manuscript (*AM*, Vol. viii [1953], pp. 121, n. 150).

Mere statistics do not comprehend his genius. Nonetheless, for what they are worth: (1) all 39 of his motets inventoried by Snow begin imitatively; (2) of the 21 *a 4* and of the 18 *a 5*, four *a 4* and five *a 5* either begin with paired imitation or if consisting of more than one *pars* include a *pars* beginning with paired imitation (nos. 3, 5, 19, 20 *a 4*; 23, 25, 33, 35, 39 *a 5* in Snow’s catalogue); (3) three motets *a 4* consist of more than one *pars* (9 and 20 are of four *partes*, 11 of two *partes*), and two *a 5* (23 and 39 are of two *partes*); (4) *Salve sancte Francisce, a 5*, contains an ostinato (“Sancte Francisce”) confided to second alto; (5) all seven canonic motets are scored *a 5* (24, 27, 30, 32, 37, 31, 38 contain canons at the intervals of a unison through a sixth, and at the octave).

Outside Spain, at least eight further Ceballos sources have thus far been inventoried: one at Vila Viçosa (Portugal) in Choirbook 8, another in an unnumbered choirbook at The Hispanic Society (New York City). A page from Ceballos’s *Nunc dimittis* in the last-named source may be seen (reduced facsimile) at page 392, item 290, in *A History of The Hispanic Society of America: Museum and Library* (New York: 1954).

The importance of New World sources is dramatically emphasized by the presence of Ceballos’s odd-verse Magnificats *a 4* in the Bogotá Cathedral music archive (see “The Bogotá Music Archive,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xv/3 [Fall 1962], 298–299), seven of which are *unica*; of *Dixit Dominus* settings in Tones I and III, identifiable as his solely because so attributed at Bogotá; and of abbreviated *Dixit Dominus* in Tone VI, copied at pages 98–99 in the Gutierrez Fernández Hidalgo Choirbook. Guatemalan Cathedral Choirbook I contains in addition to the *Tertii toni* Mass the *Simile est regnum caelorum* (mentioned above as a Morales parody). Puebla



Bogotá Cathedral, Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo choirbook, *Dixit Dominus*, 6. tono abreuiado, verses 2, 4, 6, pp. 98-99 (RBMSA, II). Although copied on the right side of the opening, the intonation in this *fabordón* is assigned the tiple.

Cathedral Choirbook VI contains six vespers psalms. The untexted *Dime manso viento* in Puebla Cathedral Choirbook XIX concords with Daza's intabulation in *El Parnas[s]o* (1576). As a result of all these manuscript sources dispersed between Bogotá, Bloomington, and New York City, Snow counted no less than 14 New World sources for Ceballos's sacred works and one for a secular piece (*The Extant Music*, pages 37-39).

Ceballos favored motet texts that had already been set by composers born at, or lengthily associated, with Seville. Such a text as *Clamabat autem mulier cananea*, for instance, is to be found among Escobar's, Morales's, Farfán's, and Guerrero's motets; and also set for solo voice with vihuela accompaniment in Mudarra's *Tres libros* (Seville: 1546). Ceballos's *Et factum est postquam in captivitate* immediately recalls Morales's version of the same unscriptural, particularly Spanish prologue to Lamentations, intabulated by Fuenllana.

In her article, "A new manuscript source," *Anuario musical*, xxxiii-xxxv (1978-1980), 27, Eleanor Russell wrote as follows concerning Ceballos's lamentation cycle at folios 70^v-74 in a *Liber Officium Defunctorum Ecclesie Cathedralis Vallisoleti Anno D.N. Jesu Chrsiti [MDCXXXIX]* (1649). (This manuscript found by her at Valladolid Cathedral was unknown to Snow when he compiled his *The Extant Music of Rodrigo de Ceballos and its Sources*.)

[Ceballos used] an historical "Spanish melody" which can be traced back to a twelfth-century Gregorian Antiphony from the Benedictine monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos. On the evidence of an ornate *Officium Tenebrarum* commissioned by Juan Téllez Girón, Conde de

Ureña (manuscript in the Osuna Museo Colegial), the *more hispano* lamentation melody was still being sung at Osuna in 1540. A printed *Pasionarium Oxomense noviter excussum* (copy at Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, M. 469), folio lx, shows that the melody was still being sung as late as 1562 in Burgo de Osma diocese.

Ceballos's Maundy Thursday lamentations at folios 70^v-74 in the Valladolid manuscript consist of *Et factum est postquam in captivitate*; *Aleph Quomodo sedet sola*; *Beth Plorans ploravit*; *Gimel Migravit Juda*; *Jerusalem convertere* (all verses a 4 except *Gimel*, a 3). The unattributed Good Friday lamentation cycle at folios 74^v-78 in the Valladolid *Liber Officium Defunctorum* may also be Ceballos's.

So much for Ceballos's "Spanish" lamentations that bind him with Morales. As for links with Morales's prize pupil: Ceballos follows in Guerrero's footsteps when he constructs a canon at the sixth in his motet *In mense autem sexto* ("And the angel Gabriel was sent in the sixth month"). In Ceballos's *In illo tempore descendens Petrus*, a motet describing Peter's descent from the ship to meet Jesus walking on the waves, the watch of the night and the interval of the canon agree. These agreements immediately recall the opening series of canonic motets a 5 in Guerrero's *Sacrae cantiones* (1555). Ceballos is, of course, known from contemporary records to have been living in Seville during 1553-1556.

Transcriptions of all Ceballos's motets in the Santiago codex (Valladolid), except *Ductus est Jesus*, are printed in the Elústiza-Castrillo *Antología musical*, 1933. (*Hortus conclusus* and *Veni sponsa mea* [*ibid.*], pp. 144-146, 147-150), although first and second *partes* of the same motet, are in this anthology treated,



Puebla Cathedral, Choirbook XIX, *Dime manco biento*, fols. 145^v-146. The contents of this choirbook containing secular items are listed in *RBMSA*, 210-219 *passim*.

incorrectly, as independent motets.) Ceballos, like Guerrero, knows how to invent head motives that stick in the memory. More frequently, perhaps, than Guerrero's motets, his exploit pert—even jaunty—rhythmic figures. Repeated notes, ornamented resolutions of syncopations, and wide melodic skips, in such motets as *Hortus conclusus* (Song of Songs 4:12, 8) and *Erat Jesus ejiciens*, emphasize the ictus. Although he did undoubtedly learn much from Guerrero, Ceballos's personal mannerisms give his motets an individual flavor. For one thing, he reveled in melodic repetitions and sequences—going beyond any other Andalusian, if the available repertory can be taken as representative. These repetitions and sequences stand out the more boldly because he favors the top voice (he was himself a tiple). *Hortus conclusus* (both *partes*) and *Dicebat Jesus* are cases in point. Ceballos obviously liked sweeping and dramatic gestures. The sections that begin “aperi mihi” in *Hortus conclusus*, “parce” in *Inter vestibulum et altare*, and “in nomine Jesus” in *Posuerunt super caput* provide telling instances.

Two of the five motets in the Elústiza-Castrillo anthology concord with those in *Lira sacro-hispana*, I, i, 96-105. The third in the Eslava edition—*Exaudiat Dominus*—boasts a typically repetitious and sequential tiple. Its several sections are marked off by authentic cadences (mm. 1-26; 27-43, 44-55₁, 55₃-62₁; 62₃-71₁, 71₃-93; 93-119) that clarify its structure. In each of the four principal sections (separated by semicolons in the measure analysis) a new melodic subject is developed by imitation, as well as by repetition and by sequence. In this *Exaudiat*, as in his other now available motets, Ceballos adjusts words to text so

aply that he would seem to be setting his native Spanish rather than ecclesiastical Latin.

His secular pieces include six items in the source formerly known as Biblioteca Medinaceli, MS 13230 (see *MME*, viii, 24). *Ojos hermosos* (*MME*, viii, 89-90), includes a fourth voice by “Varrionuevo,” who may have been the Gerónimo de Barriónuevo entrusted with delivering a book of Ceballos's sacred compositions to the Málaga cathedral chapter in the spring of 1560. Two others concord with intabulations in Esteban Daza's *El Parnasso* of 1576 (*MME*, Vol. ix, items 74 and 75). At Valladolid Cathedral, MS 17 (= 255) contains a single voice part of Ceballos's *Quán bienaventurado aquel puede llamarse* (conflicting details concerning this source are to be found in *AM*, iii, 83; and *MME*, viii, 19 [item 122], 54 [line 2], 56 [line 20]). Daza, in addition to intabulating *Dime manso viento*, *Duro mal terrible llanto* and *Quán bienaventurado*—concordances for each of which are to be found in the former Biblioteca Medinaceli MS 13230—intabulated an otherwise unknown villanesca, *Pues ya las claras fuentes*.

Fétis was the first international scholar to pass critical judgment on Ceballos. In the second edition of his *Biographie universelle des musiciens* he classed Ceballos as a truly important master “because of his elegant sense of form and his limpid style.” On the basis of just the single motet *Inter vestibulum et altare* (Eslava, I, i, 102-105 = Elústiza-Castrillo, pp. 141-143) he was willing to give him a place beside Morales, Guerrero, and Victoria (*Biographie universelle des musiciens* [1875], ii, 243). Had Fétis's knowledge of the repertory ranged more widely he



would no doubt have found Ceballos equally persuasive in *Erat* *Jesus ejiciens* and *Dicebat Jesus*. Were spontaneity any sufficient criterion, he might indeed have called *Hortus conclusus*—which is in every known Spanish manuscript containing his motets—one of the finest things in the Spanish repertory. Morales knew how to be more profound, Guerrero more suavely sensuous, Victoria more soulful. But none of these knew how to be more naively charming than Ceballos in this motet of two *partes*: nor have Song of Songs texts (4:12,8) been treated more captivantly anywhere else in the Spanish literature.

⁶Like Juan Doyz, the renowned organist from Navarre who after playing at Granada joined the cathedral staff at Málaga, **Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo** seems to have originated in the extreme north of Spain. Two reasons can be advanced for such a presumption: (1) Esteban Álvarez, chapelmaster at Pamplona (capital of Navarre) testified on April 2, 1593, that he had known Clavijo personally for twenty years; (2) Clavijo enjoyed such friendly connections at the nearby University of Oñate (province of Guipúzcoa) that he was able to obtain a licentiate-ship from that university in 1594 without fulfilling any residence requirements.

As a youth Clavijo followed Spanish arms to Italy; but, according to Ottavio Tiby, "La musica nella Real Cappella Palatina di Palermo," *AM*, Volume VII (1952), page 184, began serving as a musician in the R. Chiesa di San Pietro at Palermo as early as December 6, 1569. If so, then at least twenty years intervened before his definitive return to Spain in 1589. His annual salary in 1589 amounted to 200 scudi, whereas that of Canon Luis Ruiz the chapelmaster amounted to 240. In addition, seven singers were paid a total of 1,236 scudi (*ibid.*, p. 183). In 1588 he published at Rome a motet collection dedicated to the new viceroy of Sicily, the Count of Alba de Liste (appointed 1585). "Suitable for instruments as well as voices," the 19 items in this imprint included 6 each *a 4*, *a 5*, and *a 6*, and one *a 8* (*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, II, 1474 [hereafter cited as *MGG*]).

In the fall of 1589 while Clavijo was visiting Spain, Juan Alonso, a canon of Salamanca Cathedral, met him at Madrid to discuss the possibility of his abandoning the Palermo position (from which he was on leave) and of coming to Salamanca at an annual salary of 25,000 maravedis. On November 14, 1589, the Salamanca cathedral chapter voted to engage him, but on condition *que traya habito largo de clerigo y que se escriuiere al canonigo Juan Alonso la prouision* (that he wear a clerical habit—a letter being written to inform Canon Juan Alonso of this proviso). Clavijo accepted. Soon after reaching Salamanca, however, he appeared before the assembled chapter—on January 24, 1590—protesting that the amount of required *residencia* exceeded his expectation and left him no time *para poder estudiar en su Arte lo que le combenju* (for needed practice and study). He therefore pleaded for a reduction of his duty hours. The chapter refused such a reduction: whereupon he decided that he would not stay. In May, 1590, he was again in Madrid, whence he wrote Don Roque—who was simultaneously chapelmaster in the cathedral and professor of music in the university—protesting that the Salamanca organ prebend lacked the expected attractions *por su mucha Residencia y obligacion de Rezar*; and declaring his intention of returning to Palermo. This letter was read publicly in chapter meeting on May 25. The

canons then enquired *si conuendria hacer alguna commodidad al dicho Bernardo del Castillo por ser tan perito en el Arte del organo y tan benemerito* (whether some adjustment might legitimately be made since he is so skilled an organist and so worthy). Mention was made of the fact that *en ninguna delas yglesias de españa hay mejor* (there is no better organist in any church in Spain), and that much searching had preceded the appointment. The canons thereupon decided that some relaxation of his duties might be allowed *con condicion que quando entrare en el choro y subiere a tocar el organo entre con sobre pelliz* (on condition that he wear a surplice when he enters the choir enclosure and ascends to play the organ).

The desired concessions having been at last formally granted, Clavijo "solicited and obtained" royal approval not only for his resignation from the Palermo post but also for the collection of three months' back pay still owing at the time of his departure for Spain the year previously (*pagamento di tre mesi di stipendio per il permesso ottenuto di poter ritornare in Spagna*, dated October 15, 1590 [Palermo: *Archivio di Stato, Cancelleria*, Vol. 513, p. 191]).

On February 8, 1593, Roque de Salamanca having just died, *Yo Bartolome Sanchez, notario y secretario desta Universidad de Salamanca . . . publique por vaca la cathedra de propiedad de canto desta Universidad con termino de treinta dias* (the secretary of the university announced the chair of music theory to be vacant, with thirty days allowed for the submission of contenders' names [*Libro de Claustros de 1592 a 1593*, fol. 42]). Two days later, Clavijo, who had already been playing at university functions for over a year, entered his name (*ibid.*, fol. 45'). On March 26 he underwent the formality of receiving a bachelor's degree—Francisco Sánchez, who was a cathedral canon and at the same time a philosophy professor in the university, proposing him for the degree (*Libro de Bachilleramientos desde Abril de 1591 a id. de 1594*, fol. 154'). No other contenders for the vacant music chair having entered their names in the meantime, the question was raised on March 30 whether an examination for appointment to the professorship ought yet to be held (*Libro de Claustros*, fol. 63). On April 2, 1593, the university authorities decided to proceed even though Clavijo was the only applicant. Don Roque had been cathedral chapelmaster as well, and three candidates for succession to the chapelmastership were fortunately in town on that very day. These three and Manuel Castro, a singing clergyman (sopranist) in the cathedral, were invited to witness the examination.

The jury consisted of twenty-three members of diverse university faculties, plus four invited musical guests. Only one of the twenty-three faculty members was a musician—Maestro Çumel, teacher of plainchant—his post corresponding to that of university choragus (and the vacant one to Heather Professor). After the jury and all the interested spectators who could crowd into the examination room had assembled, the Rector of the university handed Clavijo a familiar textbook—Pedro Ciruelo's *Cursus quattuor mathematicarum*. Three paragraphs from the section on music were marked. Clavijo was asked to choose any one of the three and translate it from Latin into Spanish. After having made his choice and having given an oral translation, he was then questioned on the meaning of the passage by various members of the jury. Next, a *monachordio* (spinet) was brought into the examination room. The partbooks of Clavijo's own



Motecta published at Rome five years earlier were brought out whereupon he was asked to sing and play one of his six-part motets. Having concluded, he went out, together with all the spectators in the room, so that the jury might freely discuss his qualifications before taking a vote.

Maestro Çumel opened the discussion, averring that whatever else Clavijo might know he certainly did not know Latin. "If he himself doesn't understand the book that he is to expound in his half-hour lectures on speculative music, nor Boethian theory, how can he teach others?" asked Çumel. Others as vehement against Clavijo's appointment spoke at great length. To appease them, the Rector suggested that perhaps some of those present who had known Clavijo over a period of several years might be willing to testify. Of the two clergymen present who had known Clavijo, the first—Francisco Sánchez—immediately responded that on oath he would rate Clavijo's ability to read Latin as fully the equal of Roque's (who had just died). The second declared that from a three-year acquaintance he would rate Clavijo as *sufficientissimo para leer la dicha catedra*. Esteban Álvarez, chapelmaster from Pamplona and one of the four invited musicians, stated that he had known Clavijo for twenty years and that although he dared not estimate his ability as a Latinist, because he had never tested him, of this one thing he was sure: namely, that Clavijo was *muy heminente en la musica*. When the ballots were finally cast, 13 voted for appointment, 7 against, 4 refused to express an opinion, 2 wished further information before casting their ballots, and 1 held aloof on the ground that he had entered after the examination had started (*Libro de Claustros de 1592 a 1593*, fol. 67^v). Although without an absolute majority, Clavijo was declared elected (*ibid.*, fol. 68) and the next morning (April 3) formally inducted at ten o'clock. He himself joined with other musicians present for the ceremony at the *Escuelas menores* in singing a motet.

Somewhat over a year later, on August 27, 1594, Clavijo appeared before the university vice-chancellor with a petition to be incorporated as a Master of Arts. As evidence of sufficiency he produced a diploma dated July 29, 1594, certifying that he had been named *licenciado* by the University of Oñate (*Libro de Doctoramientos, Magisterios y Licenciamientos desde 1588 a 1595*, fol. 212^v). The very fact, of course, that he should have enjoyed connections at the recently founded University of Oñate which enabled him without residence to become a *licenciado*—not to refer again to the testimony of Esteban Álvarez, chapelmaster from Pamplona—makes it extremely likely that Clavijo originated in either the province of Guipúzcoa or of Navarre. His name next appears in Salamanca University records on October 28, 1595, when he asked for a salary raise, reminding the administration that he had been playing the organ at university functions for the past four years *con muy poco estipendio*. Eight years later, he forfeited his university post.

From the previous December 9, 1602, Clavijo had been away at court playing the Christmas services. When his month's leave expired on January 10, 1603, the university authorities declared the music chair vacant. Inasmuch as he was not yet entirely sure of his new appointment, his wife's brother came forward the next day asking that a further two-month leave be granted. Simultaneously, the brother-in-law produced evidence to show that "his Highness very much desires Clavijo's presence this coming Lent in his chapel." Since Clavijo still held his house

in Salamanca as proof of his intention to return, the university authorities granted the desired leave extension. But within a few days Clavijo learned that he would be advanced to a permanent appointment in the royal chapel, and that he would thus succeed his brother Diego del Castillo (d. May 11, 1601). On February 19, 1603, Sebastián de Vivanco underwent examination for the university chair—Clavijo being present to act as a member of the jury. Clavijo again visited Salamanca on May 10, 1603. On the following October 31, the same pupil Tomé Hernández who had succeeded him at the cathedral became university organist.

Doña Maria Carrión, Clavijo's first wife, having died, he married his second wife on August 3, 1618—Doña Ana del Valle. His house in Madrid became a resort for *literati* and musicians alike. Vicente Espinel in his *Vida del Escudero Marcos de Obregón* (Madrid: 1618) gave an animated description of such a reunion of keyboard, harp, and vihuela virtuosi. In the garden adjoining his house the greatest performers alive—Clavijo at the keyboard, his daughter Bernardina on the harp, and Lucas de Matos on the seven-course vihuela—"discoursed with each other in profound and highly original movements" (*Relación tercera, Descanso quinto*). This Bernardina was the daughter who had entered religion (Santo Domingo el Real). Don Francisco was the son whom Lázaro Díaz del Valle mentioned as gentleman of the royal house, keyboardist and organist to Philip IV from 1633 to 1637. Clavijo drew his will, which is generally considered to coincide with his death, on February 1, 1626. By its terms he left his property in Guadalajara (inherited from his brother, Diego del Castillo) and other property in Salamanca to his two sons.

P. Luis Villalba—the first to unearth a Clavijo *tiento*—announced his discovery in the June 5, 1896, issue of *La Ciudad de Dios* (no. 111; published at Madrid). He had found it in an eighteenth-century manuscript preserved at El Escorial (sign. 56–67–ñ. *Archivo Vicarial*); the title (at fol. 104^v) reads thus: *Tiento de 2º. tono, por Jesolreud, Clabijo*. Later twice reprinted, this one *tiento* would not of itself justify Clavijo's reputation, thought Pedrell (*Diccionario*, p. 367). One year later, however, Pedrell announced the discovery of a truly important printed collection of Clavijo's motets: *Bernardi Clabixi del Castello in Regia Capella Sicula organici musici Motecta ad canendum tam cum quattuor, quinque, sex, et octo vocibus, quam cum instrumentis composita. Permissu superiorum. Romae. Apud Alexandrum Gardanum. M.D.LXXXVIII. (1588)*.

The dedication reads: "To the most illustrious and excellent Don Diego Enríquez de Guzmán, Count of Alba de Liste, Viceroy, Senior Member of the Royal Council, . . . Governor General of Sicily: Just as, most illustrious Sir, your renown has spread throughout the whole viceroyalty of Sicily because of your puissant administration of secular affairs, so also you have not forgotten spiritual concerns but have even gone to the length of endowing the music of the royal chapel [at Palermo] so that divine praises may more fittingly be offered. For that same purpose I who am now organist and was formerly chapelmaster of the same chapel have composed some modest musical works that are dedicated to Your Excellency and to the Countess of Alba, your very dear spouse, and have arranged to have them printed in partial acknowledgment of my infinite debt." (Pedrell, *Diccionario*, pp. 367–368.)



The partbooks seen by Pedrell lacked a tenor—the CAB partbooks “being bound with another Spanish sixteenth-century imprint” in a private library to which he enjoyed access. But since for fear of anticipation he refused to divulge any other details (*ibid.*, p. 368), a pall was cast over further Clavijo research: only to be lifted fifty years later when, in his “El Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Valladolid” (*AM*, III, 103), Anglés revealed the existence of another incomplete set of partbooks at Valladolid Cathedral—perhaps the same incomplete set credited by Pedrell to a “private library.”

Répertoire international des sources musicales (RISM), A/1/2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972), page 149, item C2641, wrongly stated that the unique partbooks at Valladolid Cathedral of Clavijo del Castillo’s motets published at Rome by Alessandro Gardano in 1588, are complete (SATB, quinta, sexta). This is not so; nor is the error corrected in RISM, A/1/11, page 287. In *AM*, III (1948), 103, Anglés did not say that the partbooks at Valladolid Cathedral include a tenor. Quinta and sexta voices are in one partbook. At pages 107–108 of this issue, Anglés published Clavijo del Castillo’s dedication and listed the 17 motets in the collection: five *a 4* (*Sancta et immaculata, Vidi turbam magnam, Veni sponsa Christi, In te Domine speravi-Quoniam fortitudo mea, Benedicite oculi omnium*), six *a 5* (*Sana me Domine, Angelus ad pastores ait, Fuit homo missus a Deo, Clama ne cesses, O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, O sacrum convivium*), the five *a 6* (*Cantate Domino, Voce mea ad Dominum clamavi, Scidite corda vestra-Derelinquat impius, Tulerunt Dominum meum, Felix namque es*), and the one *a 8* (*Super flumina Babilonis*). In Bruno Turner’s *Mapa Mundi* edition of the latter motet (Spanish Church Music Series, No. 29 [London: 1979]), he supplied a very likely tenor (lowest voice part for Choir I). On the evidence of only this one polychoral motet Clavijo reveals himself a most deft contrapuntist and a vocal composer of rare expressive powers.

The dictionary article in *MGG*, Volume II (columns 1473–1475), is accompanied by a facsimile of the dedication; but calls for the following corrections: (1) the dedicatee was Viceroy of Sicily rather than of Naples—his seat of government being Palermo; (2) the succession of chapelmasters at Naples (col. 1473) has no bearing on Clavijo’s career; (3) Clavijo was not licentiate of the “University of Oña” (col. 1474), but rather of the University of Oñate, public classes at which were first held in 1545; (4) at his death, three children survived: the daughter in religion, Bernardina, and two sons, Antonio and Francisco—both sons having shared in the bequest of Guadalajara property from Diego del Castillo’s estate in 1623, and both sons being mentioned in Clavijo’s will of February 1, 1626.

⁷ **Juan Bautista Comes**, chief of the Valencian school of composers, was born at Valencia in about 1582. José Climent Barber and Joaquín Piedra Miralles, authors of *Juan Bautista Comes y su tiempo: Estudio biográfico* (Madrid: Comisaría Nacional de la Música, 1977), infer the year 1582 because on August 1, 1596, the voice of a choirboy in Valencia Cathedral named Juan Bautista Comes was beginning to change (p. 22). In June of 1597 his father Gaspar signed for a cathedral payment due him (“ha pagat a Gaspar Comes, tapiner, com a pare y legitim administrador de Joan Batiste Comes,” p. 23). The rest of the composer’s family included a brother named Pedro Pablo, two maiden sisters who survived him, Ángela and Gerónima, and a married sister, Vicenta Comes y de Vicent.

During Comes’s youth, the chapelmasters at Valencia Cathedral were Juan Ginés Pérez, February 1581 to May 1595, and Ambrosio Cotes, March 16, 1596, until March 7, 1600. After serving for an undetermined length of time as a singer in Lérida Cathedral, Comes was on June 27, 1605, a candidate for Lérida Cathedral chapelmastership, and on August 13, 1605, was awarded the position.

However, he had held the post a mere three months when his brother Pedro Pablo came from Valencia bearing an offer of a chapel position in the Colegio Seminario del Patriarca y de Corpus Christi (institution later known familiarly as the Colegio del Patriarca, in deference to its founder, Juan de Ribera, Patriarch of Valencia [died January 6, 1611]). During that same year, 1605, Patriarca financial vouchers mention payment for the copying of a passion by Comes—possibly his *Pasión según San Mateo* dated 1606 (Valencia Cathedral music archive). However, Comes’s own presence in the Patriarca chapel cannot be documented until August 28, 1608, on which date he became assistant chapelmaster in succession to Miguel Gil. Narciso Leysa meantime continued as head chapelmaster. Comes’s pay was fixed at 43 libras every quarter, plus lodging. Next year he was in debt to Juan Úbeda. On July 27, 1609, the Patriarca authorities agreed to pay Úbeda 150 libras toward Comes’s total indebtedness of 211 libras, 17 sueldos, and 8 dineros. Úbeda then forgave Comes the remainder of the total sum.

In July of 1609 the Patriarca paid for Comes’s composition of a set of *Danzas para la procesión de Corpus Christi* (9 libras, 11 sueldos, 8 dineros). Next year his *Libro de cuatro gozos* was copied at Patriarca expense (May 11, 1610). The copying of his St. John Passion and of a *Miserere* date from the same epoch.

On April 20, 1613, he became chapelmaster of Valencia Cathedral at an annual 263 libras (63 libras for the *capellanía de contralta*)—plus a house in which to board and lodge the choirboys taught by him. On June 15 of the same year, while he was still in no more than minor orders, the Valencia Cathedral chapter added to his emoluments a benefice worth a yearly 60 libras. However, his having not yet been ordained priest caused difficulties. After protracted legal maneuvering, he lost it to a claimant with a bull from Rome. Only on May 15, 1615, do Valencia records at last refer to Comes himself—now aged about 33—as a priest.

Comes’s next post—which he occupied from January 1, 1618 through May of 1628—attests to his exploding fame. During that decade he was assistant chapelmaster of the Capilla Real at Madrid. Already before transferring to Madrid, he had obviously become acquainted with the works of such Royal Chapel maestros as the Flemings Georges de la Hèle (1547–1586) and Philippe Rogier (1561–1596), both of whom were represented by works at Valencia Cathedral inventoried in 1618. Comes’s own immediate superior at Madrid was the Fleming Mateo Romero = Mathieu Rosmarin (Liège, b. 1575/6; Madrid, May 10, 1647; royal maestro de capilla from October 19, 1598, to retirement on full pay in 1634). His duties under Romero centered in the physical care and instruction of the Capilla Real choirboys.

As *teniente* he began with a 200-ducat = 75,000 maravedís annual salary. However, Comes soon tired not only of the Royal Chapel choirboys but also of the intrigues of court life. As early as 1619, he wrote letters dated January 22, April 17, May 15, June 26, August 4, September 10 and 22, that still survive in the

Patriarca archive. Addressed to Patriarca authorities, they express his disillusionment with life at Madrid. Their purpose was to solicit appointment as Patriarca chapelmaster—but with the proviso that, like the recently deceased Narciso Leysa (under whom he had served from 1608 to 1613), a subaltern assume the responsibility of rearing the choirboys.

This request contravened the will of the founder of the Patriarca, Juan de Ribera. Comes therefore saw no alternative to continuing at Madrid, where from time to time royal pay vouchers indicate that deputies collected salary in his behalf. The Royal Palace at Madrid contains among Capilla Real documents Legajo C.246/31, listing Comes's salary payments. On 26 occasions between January 1, 1623, and May 8, 1628, he personally collected payments due him. On eleven occasions from April 7, 1622, to July 30, 1628, deputies collected in his behalf (Greta Jean Olson, "The Masses of Juan Bautista Comes," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California [Los Angeles], April 1984, pp. 278–279).

In October of 1627 he renewed his application for the Patriarca chapelmastership, this time with no written stipulation concerning care of the choirboys. To hold him in Madrid, the prospect of added salary from a "plaza de Borgoña" was dangled before his eyes. While waiting for it to materialize, he competed for the vacant Patriarca post and was elected to it June 27, 1628. On July 30, his successor in the Real Capilla post, Julián Ferrer, collected the 1300 reales still due him at Madrid.

In 1628 Comes's beginning emoluments at the Patriarca consisted of a house in which to board the choirboys and 150 libras. On October 1, 1628, Luys Navarro took over the Patriarca choirboys. So efficiently did Luys Navarro care for them that on July 1, 1631, the Patriarca authorities voted to deduct 20 libras annually from Comes's 150—giving them to Navarro.

Obviously, this reduction to 130 displeased Comes. His next and final move therefore took him back to Valencia Cathedral, where Vicente García had succeeded him May 18, 1618. On October 16, 1632, he collected the last distribution still due him from the Patriarca. Since the 1656 inventory of the Patriarca music archive lists nothing by him, he quite possibly gathered up all his works that were mentioned in the Patriarca inventory of 1625 and took them with him to the cathedral. Only in 1675 does the Patriarca inventory again mention Comes's compositions, now mostly copied on loose sheets (Climent and Piedra, *Juan Bautista Comes*, p. 146).

At Valencia Cathedral Comes's prestige kept growing apace during his last twelve years. On November 3, 1632, the Saragossa Seo (Cathedral) voted to offer him the chapelmastership at an annual 400 ducats, without asking him to submit to the formality of a competition (Pedro Calahorra Martínez, *La Música en Zaragoza en los siglos XVI y XVII*. II. *Polifonistas y ministriles* [Saragossa: Institución "Fernando Católico," 1978], p. 79: "Que se escriba a Comes y se vea si quere venir para Maestro de Capilla que se dé cuatrocientos ducados").

On April 26, 1638, the Santiago de Compostela cathedral chapter voted to verify his age, and upon finding him still vigorous to offer him an 800-ducat annual salary if he wished to transfer there as maestro de capilla (José López-Calo, *Catálogo musical del archivo de la Santa Iglesia Cathedral de Santiago* [Cuenca: Instituto de música religiosa, 1972], p. 324). He replied negatively in a letter read to the Santiago de Compostela chapter July 29, 1638 ("habiéndose leído una carta del maestro

Comes, por la cual se excusa de venir a servir a esta santa iglesia). As a result, the Santiago canons had to make themselves content with Jerónimo Vicente from Calahorra.

The Santiago de Compostela offer did give Comes desirable leverage at Valencia. On June 9, 1638, shortly after the written offer arrived, Valencia Cathedral authorities at last relieved him of the onerous choirboys—transferring them to Francisco Navarro (1613?–1650?) who was on October 20, 1644, to succeed him as maestro de capilla of Valencia Cathedral. Simultaneously, Valencia authorities raised Comes's yearly pay by a very substantial amount—from 230 libras to 350 libras (Climent and Piedra, pp. 221–222).

Increasingly frequent bouts of illness clouded his last years. On November 22, 1642, he asked the Valencia Cathedral chapter to loan him 100 libras to cover sickness expenses. The chapter responded with five installments of 20 libras each. He died January 5, 1643, leaving the cathedral in repayment of loans his entire body of compositions. The cathedral inventory of 1657 mentions partbooks of three Masses *a 12*, of four Masses *a 8*, eight partbooks of vespers psalms *a 8*, twelve of psalms *a 12*, and 16 partbooks containing motets *a 8* (Climent and Piedra, pp. 160–161).

However, Valencia Cathedral now boasts far more than just these works. José Climent's *Fondos musicales de la Región Valenciana* (Valencia: Instituto de Musicología, Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, Diputación Provincial de Valencia, 1979), at pages 113–136, itemizes 187 works by Comes. Of the 72 villancicos in the list, 17 Blessed Sacrament, 15 Christmas, and 11 Blessed Virgin villancicos were edited by Climent in *Juan Bautista Comes (1582?–1643): Obras en lengua romance*, Vols. I (1977), II and III (1978) (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo). In addition, the Valencia Cathedral chapelmaster Juan Bautista Guzmán (1846–1909) published another dozen villancicos (Climent's items 697–699, 716, 722, 734, 740, 751–754, and 762 [767 is a romance]) in *Obras musicales del insigne maestro español del siglo XVII, Juan Bautista Còmes, escogidas, puestas en partitura é ilustradas por D. Juan Bautista Guzmán, presbítero y maestro de capilla de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Valencia. Publicadas de Real Orden* (Madrid: Imprenta del Colegio Nacional de Sordomudos y de Ciegos, 1888 [2 vols.]).

Still another six were edited by Samuel Rubio for Unión Musical Española (702, 705, 708, 717, 718, 748). So far as the latter half-dozen are concerned, Climent complained that Rubio left out the all-important Responsión that forms the usual second section of Comes's villancicos (Tonada, Responsión, Coplas—Responsión repeated after Coplas). "Therefore, Rubio's transcriptions of Comes's polychoral villancicos are very incomplete, since they leave out the chief part—the part in which Comes exhibits his best contrapuntal feats."

Climent was the first transcriber to publish Comes's *negros* and a *gallego*. In Climent's view, Comes's villancicos, although never antedating 1600, still have the flavor of sixteenth-century classical polyphony, and were indeed composed to replace the responsories of *maitines* and the motets formerly sung during offertories at masses.

Comes's extant Latin-text works include five Masses preserved complete. The four in Valencia Cathedral archive are the *Exsultet caelum, a 4* (item 592 in Climent's catalogue, this Mass was published by the Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo in



1955), *Iste Confessor*, a 8 (item 590), *Qué fértil [que] es el año*, a 8 (item 591), and *Ad instar praelii constructa*, a 12 (item 588). A copy of the fifth Mass, *Misa de Tres Contrabajos*, a 12, although surviving complete at the Colegio del Patriarca, in scored volume 22 (*Música de diferentes*), lacks text underlay (except for cues). The same mixolydian work for three choirs (CAT of Chorus I, ATB of Chorus II, and CATB of Chorus III) survives also at Bogotá Cathedral in loose sheets (*Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* [Washington: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1970], pp. 11 and *6).

So far as borrowed material goes, Manuel Paláu in *La obra del músico valentino Juan Bautista Comes* (Madrid: Harmonía, 1944), page 1, identified the opening incise of *Exsultet orbis gaudiis, caelum resultet laudibus*, an Apostles and Saints hymn, as the source for numerous imitative points throughout the *Missa Exsultet caelum*. However, the entire hymn melody enters only the Agnus Dei (tenor in notes of longer value: G B e d e c d e). Chorus I in Comes's *Missa Iste confessor*, a 8, begins with a reworking of the four-voice complex found in Palestrina's four-voice Mass of the same name.

* **Ambrosio [de] Cotes**, one of the more colorful chapelmasters of his era, was born at Villena (Alicante) in about 1550. His biography—coupled with transcriptions of his surviving works in the music archives of the Colegio de Patriarca and Cathedral at Valencia and of the Capilla Real at Granada—can best be studied in José María Soler García's 320-page *El polifonista villenense Ambrosio Cotes (1550–1603)* ([Valencia: PILES, Editorial de Música] Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos, Excma. Diputación Provincial de Alicante, 1979).

In 1581 Cotes was appointed maestro of the Royal Chapel at Granada. The testimonials to his ancestry gathered that year at his birthplace (and elsewhere) are contained in a Granada Cathedral document inventoried as Legajo 113, pieza a. Among other details, this document—entitled *Prouança Fecha en la ciudad de villena e otras partes dela descendencia a linpieza del linage del muy Reuerendo ambrosio cotes clerigo vezino y natural dela ciudad de villena Presentado por su mag^d a la Capellania del Magisterio de capilla de la capilla rreal de granada*—certifies that in about 1547 the composer's father Francisco Cotes married his mother Isabel Sánchez in the parish church of Santa María de la Asunción at Villena. Among their three sons, the eldest was in 1581 a pharmacist at Valencia.

Ambrosio, who was apparently the middle son, began his elementary education at Villena in the *colegio de Teatinos*. For at least a short period during his youth, the family lived at nearby Fuente la Higuera, where Ambrosio's paternal grandfather during more than twenty years wielded a criminal justice's wand (*la vara de la justicia criminal en esta villa*) and was a wealthy landowner.

On April 15, 1573, and again on June 19, 1576, Ambrosio Cotes's signature appears on notarial documents in the municipal archive at Villena. From no later than 1573 to his appointment in 1581 as Granada Capilla Real maestro (succeeding Rodrigo Ceballos), Ambrosio Cotes was the beneficed maestro de capilla of the Iglesia Arciprestal de Santiago at Villena. According to this church's statutes (as revised and approved by Pope Paul III on November 26, 1535), one of the endowed benefice holders was to direct the choir and give two lessons every working day in plainsong, counterpoint, and polyphony

to all who desired them. The other benefice holder played the organ.

Cotes held the post of maestro de capilla in this Villena church at least eight years. Already in 1572, the Santiago choir was in demand for important ceremonies in nearby towns (Soler García, p. 22). Although Ambrosio's compositions dating from 1573 to 1581 do not survive, they were held by his younger brother Gaspar after his departure from Villena. In Gaspar's will signed at Villena June 14, 1644, 21 years after Ambrosio's death, Gaspar asked a *beneficiado* whom he owed 40 reales, to accept *los papeles de Ambrosio Cotes mi hermano* in payment of the debt.

Ambrosio won appointment as Royal Chapel chapelmaster at Granada May 18, 1581 (Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Eclesiástico, Legajo 12, as cited in José López Calo, "Cuatro piezas instrumentales del siglo XVI," *Tesoro sacro musical*, no. 611, January–March 1970, p. 4, note 3). So resplendent was his musical career at Granada that without even the formality of a public competition he was on March 16, 1596, appointed maestro de capilla of Valencia Cathedral. Not that his fifteen years at Granada had been all sugar and spices. Instead, they had included many unpleasant incidents, arising usually from the intrigues of the egocentric organist of the Capilla Real since 1551, Francisco [Hernández] Palero. Palero objected violently to Cotes's exercising any superior authority—feeling himself of equal consequence. In 1591, when called upon to explain the difficulties that had arisen with Palero, Cotes wrote as follows: "It is true that on numerous occasions Palero has irritated me; he is without doubt the most ambitious man alive, and wishes to be revered above all others." After a bass's prebend had gone unfilled for fifteen years, a competition was finally held over Palero's protest. By insults and threats, Palero forced the best contender to desist so that he could inveigle the appointment for a crony. His plan miscarried, however, and a new competition was held.

On another occasion Cotes refused to name Palero chairman of Holy Week arrangements, because it was not his turn; whereupon Palero intrigued to have Cotes ousted from his time-honored prerogative of naming such officials. On still another occasion Palero entered the sacristy where Cotes was directing a rehearsal of his own recently composed *Ave Maria*, a 8, and forthwith ordered Cotes and his colleagues out of the sacristy, "just as if we were mere altar boys." Palero's reason for ordering them out, said Cotes, was patent: The elderly organist "could not abide any kind of music that I write" (*no poder sufrir qualquier género de música que sea mía*). Palero had become such a lover of mediocrity as he grew older that "during the past eight years he has done everything in his power to bring in a string of incompetents." To make things doubly hard for Cotes after the appointment of a new *capellán mayor* (Pedro Ruiz Puente), Palero artfully wheedled the new official into accepting his own musical judgment as superior to that of the youthful chapelmaster. Once, after particularly harsh words, Cotes sought reconciliation through the intercession of a third party. Palero pretended that he was willing to let bygones be bygones. But no sooner had the third party to their public reconciliation departed than Palero again began to rail.

Palero simultaneously held an organistship in the nearby Church of St. Jerome. In order to retain both posts, he insisted on performing everything as fast as possible in the Capilla Real

—forcing the succentor to rush through the plainchant, and chopping off his own responses, even at vespers and on solemn feasts—“so that he could leave quickly and run over to St. Jerome’s to play” (*por salir presto y poderse ir a tañer a San Gerónimo*). Because his vanity forbade his suffering the chapelmaster to demonstrate any ability superior to his own, Palero strenuously objected when Cotes improvised a florid upper fourth part in falsetto—even though others enjoyed the added part and “while in Seville both the cardinal [Rodrigo de Castro] and Guerrero desired that I add such a part.”

All these difficulties came to a head in 1591. That year, Palero, Ruiz Puente, and a few abettors drew up a list of twenty-four charges against Cotes which they lodged with the Bishop of Guadix and Baza, a deputy appointed to visit the royal chapel and to maintain discipline. The charges reached such extravagant lengths that they fell of their own weight. Cotes was charged with being a gamester, a trifler with women, a malingerer, a disrespector of authority, and a faker. The fact that Cotes was not impeded in his career, but rather that he rose successively to the chapelmasterships of Valencia Cathedral March 16, 1596, to March 7, 1600 (Collet, *Le mysticisme*, p. 289), and of Seville Cathedral, September 22, 1600, to September 9, 1603, speaks for itself.

Henri Collet, though an enthusiastic admirer of Cotes’s *Missa de Plagis, a 5* (preserved in multiple copies at Valencia Cathedral), did somewhat naively accept the charges brought against Cotes at their face value (*Le mysticisme*, pp. 302–303). In an epoch when ecclesiastical discipline throughout Spain was being tightened, Cotes could not have held his place at Granada, or gained higher posts at Valencia and Seville, had his name not been cleared of the charges brought by his intriguing enemies.

The details of Cotes’s career at Valencia Cathedral were first clarified in José Climent’s article, “Ambrosio Cotes (1550?–1603): Su paso por la Catedral de Valencia,” *Tesoro sacro musica*, LIV/615 (January–March 1971), 16–20. Although both his predecessor Juan Ginés Pérez and his successor Jerónimo Felipe earned only 400 libras annually, Cotes entered with 500, March 16, 1596—an amount raised soon thereafter to 550. To sweeten the package further, Narciso Leysa was hired April 30, 1596, as his assistant. Meanwhile, Gaspar Vallacloig continued responsible for boarding and training the choirboys. As if all this were not enough, the Valencia Cathedral authorities on November 4, 1598, accommodated him by hiring his keyboardist friend from Granada, Isasi (who “vive por la tecla insigne,” according to Lope de Vega, *Auto del Hijo Prodigio in Colección de las obras sueltas, ansi en prosa como en verso* [Madrid: Ed. Sancha, V, 345]).

Nonetheless, Cotes quit four years after being hired. The Valencia Cathedral capitular act of March 7, 1600, quoted in Climent’s *TSM* article (p. 17), specifies “failing vision” as his reason for resigning. Henceforth he said that he would live at Villena. As quittance pay, the Valencia Cathedral chapter awarded him 450 libras (augmented two days later by another 148 libras, 6 sueldos, and 8 dineros).

But whatever the problems of failing eyesight at Valencia, Cotes could not resist the temptation to continue his career in an even wealthier and more prestigious cathedral than Valencia. On September 22, 1600, he gained the Sevillian *magisterio* in an open competition against Juan de Riscos, chapelmaster at Jaén (uncle of the Juan de Riscos [born at Antequera, 1590]

who after serving as chapelmaster at Cordova became *maestro* at Toledo, 1617–1619). On September 20, 1600, Cotes’s right to wear a cloak and to occupy a seat of honor in the *coro* was acknowledged. On the following October 2 his preeminence over all other members of the Sevillian musical establishment was officially recognized. On November 17 he was admonished to obtain a *patiur* when absent on account of sickness. On January 3 the chapter confirmed his right to fine singers in the same amounts that Guerrero had mulcted them. On the following October 5 he was warned to fulfill his duties exactly as they were prescribed in the *tabla*. By February 25, 1603, his health had deteriorated to such an extent that the chapter voted a drastic reduction of his duties and placed him on half-pay. He died the succeeding September 9.

Although one recent scholar would have Cotes successively a chapelmaster at Seville, at the royal chapel in Granada, and after 1581 a *maestrescuela* at Valencia (*MME*, II, 174), the chronological data to be found at the Archivo General de Simancas (Patronato Eclesiástico, Legajo 282, fols. 2–12) forbid any such chronological succession. Cotes, in his own *petición* contained in the above legajo (dated 1591), distinctly stated not once but several times that he had been chapelmaster of the Real Capilla “diez años y más” (paragraphs 9 and 10). Moreover, this same information reached print as long ago as 1896 (see *HSMS*, Vol. v, p. xvi, n. 1). As for his service at Seville, the capitular acts of that cathedral reveal beyond question the dates of Cotes’s initial appointment and of his death in the Andalusian capital.

The largest cache of short works by Cotes thus far catalogued is at Granada. José López Calo listed 25 motets and lamentations of Cotes in five partbooks (“El Archivo de Música de la Capilla Real de Granada,” *AM*, XIII [1958], 112–113). All 25 works were published in the *segunda parte* of Soler García’s *El polifonista villenense Ambrosio Cotes (1550–1603)*. The tonics (ending chords) in Cotes’s lamentations for Maundy Thursday (*Quomodo sedet sola*), Good Friday (*Cogitavit Dominus*), and Holy Saturday (*Oratio Jeremie*) rise successively from F to G to A. In none does he cite Gregorian tones, either paraphrased or as a *cantus firmus*. Because the partbook for the sixth voice is lost at Granada, only his motets *a 4* and *a 5* itemized in *Anuario musical*, XIII, 112–113, can be transcribed complete. His motets *a 6* (*O lux et decus Hispaniae*) and *a 7* (*Mortuus est Philippus Rex* and *Vidi Angelum*) copied in partbooks at the Patriarca in Valencia (*Motetes de diversos autores*) are another matter.

Climent published his transcriptions of the “A minor” motets *O lux et decus Hispaniae* (St. James) and *Vidi Angelum* (St. Vincent Ferrer) in a 20-page musical appendix to *Tesoro sacro musical*, no. 615 (p. 3: note in tenor, meas. 29 should be G, not F, and notes in altus 2^{us}, meas. 30 should read F, not G). At pages 19–20 of his article, his analyses of these two motets amply confirm his dictum at page 17: “Ambrosio Cotes es un gran polifonista.” The Tone IV funerary motet for Philip II, composed in 1598, reaches 174 measures and is Cotes’s longest still extant single-movement work. Published for the first time in Soler García, pages 250–262 (Joaquín Piedra transcription) this superb expression of public grief calls for voices ranging from low F (Bassus I) to high A (Cantus I), and is unified by such devices as migrating sobs (“et flevunt eum” = A G# A F E).



⁹If previously assembled data may be trusted (Pedrell, *Tomás Luis de Victoria* [Valencia: Manuel Villar, 1918], pp. 20–21), **Bartolomé de Escobedo** was born ca. 1510. He studied at Salamanca, there becoming a cathedral singer. He was the next Spanish singer after Morales to be admitted into the papal choir. At the moment of his entrance on Wednesday, August 23, 1536, he was listed in the Sistine Diary (*Note d'archivio*, I, 3–4 [July–Dec., 1924], 268) as *clericus Zamorensis*, a clergyman of Zamora diocese. The French faction (perhaps because the ratio of French, Italian, and Spanish singers was disturbed) protested violently against his acceptance, even refusing to sing the next day. Escobedo was not deterred, however, from paying his entrance fees—ten ducats *pro omnibus regalibus* [= *regalibus*] and two ducats *pro Cotta*.

The record of Escobedo's two periods of choir service—the first lasting from August 23, 1536, to June 5, 1541; the second from May 1, 1545, to October 25, 1554—is preserved in Sistine Diaries numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4. The only gap in this record comes between January 7, 1550, and January 5, 1553. (As early as May 1, 1554, the diary that covered 1550, 1551, and 1552 was carried away by the *magister capellae*, never to be returned: see *Note d'archivio*, XIII, 3–4 [May–Aug., 1936], 148 [col. 1]). These four diaries contain a record of Escobedo's frequent illnesses. Unlike Morales, he was never sick for several weeks at a stretch. His longest absence on account of illness seems to have occurred during the late winter of 1541; on February 14 (1541): *Scobedo infirmus et excusatus pro toto mense*. During his second term, he suffered from gout. For November 17, 1547, the diary reads: *Scopedus podagrosus*. On the preceding July 3, 1547, the diarist recorded that *Scopedus dolens pedem* (Escobedo was in pain because of his foot). The other notations relating to his illnesses include: *male habet* (Oct. 9, 1540), *in medicinis* (May 12, 1541), *sirupans exemptus est* (April 21, 1547), and *medicinatus* (Nov. 28, 1547). Like Núñez, Ordóñez, and Sánchez, Escobedo occasionally malingered. On January 24, 1540, for instance, he was reported sick; but was later seen during the course of the day *in plateis*. On August 18, 1549, after being excused he was seen walking about in the city near the *templum pacis*.

Escobedo's voice being of the same range as Morales's, he could substitute for Morales (Feb. 2, 1540). In turn, Giovanni Abbate and Antonio Capello substituted for him (June 12 and July 29, 1540). It was with the latter, the favorite private musician of Pope Paul III (see Léon Dorez, *La cour du Pape Paul III d'après les registres de la trésorerie secrète* [Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1932], I, 223), that Escobedo traded insults at vespers on Epiphany eve (Jan. 5) 1547. Escobedo called Capello an ass (see *Note d'archivio*, Vol. XI, no. 1 [Jan.–May, 1934], p. 84, n. 3). The Savoyard singer replied: "You're lying in your teeth." Both were fined ten julii.

On Wednesday, April 7, 1546, Escobedo was excommunicated. The next day he was absolved. On Monday, September 6, 1546, he called his fellow singer Leonard Barré (entered 1537) a "fat pig." On August 6, 1548, he was fined for wearing a short cassock. Later this particular fine was remitted. The following four notices in the diaries specifically mentioning him: *ad instantiam Bartholomei Schobedo sex sotij vadunt pro celebranda certa missa pro quodam defuncto* (Oct. 29, 1538); *habuit scatulam* (April 4, 1539; July 29, 1548; May 31, 1553); *ad septem ecclesias* (Oct. 30, 1540; June 1, 1541); *mutavit domicilium*

(Aug. 22, 1547); may be translated thus: (1) at Bartolomé de Escobedo's request six colleagues went to celebrate a Mass for a certain deceased individual; (2) he had the feast box (distributed in rotation from the pope's kitchen to the singers); (3) he visited the seven churches (as a one-day pilgrimage); (4) he changed his dwelling.

Francisco Salinas, who accompanied Pedro de Sarmiento to Rome for his investiture with the purple on October 18, 1538, and who remained in Italy until approximately 1562, became well acquainted with Escobedo. In his *De musica libri septem* (1577), page 228, he called Escobedo "an extremely learned musician and a very dear personal friend." Salinas continued thus: "Many prior theorists have labeled the major third as a 5:4 and the minor as a 6:5, the major sixth as a 5:3 and the minor as an 8:5 consonance—among them Bartolomé Ramos the Spainard, whom a little while ago we said Franchino [Gaffurio] so severely reprehended because such ratios did not correspond with those given by Boethius. But again [Ludovico] Fogliano, without reading the ancients, experimentally discovered the validity of the same disputed ratios: the validity of which will become apparent to anyone who properly investigates the subject. Long before myself reading his text or any other writings on the subject, I indeed turned over in my own mind these problems, discussing them frequently with Bartolomé Escobedo, *viro in vtraque Musices parte exercitatissimo, atque mihi amicissimo*. He told me that all these matters [of ratio] upon which I had been pondering had been treated of by Fogliano, just as I was later to be told by still another friend."

It was this well-deserved reputation for theoretical learning which no doubt caused Escobedo to be selected a judge (along with Ghiselin Danckerts) when in May, 1551, Nicola Vicentino challenged Vincenzo Lusitano to a public debate on the meaning of the ancient genera. The Portuguese theorist promised "in the name of all musicians to prove that I know what genus is used in the music composed nowadays and commonly sung." The rigidly doctrinaire Vicentino pretended to have acquired sufficient arcane lore to rout his rival. The first trial was held on June 4 in a large room of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este's palace. Because Danckerts could not attend, and because Escobedo refused to give his single opinion, a second trial was scheduled for the morning of June 7. At this second trial both judges united in upholding the Portuguese theorist's contention that the genus "in which music is composed today" and which is "commonly sung" is the diatonic. Danckerts informed the heady protégé of Cardinal Ippolito that to be in enharmonic or chromatic genus, a piece must contain the diesis or major semitone. Vicentino had argued valiantly that the interval of a minor third was borrowed from the chromatic tetrachord. (For further details, see Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina* [Rome: Soc. Tipografica, 1828], I, 342–347 [note 424]. Baini's account, although impugned by Trend, agrees closely with the manuscript version in Biblioteca Casanatense [MS 2880]. See Claude V. Palisca, "The Beginnings of Baroque Music [Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1953], pp. 105–110).

Escobedo retired from the papal choir on October 25, 1554: *Eodem die congregatis dominis Cantoribus dominus Bartholomeus de Scouedo petiit licentiam eundi in partibus et obtinait cum bona voluntate Summi Pontificis et mastro [sic] Cupelle*



ut moris est (*Note d'archivio*, XIII, 5–6 [Sept.–Dec., 1936], 202–203). Upon returning to Spain he enjoyed a benefice at Segovia. According to *Capp. Sist. Diar.*, no. 7, fol. 45^v, three Spanish sopranists selected by Escobedo as worthy candidates for the papal choir were auditioned on March 21, 1563 (he had previously been given a general commission to search for such candidates). Juan Figueroa was declared the winner (joined the choir on April 17, 1563). Escobedo died before the following August 11. Under date of Wednesday, August 11, a notice of *beneficia vacantia per obitum Bartholomei Scobedo* enters the diary (fol. 61^v).

In “Cinco cantores españoles en la capilla pontificia,” *Anuario musical*, xxxvi–1981 (1982), 87–88, José M.^a Llorens itemized six financial favors done Escobedo by Pope Paul III: (1) from September 28, 1538, to January 30, 1539, he held the post of absentee rector of the parish church of Santiago de Alicante in Segovia diocese (worth an annual 20 gold ducats); (2) on April 19, 1539, the pope named him to a benefice at Cubillo, Segovia diocese (24 gold ducats); (3) on February 24, 1540, Paul III added an annual pension of 30 gold ducats payable from rents received by Fernando Álvarez in Segovia diocese; (4) on August 13, 1544, the pope granted him an annual pension of 12 escudos payable from the rectorship of the parochial school of Santa María de Arbas in Toro; (5) on April 21, 1545, Paul III appointed him to a canonry in Zamora Cathedral worth an annual 100 ducats; (6) on another undated occasion Escobedo received an annual rent of 12 escudos payable from the income of the priorate of Treviso. Julius III, pope 1550–1555, confirmed Escobedo’s income from the rectorship of the parochial church of Santa María de Arbas in Toro—an income that in the interim from August 13, 1544, had been contested by another aspirant.

In *MME*, Vol. II, p. 80, Anglés said that Escobedo *regresó a España en 1545* (returned to Spain in 1545) and later became chapelmaster to the princess Doña Juana. Seven years after his “return” (*MME*, II, 81), Anglés wished to identify Escobedo as Doña Juana’s “former chapelmaster.” Anglés repeats the claim that Escobedo served Doña Juana in *MGG*, Vol. III, p. 1518, and in his edition of Mateo Flecha’s *Ensaladas* (Barcelona: Biblioteca Central, 1955), pages 28–29; and the claim that *Escobedo regresó a España en 1545* in *Diccionario de la Música Labor* (Barcelona: 1945) [hereinafter cited as *DML*], in the Spanish version of the Wolf *Geschichte der Musik*, and in the Spanish translation of the Della Carte and Pannain *Storia della musica*. However, the Sistine Diaries irrefutably establish the fact that Escobedo returned not to Spain, but to Rome, in 1545. The attempt to identify Escobedo as Doña Juana’s chapelmaster prior to her departure for Portugal is a similar lapse—Anglés having mistaken “Bartolomé de Escobedo” for “Bartolomé de Quebedo” in the Simancas legajo that served as his source of information. Quebedo—a native of Sahagún who became chapelmaster at Toledo after Morales’s death—might not have been confused with Escobedo if recourse had been had to the Toledo documents first made known by Rubio Piqueras in his *Música y músicos toledanos* (p. 80) and subsequently reprinted in *AM*, Vol. VIII (1955), pp. 25–26.

The earliest allusion to one of Escobedo’s compositions descends to us in a letter written by the same Antonio Capello with whom Escobedo exchanged insults on January 5, 1547. On

November 6, 1538, Capello—who, prior to papal service, had been a singer at Ferrara in the chapel of Duke Hercules II—forwarded his erstwhile employer a mass *a 5* and a motet *a 6* by Morales; together with an unnamed motet *a 6* by Escobedo (*AM*, VIII, 82–83). Whatever the name of the Escobedo motet, it seems not to have been preserved—his surviving motets in the Cappella Sistina archive and at the Toledo capitular library all requiring fewer voices. Two masses are extant: the first, *Philippus Rex Hispaniae*, being a solmization mass through the soft hexachord. Composed for the coronation of Philip II, this *mi mi ut re mi fa mi re* Mass *a 6* pits tenor II, singing the soggetto cavato in every full movement (cancrians in Et in Spiritum) against the other voices. In keeping with Escobedo’s renown for learning, the mensuration problems in such movements as Et in terra pax (Φ in tenor II versus Φ in the other voices), Qui tollis (Φ above Φ2 in tenor II, Φ in the rest), Et incarnatus est, ends of Credo and Sanctus, Osanna (Φ3 and Φ!), and Agnus I (O in tenor II against C2 in the other voices) admirably test the singers’ knowledge of proportions. In the Pleni, the singers must find their intervals of imitation in a three-in-one canon. The two *si placet* parts in this movement are obviously for virtuoso soloists. To climax the acclamations, Escobedo inserts an Agnus Dei with *Clama ne cesses* for a rubric (Cabezón’s *Obras* [1577], fol. 91^v, has Josquin’s *Clama ne cesses*). These words are written in above the liturgical text. This tributary mass was copied into Codex 39 in 1563, the year of Escobedo’s death. Philip II evidently relished the tribute; his Flemish chapelmaster Philippe Rogier later opened his *Missae sex* (1598) with the same kind of mass. A second Escobedo mass (*a 5*) preserved in Rome (Cappella Sistina Codex 13, copied before 1550) is entitled *Ad te levavi*. This same Codex 13 preserves two Escobedo motets: *Immutemur* (2d pars: *Juxta vestibulum*), *a 4*; and *Hodie completi sunt* (2d pars: *Loquebantur*), *a 5*. Codex 24, copied in 1545, contains his motet in three partes (*a 3* and *a 4*): *Domine non secundum* (2d pars: *Domine ne memineries*; 3d pars: *Adjuva nos*).

Eslava printed the first pars of *Immutemur habitu in cinere* (*Lira sacro-hispana*, I, I, 143–147). In addition, he published Escobedo’s *Exurge quare obdormis Domine* (1st pars) and *Erravi sicut ovis quae perit*—each *a 4* (*ibid.*, I, I, 148–151, 152–155). For these last two he used as his source Codex 13 at Toledo (*Códices polifónicos toledanos*, p. 29); *Erravi sicut* bears 1554 for its date of copy. For *Immutemur*, he used as source Codex 17 (*Cod. pol. tol.*, p. 34), which was copied in 1550. This last-named codex opens with a Josquin motet; but is in the main devoted to eleven of Morales’s motets. *Exurge* seems to have been Escobedo’s only motet printed during his lifetime; Gombert’s *Musica quatuor vocum* (vulgo *Motecta nuncupatur*) (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1541) includes both partes (2d pars: *Quoniam humiliata est*), at nos. 21 and 22.

If Escobedo’s other motets are as surcharged with emotion as *Exurge* (Ps. 43 [Vulgate = 44 A.V.]: 23–24; 25–26), he was a remarkably expressive composer. To capture something of the pent-up, distraught feeling of the psalmist, he contrived melodic lines that skip widely (cantus, mm. 7, 29–31; altus, meas. 91; tenor, mm. 5, 126–127; bass, mm. 13–14, 27–30, 78–80, 115) but do not later fill in the skip with returning stepwise movements. He also blurred cadences by dropping out the bass at resolutions (mm. 33–34, 56–57, 67–68, 92–93, 125–126), by resolving decep-



tively (meas. 13) or to the first inversion (mm. 52-53, 64-65, 65-66, 76-77, 133), and by writing a number of leading-tone instead of V-I cadences (mm. 26-27, 42, 93). To reinforce the emotional quality of the word "humiliata" (mm. 79-81) Escobedo pushes all voices down into the depths. At the return of "exurge Domine" (mm. 103-106, 110) he hypostasizes his rhythms and reaches for the highest note to be found in either *pars*. In *pars* 2 he indulges in several melodic repetitions (bass, mm. 83-84, 131-140; cantus, mm. 95-99). As for his "detail technique" in this particular motet: (1) he frequently has recourse to the *nota cambiata*—nine instances occurring in *pars* 1 alone (mm. 6, 15, 19, 24, 31, 41, 49-50, 56, 60)—but never omits the upward step after the third note in the figure (this is a "modern" nicety that in itself would stamp him as junior to Morales); (2) he employs the escaped-note figure so parsimoniously that only one instance has been found in 140 bars (at meas. 31); (3) he uses dissonant anticipations, on the other hand, rather freely (mm. 20, 40, 41, 67, 123); (4) the "consonant" fourth enters twice (mm. 12-13, 101); (5) two upper neighboring notes intrude—both involving a fourth on weak crotchets (mm. 53, 79).

So far as this Sexagesima motet is concerned, Escobedo shows much firmer control of his technical resources than do the majority of his Spanish contemporaries. The wide spacing of cadences, their variety, the richer vocabulary of "chord-progressions," the tenser melodic contours, and above all his effective use of device to reinforce text, bespeak the past master of his art.

¹⁰ **Bartolomé Farfán** became master of the seises in Seville Cathedral on March 17, 1584. His annual salary was fixed at 300 ducats and 40 fanegas of wheat. His duties included boarding, lodging, clothing, and teaching the boys who sang polyphony; for these services he received the income of a half-prebend. Further financial details are recorded in acts dated September 14 and November 5, 1584. On December 19, 1586, Alexandre de la Serna resumed control of the boys on an interim basis. Farfán was again temporarily in charge on August 9, 1589; but remained master of the choirboys until only November 28, 1590. Farfán's motet *a* 4, *Clamavit autem mulier cananea*, appears at fols. 51^v-52 in what was formerly MS 13230, Biblioteca Medinaceli and is now R.6829 (861) in the March Library (Madrid). This text, a favorite with Sevillian composers, was first set by Escobar, and thereafter by Morales and Guerrero.

¹¹ Of **Mateo Flecha the Elder**, unrivaled master of musical motley, eight rollicking numbers were published posthumously in *Las Ensaladas de Flecha* (Prague: Jorge Negrino, 1581). As early as 1557 all eight were ready for publication when a priest at Valencia named Pedro Pujol obtained royal permission dated August 16 to publish them (*Anuario Musical*, VIII [1953], 230-231). The eight published at Prague in 1581 include six *a* 4: *El fuego*, *La bomba*, *La negrina*, *La guerra*, *La justa*, *La viuda*; and two *a* 5: *Los chistes* and *Las cañas* (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 12 [a 5], and 13 [a 5]).

According to F. J. Fétis' undocumented *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, Flecha the Elder was born at Prades (Catalonia) in 1481, studied at Barcelona with Joan Castelló, and died at Poblet (Catalonia) in 1553. Although he must be classed as primarily a secular composer, his career was that of

LAS EN SALADAS DE FLECHA, MAESTRO DE CAPILLA QUE FVE DE las Serenísimas Infantas de Caltilla, Recopiladas por F. Matheo Flecha su sobrino, Abad de Tyhan, y Capellan de las Magestades Cefareas, con algunas fuyas y de otros autores, por el mesmo corregidas y echas enlampar. Dedicadas al Illustrissimo Señor Don Juan de Borja del confejio de la Magestad Catholica y su Embaxador a cerca de la Cefarea &c.



IMPRESSAS EN LA CIUDAD DE PRAGA
en casa de Jorge Negrino año 1581.

Title page *Las Ensaladas*, 1581.

Ensaladas de Flecha. Orphenica Lyr. Libro.V/ Fo. cxlvj

En estas tres ensaladas se reparte la letra en todas quatro bozes, a vezes en el contrabaxo: otras en el tenor: lo mismo en cōtralto y tiple porque así lo demanda la compostura, por estar en esta manera repartida la letra. Para conocimiento desto le ha de tener cuenta con la cifra colorada, Así mismo ay algunos paflos donde antes que la voz acabe de cantar entra otra: ha se de tener aui lo en el meter de la letra, porque no ay a falta en ella: lo qual se dexa a discrecion del que cantare. Y este medio se da por no faltar en algo a la compostura. Tambien ay en algunos lugares mucha diminucion de figuras y corcheas: quando esto se ofrece ha se de tener cuenta con el compas, así en tañer repofado, como en dar el valor a las figuras y dichas.

Miguel de Fuenllana, *Orphénica lyra* (Seville, 1554), fol. 146. Concerning this and successive ensaladas, Fuenllana's directions at fol. 146 are translated in Jacobs, p. lxxvii.



Que faran del pobre Juan

Orphénica Iyra, fol. 138'

First system of musical notation with lyrics: Que fa - ran del po - bre Juan De la fa - ri - ri - rum - fan, De la

Second system of musical notation with lyrics: fa - ri - ri - rum - fan Ma me - ller sea se a - na - lio - at

Third system of musical notation with lyrics: et a Dei A - bent la i - rum a car - ear, De la

Fourth system of musical notation with lyrics: fa - ri - ri - rum - fan, De la fa - ri - ri - rum - fan. A l'ha - tal do

Fifth system of musical notation with lyrics: Ye - ve - ra lio - at si - a Dei lio -

Sixth system of musical notation with lyrics: via - ta lio - at si - a Dei

Seventh system of musical notation with lyrics: lio - at si - a Dei Sta - nut a mit

Eighth system of musical notation with lyrics: so - pe De la fa - ri - ri - rum - fa Y no - tant s'ha -

Ninth system of musical notation with lyrics: - tras - ri - ga - rat lio - at si - a Dei Ell s'ra - ter - na a sen

Tenth system of musical notation with lyrics: - bes - tal De la fa - ri - rum - fa

Eleventh system of musical notation with lyrics: Et tre - be la in -

First system of musical notation with lyrics: et a Dei Y di - ga - o lo men

Second system of musical notation with lyrics: beus, De la fa - ri - ri - rum - fan, De la fa - ri - ri - rum - fan. Ma me -

Third system of musical notation with lyrics: - ller el l'ha - ven via - ta lio - at si - a

Fourth system of musical notation with lyrics: Dei Par - ma fe lo men - beis De la fa - ri -

Fifth system of musical notation with lyrics: - ri - rum - fan De la fa - ri - ri - rum - fan.

Sixth system of musical notation with lyrics: Treu - juras ha que ara l'ha

Seventh system of musical notation with lyrics: fants que plo - ran lio - at si - a Dei Ho plo -

Eighth system of musical notation with lyrics: - rum - fan los meus la - fants, Ho plo -

Ninth system of musical notation with lyrics: - rum - fan los meus in - fants De la fa - ri - rum - fan

Tenth system of musical notation with lyrics: - fa. O ma - la do - na re - pro -

Eleventh system of musical notation with lyrics: - va - da. O ma - la do - na re - pro -

Twelfth system of musical notation with lyrics: - va - da lio - at si - a Dei lio - at si - a Dei



Encúbrase el mal que siento por f. lo que mal he sentido en esto
y a sanjo de la enpena
mundo esto
y fin mezas
En abrazo el mal que siento
y fin mezas
y fin mezas
y fin mezas
y fin mezas
y fin mezas

Encúbrase el mal que siento, at folio cxc in Catalanian Library M. 454, is transcribed (rhythmic values reduced to 4:1) in Emilio Ros-Fàbregas's "The Manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 454, Study and Edition in the Context of the Iberian and Continental Manuscript Traditions," City University of New York, Ph.D. dissertation, 1992 (transcription in Vol. II at pp. 473–474). A G minor (one-flat) *canción a 3*, for male voices, this beautifully crafted lover's lament contains phrases most of which begin with imitation.

a chapmaster. On December 17, 1522, he was appointed *cantor* and on September 30, 1523, he became *maestro de capilla* at Lérida Cathedral. He was succeeded on October 31, 1525, by Joannes Molló, who had been a tenor singer in the cathedral since 1506.

Possibly connected in some way with Sigüenza Cathedral as early as 1533 he was chapmaster there in 1539. In that year the cathedral *cuentas*, fol. 256 s.f., document his receiving 4375 maravedies for his chapmaster services (*que sirvió de maestro de capilla*). His predecessor at Sigüenza, Johannes de Arentana or Aremana, quit in June 1536; his successor was Mathia Chacón, who served as *maestro de capilla* from 1543 to 1563 (Ana Ávila Padrón and J. Rogelio Buendía, "Datos sobre la música del renacimiento de Sigüenza: Matheo Flecha 'el Viejo' y Hernando de Cabezón," *Recerca musicológica*, I, 1981, pp. 195–202).

José Romeu Figueras, in his article "Mateo Flecha el Viejo, la corte literariomusical del duque de Calabria y el Cancionero llamado de Upsala" (*AM*, XIII [1958], 36), suggests that Morales and Flecha were more intimately connected than the parody *Caça* implies. In 1544, the year before Morales's first book of Masses was being published at Lyons by Moderne, Flecha's *La Justa (La Batailla, en spagnol)* was being issued in *Le difficile de chansons. Second livre* by the same publisher. Romeu Figueras works out an elaborate itinerary for Flecha, on the strength of supposed autobiographical allusions in an ensalada comparing music to a widow bereft of protectors such as Ferdinand V, Pope Leo X, Archbishop Fonseca of Toledo, and the Duke of Calabria residing at Valencia. Romeu Figueras suggests that Flecha's "service" under these protectors antedated 1540. But to leave the realm of conjecture: he did later serve as chapelmaster to the Princesses María and Juana, his term lasting from 1544 to 1548, in which latter year María married Maximilian II.

His *El fuego* urges sinners to quench the eternal fire in store for them by prompt *penitencia* and a return to God. For transcriptions of this charming "sacred" ensalada 4, see F. Pedrell, *Catàlech de la Biblioteca Musical de la Diputació de Barcelona* (1909), II, 210–232; Mateo Flecha, *Las Ensaladas*, ed. by H. Anglés (1954), pp. 62–80. Fuenllana intabulated three Flecha ensaladas (*Jubilate, La bomba, La justa*) and four villancicos, one of which—*Que faran del pobre Juan*—was ciphered in 1552 by Pisador (fols. 87^v–88^v: "es a manera de villanesca") and three of which were anthologized in 1556 by Scotto (*Villancicos de diversos Autores*). Barcelona M.454 contains four villancicos ascribed to Mateo Flecha, all four beginning imitatively: *Si sentis lo que yo siento, O triste de mí*, and *Encúbrase el mal que siento*, fols. 184, 185^v, and 190, each a 3; and *Tiempo bueno* at 189^v, a 4. For transcriptions of these see Emilio Ros-Fàbregas, "The Manuscript Barcelona Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 454," City University of New York Ph.D. dissertation, 1992, Vol. II, nos. 113, 118, 123, and 124.

^{11A} **Mat[h]eo Flecha the Younger**—the elder Flecha's nephew—was born at Prades near Tarragona in about 1520 (Cosme de Villers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*) and died at the Monastery of San Pedro de la Portella (Solsona diocese, 12 km from Berga) February 20, 1604. According to documentation published by Higinio Anglés (*La música en la corte de Carlos V* [1944], page 68), Flecha the Younger began in 1543 as a choirboy in the chapel of the daughters of Charles V, María de Austria (1538–1603) and Juana de Austria (1525–1592). As was stated above, Mateo Flecha the Elder governed the same princesses' chapel choir from no later than 1544 to 1548, on September 13 of which latter year María married the Archduke Maximilian (1527–1576). Thereafter until 1552—on January 11 of which year Juana married the prince João (1537–1554), son of King João III of Portugal—the younger Flecha (called "Mateo de Fletes" in chapel payrolls) remained a *moço de capilla* in the princess Juana's chapel, earning an annual 10,000 maravedis.

Aged about 22, he took the Calced Carmelite habit at Valencia. In 1564, now dwelling in Italy, he was sentenced to prison by the Carmelite provincial of Lombardy for a thirty-seudo debt that he owed a certain Roman nobleman ("triginta scuta plus aut minus, quae debet cuidam nobili romano" [Gabriel Wesels, ed., *Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis fratrum B.V. Mariae de Monte Carmelo*, Rome, 1912, I, 479–480]). On May

3, 1568, the Carmelite prior general granted him permission to serve in Maximilian II's imperial chapel. The lengthy Latin document licensing him to do so—published in María Carmen Gómez's "Precisiones en torno a la vida y obra de Matheo Flecha el joven," *Revista de Musicología*, ix/1 (January–June 1986), 42–44—enjoined him to continue wearing the Carmelite habit when not on imperial chapel duty and to omit neither the canonical hours nor the Carmelite fasts and other observances required by his vows ("non omittendo horas canonicas et ieiunia ordinis atque solemnia religionis vota non infringas").

On October 1, 1568, Flecha's appointment as an imperial chaplain was officially registered. Later that same year he published at Venice a book of madrigals dedicated to Maximilian II. The title page—on which he called himself the empress María's chaplain and the emperor's musician—reads thus: *Di F. Matheo Flecha Carmelita Capelano de la Imperatrice Nostra Signora et Musico de la M. Cesarea Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a Quatro & Cinque Voci con uno Sesto & Un Dialogo a Otto Novamente da Lui Compositi & per Antonio Gardano stampati & dati in Luce Primo Libro In Venetia Apresso di Antonio Gardano. 1568* (copies at Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek; edited by Mariano Lambea Castro, *MME* XLVI [1988]). Among authors of the texts of the 17 Italian madrigals in this "first book" (8 a 4, 1 a 3, 7 a 5, 1 a 6) are Petrarch, Ariosto, Pietro Bembo, and Flecha himself. The collection contains also a *Dialogo*, a 8 (item 19) in Italian. Only the *Villancico Spagnuolo* (item 16) sets a Castilian text.

Having established himself at Vienna, he still hankered after Spain and in 1570 made his first home visit (subsidized with a 40-gulden advance against travel expenses). In 1576, sometime before Maximilian II's death at Regensburg October 12, Flecha dedicated a now lost Mass to Rudolf II (1552–1612), heir to the throne. For it, he received a reward of 25 gulden. On December 15, 1579, Rudolf II made Flecha nonresidential abbot of Tihany, Hungary. Among Flecha's first acts after returning to Spain in 1581 (Rudolf's license is dated July 31, 1581) was to ask the Tarragona archbishop's help in obtaining papal permission for him to continue enjoying his income from the Benedictine abbacy of Tihany (approximately an annual 150 ducats).

In the year of his return to Spain, Flecha published at Prague a collection chiefly devoted to eight ensaladas by his uncle. Dedicated to Juan de Borja, Spanish ambassador at Rudolf II's court (and the only Spanish nobleman praised by Cerone for his musical patronage [*El Mellopeo*, p. 151]), this collection carried a title already partially cited above: *Las Ensaladas de Flecha, Maestro de Capilla que fue de las Serenissimas Infantas de Castilla, Recopiladas por F. Matheo Flecha su sobrino, Abad de Tyhan, y Capellan de las Magestades Caesareas, con algunas suyas y de otros autores, por el mesmo corregidas y echas estampar. Dedicadas al Illustrissimo Señor Don Juan de Borja del consejo de la Magestad Catholica y su Embaxador acerca de la Caesarea &c. Impresas en la Ciudad de Praga en casa de Jorge Negrino año 1581* (printed partbooks at the Biblioteca del Orfeo Català, Barcelona, sign. 12 III C/2 [triple, alto, tenor], and Biblioteca de Catalunya, sign. M851 [Baxo]).

In 1581 Flecha also published at Prague a sacred collection (Latin texts), with Jorge Negrino again as printer. However,

only three partbooks survive—two of these fragmentary. The title page of these parts (all at the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka in Warsaw, sign. SDM 103) reads: *Divinarum Completarum Psalmi, Lectio Brevis et Salve Regina, cum Aliquibus Motetis a F. Matheo Flecha*. María Carmen Gómez Muntané published "Un Miserere de Flecha" in *Recerca musicològica*, vi–vii (1986–1987), pp. 31–39. A chordal fabordón in Biblioteca de Catalunya M.587, it may be by either uncle or nephew.

¹² García de Basurto, a native of Calahorra diocese, served Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros as chapelmaster during 1504. On March 1 of that year he signed a receipt at Madrid in the amount of 144 reales for four choirbooks. Two were service books (psalter and vesperal) but the other two contained polyphony (the one Christmas *chanzonetas*, the other masses). Payment was made by the cardinal's treasurer, Rodrigo de Quiroga. See Biblioteca Nacional MS 14030.286. Published in Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, *Biografías y Documentos sobre música y músicos españoles* (Legado Barbieri), ed. Enilio Casares Rodicio (Madrid: Fundación Banco Exterior, 1986), I, 227, Biblioteca Nacional MS 14030.286 was copied from old Legajo 2 at the Archivo Histórico de Toledo. Eleanor Russell—who mistook Legajo "20" for "2"—attempted to discredit the date March 1, 1504 (see her article "The *Missa in Agendis mortuorum* of Juan García de Basurto," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, xxix [1979] page 17, note 5). In her Table II, she also gratuitously opined that Basurto was born ca. 1490, an unlikely year if in 1504 he was in Ximénez de Cisneros's service.

On April 15, 1517, after the cardinal's death at the age of eighty-two, García de Basurto was appointed *cantor* in Tarazona Cathedral. See *MME*, II, 92. From *cantor* he was advanced to *maestro de capilla* the year following. The Tarazona capitular acts record that on May 14, 1518, his annual salary was raised to 100 gold florins. The chapter simultaneously praised his musical ability in the most extravagant terms. According to *DML*, Vol. I, p. 213, he remained at Tarazona until March 1, 1521, on which date he assumed the chapelmastership at the new cathedral, *el Pilar*, in Saragossa. Pedro Calahorra Martínez's transcriptions of the relevant Tarazona Cathedral capitular acts of April 15, 1517, May 14, 1518, and March 1, 1521, were published in the abovementioned *Tijdschrift*, xxix, 17–18 (notes 6, 7, 8).

However, García de Basurto's stay at El Pilar can at best have been very short. Elústiza-Castrillo in their *Antología musical*, page xlv, claim that on September 28, 1521, he moved to Palencia, where he continued as chapelmaster until January, 1525. *DML* has it that in 1529 he was named a royal chaplain and shortly thereafter chapelmaster to Isabella (Charles' consort). On October 15, 1539, he was appointed chapelmaster to Juan Tavera, cardinal and archbishop of Toledo (*AM*, vi [1951], 163). He retained this post for two years and was in 1543 earning an annual salary of 50,000 maravedís (*MME*, II, 143). Toward the close of the same year Tavera's entire body of singers was transferred to Prince Philip's household. Basurto continued chapelmaster of the group from his appointment by Charles V October 1, 1543, to his death four years later. During the four months from October 1543 through January 1544 Basurto each month spent eight ducats for the keep of each of three choirboys; he continued doing the same for another choir-



boy through April 1544. His bill for doing so is dated at Valladolid the end of May 1544. Basurto remained with Prince Philip at Valladolid through July 1545. After Philip's young Portuguese wife died, Basurto moved with him to Madrid. The choir forces in 1546 included ten adult singers, four *cantoricos tiples* (one of whom was Cipriano Soto, son of the keyboardist Francisco de Soto), and two organists, 36-year-old blind Antonio de Cabezón and his brother Juan (*MME*, II, 96–97). In 1547, Basurto's illness prevented his accompanying Philip to Monzón (near Tarazona). He died in about October of that year. His successor in directing Philip's musicians was Pedro de Pastrana, who began serving in October and won formal appointment December 28, 1547.

Basurto's few surviving pieces include two motets in the *olim* Biblioteca Medinaceli MS 607 (now Bartolomé March Severa Library at Madrid, MS R. 6829 = 682): *Regina coeli* and *Resurrexit sicut dixit* (pp. 66–69). According to Rubio Piqueras, *Códices polifónicos toledanos*, page 37, Toledo Choirbook 18 formerly contained a Basurto *Magnificat Primi toni*. If so, all that now survives (after the loss of fols. 26–31) are the *altus* and *bassus* parts of the *Sicut erat* at folio 32. Basurto's sole extant work studied in detail is his *Missa in agendis mortuorum* (Tarazona MS 5, fols. 68^v–72: Introitus, Kyrie, Graduale, all *a 4* except *In memoria* versicle, *a 3*). Pisador, in his *Libro de música de vihuela* (Salamanca: 1552), intabulated two motets *a 4*: *Dum completerentur* (Pentecost) and *Angelus Domini locutus est* (Easter). Esteban Daza repeated the latter in his *El Parnasso* (1576) at folios 69–71.

Eleanor Russell (whose 1979 *Tijdschrift* article cited above concludes at pages 28–36 with transcriptions of Basurto's Requiem aeternam / Te decet-Kyrie / Christe-Requiem aeternam / In memoria) suggested that Basurto's Mass of the Dead music was sung at the 1539 exequies of Charles V's consort, Isabella of Portugal. Russell also pointed out that the sequence of liturgical texts in Basurto's Introit, Kyrie, and Gradual—followed by Pedro de Pastrana's setting of *Sicut cervus* (Psalm 41.2, Vulgate numbering), Jean Ockeghem's alternate setting *a 2* of *Sicut cervus* at fols. 74^v–75, and concluding with Antoine Brumel's communion, *Lux aeterna*, at fols. 79^v–80—adhered to the prescribed sequence of liturgical texts in Ximénez de Cisneros's *Missale toletanum* of 1499 (at fols. 320–321^v).

Russell's discovery that the unascribed *Sicut cervus* for two trebles is by Ockeghem (concorde with Chigi MS C.VIII 234; first published in Dragan Plamenac, *Johannes Ockeghem, Collected Works*, II [New York, 1966], p. 90), and that the concluding *Lux aeterna* is by Antoine Brumel (concorde with the *Lux aeterna* that concludes Brumel's *Missa pro defunctis* first published in *Liber quindecim missarum*, Rome, 1516), proves that Basurto knew at first hand the earliest Franco-Flemish polyphonic Requiems.

Basurto's acquaintance with Ockeghem's Requiem takes on added significance when it is remembered that it survives today solely in Chigi MS C.VIII 234. How did it come to Basurto's notice? Although in January 1470 Ockeghem travelled to Spain via the Perpignan-Barcelona route, his extant music in Spain extends only to (1) the *Missa Au Travail Suis* in Barcelona, Biblioteca Central (= de Catalunya), MS 454, fols. xxx^v–xxxvii; (2) the ubiquitous double chanson *S' elle m'amera / Petite camusette = De la momera / Petit le camiset*; and (3) the reworking of Cornago's *Qu'es mi vida preguntays* that was copied before 1500

in the Colombina cancionero and edited in 1971 by Miguel Querol Gavaldá (*MME*, xxxiii).

Concerning Basurto's Tone VI (F Major) Introitus and Kyrie, and D minor (with signature flat) Gradual, Russell noted that each contains paraphrases of chant melodies published in Francisco de Montanos's *Arte de canto llano* (Salamanca: 1610). All three movements are notated C and all end with ascending octave leaps in *bassus*. In the Gradual, *a 4*, plainsong quotations migrate from tenor to superius; but in the *In memoria* versicle *a 3* that follows, the *cantus firmus* is confided exclusively to the tenor.

¹³ **Pedro Guerrero**, elder brother and teacher of Francisco, made his way to Italy before 1545. According to the eighteenth-century Jesuit historian Esteban Arteaga, Pedro was active in Rome. Arteaga, however, did not claim that he sang in the papal choir. Since no evidence from the Sistine Diaries supports such an assertion, *MME*, Vol. VIII, p. 25 stands in need of correction. Anglés has suggested that Pedro sang at S. Maria Maggiore (during 1560–1561). See *AM*, IX, 61. In the Elústiza-Castrillo *Antología musical*, at page LIII, the editors claim that later Pedro Guerrero returned from Italy to become a singer in Seville Cathedral. The singer in question was indeed named Pedro Guerrero, but he was not inducted until May 14, 1599 (*Actas capitulares, 1599–1602*, fol. 18^v). On February 15, 1600, this homonymous individual's salary was raised (*ibid.*, fol. 40^v). A bass, he tried for a prebend at Toledo Cathedral in 1603 and received on August 26 a travel grant of 3,750 maravedis.

The items in the following list, except no. 4, were intabulated by Fuenllana in *Orphénica lyra* (Seville: 1554). Pisador, in his *Libro de música de vihuela* (Salamanca: 1552), repeated no. 6. Item no. 4 was intabulated by Daza in *El Parnasso* (Valladolid: 1576). (1) *Amor es voluntad*, *a 4* (text by Boscán); (2) *D'un spiritu triste*, *a 4* (also intabulated in Vincenzo Galilei's *Fronimo dialogo*, 1568 and 1584); (3) *Mi coração fatigado*, *a 4*; pt. 2, *Agora cobrando acuerdo* (text by Boscán); (4) *O beata Maria*, *a 4*; pt. 2, *Accipe quod offerimus* (pt. 1 copied in Santiago Codex at Valladolid); (5) *O más dura que mármol*, *a 4*; pt. 2, *Tu dulce habla* (text by Garcilaso de la Vega; see *MME*, VIII, 112–116); (6) *Pasando el mar Leandro*, *a 4* (text by Garcilaso; see *MME*, IX, 96–99); (7) *Por do començaré*, *a 4* (*MME*, VIII, 100–103); (8) *Quien podrá creer*, *a 3*. Galilei's predilection for Pedro "Gherrero" comes to view in both editions of his *Fronimo*. In addition to *D'un spiritu triste*, both the 1568 and the 1584 editions contain *Biuiendo sin amar* and *Si puor biuir ardiendo*. *Crainte & Sospir* is to be found in the 1584 edition. A source catalogued as item 201 in João IV, *Primeira Parte do Index da Livraria de Musica* (1649), bore for its title *Liber primus Epigramatum Petri Gerrero Hispalensis, a 4. 5. & 6*.

Some half-dozen of Pedro Guerrero's motets *a 4* survive. In Codex 7 at Toledo Cathedral are found *Gloria et honore*, *Haec est Virgo sapiens*, *Pulcra facie*, and *Quinque prudentes virgines*. In the Diego Sánchez codex preserved at Santiago parish church in Valladolid are to be seen *Domine meus* and *O beata Maria (pars 1)*: these were transcribed for the Elústiza-Castrillo *Antología musical*. His secular pieces in former Biblioteca Medinaceli MS 13230 begin with homophony. The motets in the Santiago codex both begin with points of imitation. They relapse into

homophony only at a single climactic moment (*Domine meus*, meas. 36; *O beata Maria*, meas. 35). The points are monothematic, but the answers in both motets are "tonal" rather than "real." *Domine meus* is a quarti toni motet. *O beata Maria* continues with a second *pars* (intabulated by Daza but not transcribed by Sánchez). *Pars 2* concludes with a C-Major chord. Although *pars 1* comes to rest on G Major, this motet should in view of its *pars 2* be classed as ionian. The crystalline purity of the text is mirrored in the translucent musical setting. Daza in his intabulation (*El Parnasso*, fols. 45^v–47; 47–49) designates the triple as the solo voice. Not a single accidental is to be seen in the top part of either the Valladolid vocal copy or Daza's intabulation. For that matter, the vocal copy shows but a single accidental in any of the other parts. Daza specifies only the scantiest number of *f*'s (mm. 6₂, 14₄, 46₂, 47₃, 48₂). By contrast, Pedro Guerrero's *D'un spiritu triste*, in both the Fuenllana intabulation (1554), and the Galilei (1568), reeks with accidentals. The tortured harmonies that result, to say nothing of the rhythmic agitation, befit the tale of an "anguished soul." All doubt and confusion have been left behind in *O beata Maria*.

¹⁴ **Fernando de las Infantas** (1534–ca. 1610) owed the appellation of *las Infantas* to his great-grandfather's great-grandfather, Juan Fernández de Córdoba, who accompanied two of Peter the Cruel's daughters to England after that Castilian king's violent death at Montiel in 1369. These two young princesses espoused sons of Edward III—John of Gaunt (Duke of Lancaster) and Edmund of Langley (Earl of Cambridge, afterward Duke of York). Edward III bestowed on the composer's ancestor the coat of arms that is to be seen at the foot of the title pages in each of the composer's publications. As for his more immediate ancestors, the composer's grandfather Antonio de las Infantas (d. 1516)—called *el Comendador* on account of a dignity to which he rose in the military order of Santiago—was a principal citizen of Cordova. The composer, born in this same Andalusian capital, was third son of *el Comendador*'s fourth son. Although somewhat reduced from its former status, the composer's family seems still to have possessed sufficient means to give him a fine classical education, and to bequeath to him a patrimony that obviated the necessity of earning a livelihood. On his own confession in the dedication of his *Plura modulationum genera* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1579), Infantas began his musical studies while still a child. Fourteen of the contrapuntal exercises standing at the head of his 1579 publication were completed when he was a mere student. His earliest motet that can be closely dated commemorates the death of Charles V in 1558—*Parce mihi Domine*. The rubric standing before this motet *a 5* (no. 28 in *Sacrarum varii styli cantionum . . . Liber II cum quinque vocibus* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1578) reads thus: *In exequijs foelicis memoriae Caroli quinti, Imperatoris*. He was therefore approximately twenty-four when he composed this funerary motet. A phrase in the dedication of *Plura modulationum genera* can be taken to mean that Charles V while at Yuste either received the young Infantas or bestowed some other mark of favor upon the young Cordovan.

Among Infantas's other datable motets the following deserve mention: *In oppressione inimicorum: Pro victoria in Turcas Mellite obsedionis*, A., 1565 (no. 20 in his *Liber III*), *Pro victoria nauali contra Turcas Sacri foederis classe parta*, A., 1571 (no. 5 in *Liber II*), and *Anno Jubilei 1575, Psalmus XCIX*.

Jubilatē Deo (no. 14 in *Liber III*). In the first of these three he prays for victory against the Turks who besiege Malta; in the second he celebrates the triumph over the Turkish fleet at Lepanto; and in the third he proclaims the year of jubilee. It would seem that Infantas alone among Spanish composers commemorated the greatest Spanish naval victory—that of October 7, 1571. Lepanto was, of course, the engagement in which Cervantes's left arm was maimed.

Philip II entrusted Infantas with some kind of minor mission in the viceroyalty of Naples shortly before 1572, granting him a pension for his services. Or at least so Infantas inferred in a memorial addressed to Philip III, ca. 1608, when he wrote: "Don Fernando de las Infantas Sacerdote de Cordoba con ocasion que tuvo de cierta pansion que la dichosa memoria de Phelipo segundo le mando dar en el Reyno de Napoles por servicios de lego . . ." From 1572 until ca. 1597, Infantas resided at Rome. First he voluntarily gave his services in a hospital for the poor. Later, after ordination to the priesthood (1584), he served a small church on the outskirts of the city. During these twenty-five years he lived on his *patrimonio*.

In 1578, after waiting five years to find a suitable opportunity, Infantas published two collections, both consisting of partbooks and both bearing the title *Sacrarvm varii styli cantionvm titvli Spiritvs sancti. Liber I* contains motets *a 4*; *Liber II*, motets *a 5*. On the title page of each partbook the arms of Philip II are borne aloft by two angels: at their feet cartouches contain



Title page of Infantas's *Sacrarvm varii styli cantionvm . . . Liber primvs*, 1578.



Infantas's coat. In the large oval flies a dove symbolizing the Holy Ghost. Around the oval circles a canon constructed of incises from *Veni Creator Spiritus*. Angelo Gardano published *Liber I* at Venice, Girolamo Scotto *Liber II*. Book I contains thirty-seven motets *a 4*; Book II, thirty motets *a 5*. Psalm texts recur freely in both books. Infantas was later to claim that the reading of the psalms converted him to a desire for holy orders. His *Liber III*, containing motets *a 6*, was published by Girolamo Scotto at Venice in 1579. The first item in Book III, *Missus est Gabriel* (in three *partes*), and the sixth, *Domine, ostende nobis Patrem* (in two *partes*, for St. Philip's day), were reprinted at Nuremberg in 1585 by Friedrich Lindner (nos. 11 and 22 in *Sacrae Cantiones com quinque, sex et pluribus vocibus*). The seventh item, *Victimae paschali laudes* (in two *partes*, based on the Easter plainsong sequence), was reprinted at Nuremberg in 1583 by Leonard Lechner (*Harmoniae miscellae Cantionum Sacrarum, a sex exquisitissimis aetatis nostrae musicis cum quinque et sex vocibus concinnatae*). In the Lechner miscellany, Infantas shares company with Andrea Gabrieli, Marc' Antonio Ingegneri, Orlandus Lassus, Philippe de Monte, Costanzo Porta, Cipriano de Rore, and Palestrina.

In 1984 Bruno Turner, the London-based editor and music director whose Mapa Mundi publications (72 Brewery Road, London N7 9NE) did the most to spread knowledge of Spanish polyphony in the British Isles during the 1970's and '80's, added Infantas's *Loquebantur variis linguis, a 8*, to his Spanish Church Music, Series A (No. 66). The introduction to Turner's transcription contains valuable comments. The voice parts (CCATQSB [Q = *Quintus*; S = *Sextus*]) are all notated in the original (*Sacraum Varii styli Cantionum . . . Liber III* [Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1579]) with one-flat signature. However, Infantas requires the *Cantus secundus, Quintus*, and *Sextus* to sing their parts one whole tone higher than notated (*tonus altior vox eadem*). As a result, the first written pitch of *c'* in *Cantus Secundus* part must be sung as *d'*, the first written pitch of *f* in the *Quintus* part as *g*, the first written pitch of *c* in the *Sextus* part as *d*. Turner summarizes thus: "Some editorial accidentals are necessary, but nevertheless the composer presents a genuinely bitonal structure."

As a result, this last item in Infantas's third book of motets emerges as not only the sole motet *a 8* but also an apt musical mirror of the scriptural text (Acts 2.3-4). In *pars 1* Infantas sets "The Apostles were speaking with divers tongues of the wonderful works of God, because the Holy Spirit had given them the gift of tongues. Alleluia." In *pars 2* he sets "They were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak, because the Holy Spirit had given them the gift of tongues. Alleluia."

To reinforce still more strongly the musical symbolism, Infantas constructs a mirror canon (canon by inversion) between the bottom two voices. But again, in line with other Spanish contrapuntal wizardry, his vast artifice throughout this culminating motet serves a higher purpose than display of learning. Instead, musical exegesis of the *variis linguis* text is his purpose.

In 1579 Infantas published his last volume, a manual of counterpoint exercises, *Plura modulationum genera quae vulgo contrapuncta appellantur super excelso Gregoriano cantu* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto). This collection of 100 (actually 101) exercises in two to eight parts against a ten-note Gregorian ini-

tiatum (Ps. 116:1) begins with the set of 14 dating from his student epoch. The rest were composed between 1576 and 1579. From 15 through 47, he offers exercises *a 3*, from 58 through 89 *a 4*, from 93 through 95 *a 5*, from 96 through 98 *a 6*. Exercise 99 is composed *a 7*, and 100 *a 8*. This vast set rivals the *Cento cinquantasette contrapunti sopra del canto fermo intitolato la Base di Costanzo Festa* by G. M. Nanino. The 157 exercises were completed, however, at a later date: October 23, 1602 (at Mantua). For an appendix to his collection Infantas adds three extra canons, independent of the *cantus firmus* used in the 100 (= 101) previous exercises. Two of these were reprinted in Adam Gumpeltzhaimer's *Compendium musicae* (1591) at pages 40 and 43. The third, an enigmatic canon, caught Cerone's eye, and was reprinted in *El melopeo y maestro* at pages 1082-1083. Cerone solved the enigma with the suggestion that Infantas intended a *moto contrario* canon beginning at the lower seventh. Rafael Mitjana in *Don Fernando de Las Infantas: Teólogo y Músico* (Madrid: Imp. de los Sucs. de Hernando, 1918) reprinted this particular mirror canon at page 124, solving the enigma along the lines suggested by Cerone in 1613. He erred, however, at meas. 15 when he flatted the lower voice. If this canon is an exact mirror the *b* should read natural, not flat. Reese transcribes the first 20 measures (= 10 in reduced values) at page 610 in his *Music in the Renaissance*.

Mitjana intended originally to complete his splendid monograph—perhaps the best ever devoted to a single Spanish composer—with a selection of motets as well as canons. He was prevented from adding the musical supplement, however. Analysis of Infantas's style suffers today from the want of such a supplement. Neither Pedrell nor Anglés supplied reprints. The only motet reprinted in Eslava's *Lira sacro-hispana*, I, ii, 175-183, is the *Victimae paschali laudes, a 6*, already alluded to as having been republished by Lechner at Nuremberg in 1583. A study of this superb motet should serve as a corrective to the impression that Infantas was primarily a contrapuntal juggler. Like most of his motets, this one is based on the plainsong. He does not treat it as a *cantus firmus*, however. Instead, he allows fragments to permeate all voices. Near the close of *pars 1* he bursts into joyful triple meter. Only at the Amen of *pars 2* does he return to duple. The part writing—despite Mitjana's acknowledgment that when hard-pressed in his contrapuntal exercises Infantas occasionally allowed fifths to intrude—cannot be impugned on any count. By reason of the rich harmonic palette, the vigor of the independent lines, the admirable juxtaposition of contrasting rhythms, the balance of low and high sonorities, and the constant attention to textual meanings, this motet ranks with the major Spanish achievements of the epoch.

More recently, P. Samuel Rubio has reprinted ten additional Infantas motets in his *Antología polifónica sacra*, Volume II (Madrid: Ed. Cocolsa, 1956). All were transcribed from *Sacraum varii styli Cantionum, Liber I*. Except for the Petrine motet *Tu es pastor ovium* (2d *pars*: *Quodcumque ligaveris*) these ten do not go beyond one *pars*. In aBcB form, *Tu es pastor ovium* extends to 79 + 85 breves—the "B" portion in each *pars* reaching 23 breves. *Hodie Maria Virgo*, a motet of single *pars*, is an "introduced" couplet (aBB: 16 + 23 + 23). Half of the ten are headed with the highly characteristic Infantas label, *super excelso Gregoriano cantu*. Two others, his *Ave Maria* and *O lux et decus Hispaniae*, quote plainsong in *Pfundnoten*, even



though not thus headed. *O lux*, honoring St. James, contains a tenor cantus firmus 24 breves in length. First quoted *per motum contrarium* during mm. 5–28, this *O lux* plainsong is next heard in identical rhythm but straightforward motion at mm. 31–54, and, lastly, again *per motum contrarium* at mm. 57–81.

Infantas, if the eleven motets now in print are typical, was obviously still under the spell of Des Prez. He even adopted such mannerisms as the Josquin triplet. In contrast with Morales he reveled in changing-note figures to an extent hardly matched elsewhere in the Spanish motet repertory. He wrote vocal lines of extraordinary range. He liked running scales. He specified chromaticisms, at least occasionally (*O lux*, meas. 37, for instance). When we compare his registration of such a Marian motet as *Virgo prudentissima* for four trebles with his disposal of voices in the Petrine *Tu es pastor ovium* and in *Beatus es et bene tibi erat* (honoring St. Sebastian) for four men's voices, we admire his skillful use of vocal color to capture moods appropriate to his texts.

Infantas struggled successfully to delay publication of the Gradual that finally appeared in 1614–1615 as the Medicean. On November 25, 1577, he wrote Philip II from Rome, advising the king that a new edition was contemplated—Palestrina and Zoilo having undertaken the task of revision at the behest of Pope Gregory XIII. Infantas complained that the melismas were to be retrenched, ligatures revised to conform with accent, and certain chants to be rewritten so that they would remain within a single tone. Philip II became genuinely alarmed. He not only wrote the Spanish ambassador, instructing him to intercede with the pope, but even despatched a personal missive to Gregory XIII. Infantas, meanwhile, sent the pope a memorial in Italian in which he said that even Palestrina, after conversation on the matter, agreed that what he had previously deemed “errors” in the chant were not so in reality. “Far from being errors, they were actually admirable musical artifice, which the maestro to whom Your Holiness entrusted the task [of revision], after further study, agreed should in no wise be altered.” Infantas appealed to the new Gregory not to undo the work of his great namesake, Gregory I.

Heartened perhaps unduly by his success in combating Roman opinion so far as revised chantbooks were concerned. Infantas in later life rushed into two of the most delicate theological controversies of the epoch—the regalists and the Molinists. His undoing proved to be his *Tractatus de praedestinatione Secundum Scripturam Sacram* (Paris: n.p., 1601). He thenceforth bore the brand of being an illuminist if not a quietist. He spent his entire career after ordination in theological speculation. At the close of his life, overwhelmed by his theological enemies, he was reduced to beggary. For further details, consult Mitjana's monograph, which has served as the source of all biobibliographical information offered in the present note.

¹⁵According to the Sevillian cathedral *Actas Capitulares, 1571–1572–1573*, folio 4, an **Andrés López**—possibly the composer with whom we are concerned—completed three years of choirboy service on January 5, 1573, and in that year entered St. Michael's on an alumni scholarship. On January 10, 1582, the Sevillian cathedral chapter presented “Andrés López” with twenty ducats as a reward for his services during Guerrero's absence at Rome. Upon Guerrero's return, López was named

maestro de capilla del claustro. On September 23, 1583, his annual salary was raised to 40,000 maravedis. Guerrero died on November 8, 1599. On December 20, 1599, the Sevillian chapter named López **maestro del ejercicio del canto de órgano**. His salary, previously reduced, was in the same year again raised by 6,000 to a total of 40,000 maravedis. As of January 28, 1600, he was listed interim conductor (*tenia cargo del facistol*). This interim appointment lasted until the seating of Ambrosio Cotes as Guerrero's successor on September 22, 1600. López died during the week preceding June 22, 1601. On that date the Sevillian chapter announced a competition to decide his successor in the *magisterio de canto de órgano*. Just as *olim* Medinaceli MS 13230 contains Farfán's only known surviving work, so *olim* Medinaceli MS 607 (now March library MS R.6829 = 682) contains Andreas [= Andrés] López's unique extant pieces: (1) *Ave Maria*, a 4 (pp. 32–33); (2) *Ay, ay, que no ay amor*, a 4 (p. 803); (3) *Ay que el alma*, a 4 (p. 806); (4) *Hero del alta torre*, a 4 (pp. 804–805).

¹⁶**Francisco de Montanos's** permanent reputation rests on his treatise in six books *Arte de musica theorica y practica* (Valladolid: Diego Fernández de Córdova y Oviedo, 1592). In the dedication to Don Fernando Ruiz de Castro Andrade y Portugal (ca. 1548–1601), Count of Lemos, of Andrade, of Villalba, and Marquis of Sarria (father of Cervantes's principal patron), Montanos professes to have spent many years in the count's household. At Valladolid, which was probably Montanos's own place of birth (in about 1528), the count on November 28, 1574, married the granddaughter of St. Francis Borgia.

On folio 51^v of the sixth and last separately foliated treatises that comprise his *Arte de musica* he claims 36 years' experience as a chapelmaster (*La practica bien se me puede fiar a treinta y seis años de maestro de capilla*). The printing privilege at the outset of the entire volume is dated July 31, 1587. Subtracting 36 years, he began serving somewhere as a chapelmaster as early as 1551.

However, the earliest notice of Montanos's churchly career thus far brought forward makes him chapelmaster at the Valladolid Collegiate Church from 1564 to 1576. His appointment as successor to Juan Navarro (who had left for Ávila Cathedral six months previously) is dated October 24, 1564. The chapter on that date fixed his income as that of a half prebend (*A 24 se recibió al M.^o de Capilla con una media ración, la cual ha de ganar como lo gana un M.^o racionero: la mitad ha de pagar la mesa capitular y la mitad la fábrica* [Pedro Aizpurua, “El vallisoletano Francisco de Montanos, s. xvi,” *Revista de Musicología*, VI, 1983, p. 112]).

For one reason or another, his career in the Valladolid did not run altogether smoothly. On June 8, 1571, the chapter adjured him to give two hours of daily instruction (one hour in the morning and the other in the afternoon) to the fifty-five singers and choirboys forming the musical establishment of the *iglesia mayor*. Qualified outsiders who wished to sing were also admitted to his public lessons. For each hour that he should miss, he was to be fined one real. On June 13, 1572, he was instructed to release all the choirboys from his personal care, and to forfeit all payment in kind for their sustenance. On April 2, 1576, he was dismissed from the chapelmastership.

At fol. 5^v in his *Arte de musica*, Montanos says that in the year that saw the end of his services as chapelmaster he decided



to compose a treatise in six books. "Various distractions prevented my completing the task so soon as I could have desired," he adds. However, the treatise was ready for the press sooner than the 1592 year of publication would suggest. Since the *preuilegio* that stands at fols. 2^v-3 bears July 31, 1587, as its date, he must have spent some ten years writing his *Arte*. During this decade he may have been financially supported, at least in part, by the Count of Lemos to whom he dedicated it. At fol. 2^v of the *Arte* he also still calls himself chapelmaster of the *yglesia collegial de Valladolid*—possibly now recalled to the post from which he had been dismissed on April 2, 1576. As for other sources of income, it is probable that he came of a sufficiently well-to-do family not to need any. At fol. 27^v of "De proporcione" (in his *Arte*) appears an *epigramma* by Alonso Bezerra, linking him with several ancient families renowned by reason of their military prowess. One of these relatives—Bernardo Prego de Montanos—contributed his own *epigramma* at fol. 26 of "Compostura." This poem concludes with a salute: "Your learning, dear Montanos, which seems almost more than human, covers us with glory."

Montanos's *Arte de musica theorica y practica* consists of six books on these topics: *canto llano* (plainsong), *canto de órgano* (measured music), *contrapunto*, *compostura* (composition), *proporcione*, and *lugares comunes* (commonplace examples). The first of these was repeatedly reprinted, sometimes with additions, up to the mid-eighteenth century. Montanos claimed in his treatise to have "communicated with the best composers of Spain and viewed a large number of works by the finest foreigners of our time and of the past." He was the first theorist from the Iberian peninsula to show familiarity with the music of Palestrina, and he also knew the works of Lassus and Phinot. He followed Martínez de Bizcargui in judging the "sung" semitone (*mi*, *fa*) larger than the "unsung" semitone (e.g.: *c*, *cz*).

The first treatise of the six in Montanos's 1592 *Arte* was separately republished eighteen years later with the title *Arte de cantollano con entonaciones comunes de Coro y Altar y otras cosas diversas* (2d ed.; Salamanca: Francisco de Cea Tesa, 1610). This plainsong instructor, issued with an approbation signed (in 1593 at Madrid) by Hernando de Cabezón (d. 1602), was later to be revised by Sebastián López de Velasco (editions: 1648, 1693, 1756) and José de Torres (editions: 1705, 1711, 1712, 1728, 1734).

Two of Montanos's motets *a 4* were published by Elústiza-Castrillo in their *Antología musical: O Domine Jesu Christe and Interveniati pro nobis*. Transcribed from the Santiago codex at Valladolid (fols. 2^v-4), both are soulful pieces, innocent of learned contrivance and akin in spirit to Victoria's *Vere languores*. What the character was of his approximately thirty motets that Anglés catalogued in Volume III of *Anuario musical* can now be only guessed at because only the bass partbook seems to survive.

Cerone in *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples: 1613) printed at pages 1080-1081 a four-in-one canon by "Francisco de Montanos" which reaches virtuosic extremes. A single voice part bears four clefs. The bass, tenor, alto, and tiple enter successively—each a fifth above the starting pitch of the preceding (G, d, a, e¹). Cerone concludes by remarking that Palestrina accomplished a like feat in the final Agnus of his canonic *Sine*

nomine Mass (printed 1599). Although such a comparison may have pleased Montanos, not so Cerone's plagiarizing 46 examples from the last book of *Arte de musica*. He printed from Montanos's fifth book, also without acknowledgment, the four-voice *Diffusa est gratia* as an example of the chromatic genus. This brief chromatic motet, full of progressions which suggest Gesualdo (E^b-a, A^b-F, c_z-F), is only 32 breves long. Cerone smoothed its harmonic clashes and abbreviated it by a third.

¹⁷Alonso Ordóñez, a native of Plasencia, may possibly have studied with Morales (known to have served as chapelmaster at Plasencia from 1528 to 1531). From 1530 to 1536 he occupied the chapelmastership at Santiago de Galicia, whence he was called on April 3 (1536) to take up the chapelmastership at Palencia. His predecessor at Palencia was a clergyman of Toledo diocese named Diego del Castillo (not to be confused with the homonymous individual discussed above in note 3). Alonso Ordóñez became so ill in 1548 that Palencia authorities gave him sick leave to recuperate in his home province of Extremadura (José Lopez-Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Palencia* [Palencia: Excma. Diputación Provincial, 1980], p. 466, item 185). He died at Palencia July 18, 1551, at six in the evening (*ibid.*, p. 467, item 193).

Of Alonso [= Alfonso] Ordóñez, a *Magnificat a 4*, a *Salve Regina a 4*, and two motets *a 4*—*Iste est* and *Vias tuas, Domine, demonstra mihi*—survive in the cathedral archive at Valladolid (MS 5, fols. 132^v-135, 45^v-51, 43^v-45, 55^v-57). See *AM*, III, 67.

¹⁸Pedro Ordóñez, younger brother of the preceding, may likewise have studied with Morales. That he followed Alonso to Palencia can be surmised from the fact that he was ordained in Palencia rather than Plasencia diocese. On April 29, 1539, he was admitted to the papal choir. From January to April of that same year, he had stood tenth in seniority among the thirteen singers in the Cappella Giulia. Because he was tenth, José M.^a Llorens (*Anuario musical*, xxxvi-1981 [1982], 89) presumed him to have been a member of the Julian choir for several months, possibly years. At the very least he was no newcomer in Rome when admitted to the papal choir. His previous residence in Rome explains why he so quickly became a recognized leader of the Spanish contingent (Calasanz, Escobedo, Morales, Sánchez) that they deputized him on January 15, 1540, to visit the pope in Sánchez's behalf after the latter had been imprisoned for striking a fellow singer. On November 4, 1540, Ordóñez reported himself sick, but was seen about town. As a result he was fined heavily. On March 30, 1541, and again on October 17, 1543, he substituted for Calasanz. In turn, Calasanz substituted for him on November 24, 1543. Charles d'Argentilly substituted for him on November 6, 1543. These interchanges establish beyond doubt the fact that Ordóñez was a bass.

Harsh words between him and Abbate resulted in the fining of Ordóñez on May 2, 1543. A similarly angry exchange with Sánchez brought a fine on December 22, 1543. On June 19, 1542, he was granted a leave of absence to see to certain private affairs. Again on September 4, 1544, he was allowed a leave, this time of ten days. On January 11, 1545, he was elected *abbas* (treasurer) of the choir for one year. His predecessor in this office was Arcadelt. Ordóñez remained in Rome, singing daily in the choir throughout the whole of 1545 and until the end of



January, 1546. He certainly did not attend the opening sessions of the Council of Trent in December, 1545—common allegation notwithstanding. See *Note d'archivio*, x, 4 (Oct.–Dec., 1933), 329–336. He may, however, have been sent to Trent after January 27, 1546. Thereafter his name fails to appear in the Sistine Diaries until March 11, 1548. On this date he with four other papal singers is mentioned as absent in Bologna, whither the council had transferred in March, 1547. See *Note d'archivio*, xi, 3–4 (July–Dec., 1934), 313. On May 30, 1549, he was licensed to leave Bologna for a visit to the baths at Padua. At the moment he suffered from sciatica. On November 17, 1549, he arrived at Rome from Bologna. He continued in Rome until at least January 5, 1550. The Sistine Diaries unfortunately break at January 7, 1550, and do not resume until January 1, 1553. This lacuna was caused by the chapelmaster's carrying away of the *liber punctorum* for the intervening years on May 1, 1554, and never returning it. When the diaries resume, Ordóñez's name is missing. The commonly held opinion that he died shortly before February 1, 1551, derives from an entry in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina 887, fol. 244^v: "casatus quia defunctus" (*AM*, xxxvi, 90).

Alonso Ordóñez's death at Palencia, July 18, 1551 (José López-Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Palencia* [1980], p. 467, item 193), was followed on July 24, 1551, by the appointment of Pedro Ordóñez. Anticipating his brother's death after long illness, Pedro was obviously on hand for the appointment, without *edictos* or a public competition. Only an already paramount musician such as a former papal singer could have escaped the rigors of *edictos* and public trial against other candidates.

To summarize subsequent events: Palencia capitular acts signal the presence of Alexandre de la Serna from Seville as a foremost singer who on October 9, 1555, was despatched with Pedro Ordóñez on a recruiting trip that took them to Ciudad Rodrigo in search of a *contrabajo*. Palencia's renowned organist García de Baeza died November 13, 1560. Juan de Peñalosa, chosen to succeed him October 20, 1563, lost the Palencia post January 5, 1564, because of failure to appear. On May 8, 1564, Hernando Rodríguez of Astorga gained it.

On November 3, 1564, Pedro Ordóñez was enjoined to schedule more rehearsals on pain of a fine. On September 1, 1567, the chapter voted him an extra 40 ducats expense money, because of the "sterility" of the year. On June 7, 1577, the chapter urged him to look after the choirboys with the same zealous care given them by his deceased brother. On August 30, 1577, he was appointed diocesan examiner of all Palencia clergymen in *canto eclesiástico*. On October 26, 1577, a chapter committee was instructed to search for an able assistant "on account of the age and infirmity of the chapelmaster, Pedro Ordóñez." On April 9, 1578, the chapter decided to reward him with a prebend "on account of his merits and many years of service, and also because of his age and sicknesses" (*atento a la persona y meritos y muchos años de servicio . . . y atento a su edad y enfermedades*). In his stead Juan Navarro—then at Ciudad Rodrigo—was called to replace him as chapelmaster September 10, 1578. Navarro died prematurely September 25, 1580. Ordóñez meanwhile continued occupying the prebend for which he had exchanged the chapelmastership. After efforts to secure others, the Palencia chapter on February 6, 1582, chose Bricio Gaudi to

succeed Navarro as chapelmaster. On April 20, 1582, the chapter instructed Ordóñez not to interfere with cathedral music matters in any way whatsoever. Nonetheless, the chapter did deputize him on March 5, 1584, to help examine a candidate for the cathedral organistship, again vacant. Francisco Páez de Salcedo, the winner (who was from Antequera) faced a delay while Palencia authorities awaited news from Seville concerning Hernando Tapia. At last Páez was confirmed May 12, 1584 (he died at Palencia October 15, 1585, and was succeeded on February 1, 1586, by Josepe de Isasi, a resident of Madrid, who like Gaudi was married)

On February 6, 1585, apprehensive of his own approaching death, Pedro Ordóñez offered the fruits of his prebend for a succentor's stipend. He died March 5, 1585, at three in the morning, and was buried next to his brother Alonso Ordóñez, at the door of the Capilla de la Cruz in Palencia Cathedral.

Just as Juan Escribano, one of the leading Spaniards in the papal choir from ca. 1502 to 1539, reached print only as a secular composer, so also the only works by Pedro Ordóñez to be published during his lifetime were unashamedly secular—the two *sonetos* (a 4) intabulated at fols. 75–77 and 77^v–79 in Esteban Daza's *El Parnasso* (1576): *Ay mudo soy hablar non puedo* and *Ay fortuna cruel* (pt. 2, *Lebantaron muy alto*). The first voices the plaint of a suffering but silent swain. In the second, the poet reproaches Fortune and Cupid. The first is a G-minor piece of treble-dominated homophony. The second (an A-minor piece), although it opens with an imitative point, is just as surely an accompanied song with melody in the treble.

In 1976 John Griffiths of Monash University published excerpts from *Ay mudo soy hablar non puedo* (*El Parnasso*, fol. 75) in his article, "The Vihuela Book 'El Parnasso' by Esteban Daza An Introductory Study," *Studies in Music* (University of Western Australia), No. 10, pages 46–47. Analyzing it, he wrote:

The four-voice setting is through composed. There is broad melodic cohesion, with stepwise movement and thirds forming the intervallic basis of each line. Tonally, both quatrains begin and end in g, with substantial cadences changing to the dominant area, D, at the beginning of the sestet. The setting of the first quatrain is largely homophonic. The second quatrain offers contrast, with each of its lines displaying a different texture; the sestet similarly. A general pause separates the second quatrain from the sestet. The three following excerpts illustrate the variety found within the work. The three excerpts show Ordóñez's setting of line 2 ("It pains me to say what I feel"); lines 5 and 6 ("You tell me not to speak to you, but I fear being ruined by such prolonged silence"); and 14 ("Hear me, because I am dying for love of you").



¹⁹The number of Spanish musicians who sojourned temporarily in Italy during the sixteenth century is so large as to include nearly every important composer of the epoch. But **Diego Ortiz** and **Sebastián Raval** stand apart from such other composers in the group as **Escribano**, **Morales**, **Escobedo**, **Infantas**, **Victoria**, and **Clavijo del Castillo**, because these two alone seem to have pursued their adult careers entirely in Italy. Diego Ortiz, despite his designating himself a native of Toledo, belongs as surely to Neapolitan musical history as **Domingo Terradellas**. In 1553, already chapelmaster of the Spanish viceregal chapel at Naples, he in that year dedicated his epoch-making *Trattado de Glosas sobre Clausulas y otros generos de puntos en la Musica de Violones* ("Treatise on the ornamentation of cadences and other types of passages in the music of [bowed] viols") (Rome: Valerio & Luigi Dorico) to **Pedro de Urries**, **Baron of Riesi** (Sicily). Two editions emerged the same year, one with the text throughout in Castilian, the other with the introductory matter in Italian, but full of hispanicisms that suggest Ortiz's having served as his own translator.

Ortiz's treatise, edited by **Max Schneider** at Berlin in 1913 (2d

ed.; **Bärenreiter** [Cassel]: 1936) cannot be analyzed here. It must for the moment suffice to say that numerous false impressions concerning its character and purpose have been disseminated. Ortiz was not primarily interested in teaching "how to improvise," nor even in teaching how to add ornamentation "at sight." He specifically counseled taking the voice that one desired to ornament and "writing it out anew" (*yrla escriuiendo de nueuo*). When in the course of copying it, one arrived at cadences or other passages that one wished to ornament, Ortiz advised looking at all the ornamental formulas in his treatise covering the notes in question (*mire alli todas las diferencias que estan escritas sobre aquellos puntos*) and picking the best for insertion in the written copy.

Another widely held false impression concerns Ortiz's use of accidentals. After examining the **Schneider** edition one might suppose that Ortiz never calls for sharps in his ornamented cadences (Book I). Nothing could be further from the truth. Ortiz, like a grammarian, always begins his paradigms with an uninflected verb: that is, he always begins with a plain cadence and then proceeds to show a dozen or more ornamented forms that will fit exactly within the aggregate time value of the notes in the plain cadence. When sharps appear in the plain cadences before the notes *f*, *c*, *g* (or *b \flat*), these notes are to be sharpened (or naturalized) wherever they appear in the ornamented cadences: so he plainly directs in the last paragraph of his introduction. **Schneider** not only defeats Ortiz's intentions in his 1913 and 1936 editions, but even places Ortiz's sharps before the wrong notes in the plain cadences.

However deficient the editions, Ortiz's present-day reputation will continue resting almost exclusively in his *Trattado de glosas* so long as only items from his 1553 publication reach popular anthologies, or are recorded. As recently as 1987, **Sarah Fuller's** 621-page *European Musical Heritage 800-1750*, pages 260-262, anthologized nothing by him except his *Recercada settima sobre tenores italianos* (in this seventh and last *recercada* "over Italian tenors," the gamba player discourses over the *romanesca* harmonic pattern, repeated three times by the cembalo player). So far as recordings go, **Artium musicae de Madrid** in 1979 recorded an entire album of Ortiz's *recercadas* for **Harmonia mundi** (HM 393). Or to go back further: in 1957 **Archive Production**, **History of Music Division** of the **Deutsche Grammophon Gesellschaft** (ARC3078b), in an album with liner notes by **Helmuth Osthoff**, offered selections solely from Ortiz's *Trattado de glosas*.

But if nothing can presently be done to change the popular fixation on the *Trattado de glosas*, at least one editor began in 1986 to do something for Ortiz's reputation as a sacred composer—**Bruno Turner** (see below). Ortiz published at Venice in 1565 (**Antonio Gardano**) a folio miscellany of hymns, magnificats, motets, psalms and other vespers music under the title *Didaci Ortiz Toletani Regiae Cappellae Neapolitanae, Moderatoris et Magistri, Mysices Liber Primus Hymnos, Magnificas, Salves, Motecta, Psalmos, Aliaque Diversa Cantica Complectens*.

The collection contains thirty-four hymns indexed in the *Tabula Hymnorum* (plus a second *Pange lingua* and a compline hymn *Te lucis ante terminum* not listed in the *Tabula Hymnorum*). Two of the thirty-four indexed hymns are alternates for stanzas 2 and 4 of *Hostis Herodes impie* and 2, 4, and 6 of *Ave*



maris stella. In every hymn Ortiz seems to have hewed to a plainsong source, paraphrasing it oftenest in the top voice. As a rule he (like Victoria in 1581) sets even stanzas. Exceptions are found in the Apostles' and Evangelists' hymn, *Tristes erant Apostoli*, and in those for January 18 and 25, July 22, August 1, and November 1. In one instance, *Pange lingua gloriosi* (for Corpus Christi), he provides both odd- and even-verse settings. The odd-verse setting enshrines the Roman melody; the even-verse, the Spanish melody. Ortiz does not seem to have drawn upon any specifically Spanish plainsong source anywhere else in his anthology. (Victoria, not to mention such stay-at-home composers as Guerrero and Navarro, used the same *more hispano* melody. See item 32 in Victoria's *Hymni totius anni*.) In a dozen instances, Ortiz directs that stanzas 1 and 3, or 2 and 4, be sung to the same music. This is the more interesting because as a master of the *glosa* it would have been supposed he would always have preferred variants in successive polyphonic stanzas. Both Palestrina and Victoria follow another path—always devising new treatments of the plainsong source in successive polyphonic stanzas. As a usual practice, Ortiz concludes each stanza of a given hymn with the same final chord, no matter how radically he varies his treatment of the plainsong source in successive stanzas. (He transgresses this rule in *Christe Redemptor omnium*, *Veni Redemptor gentium*, and *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*.) In only one hymn does he seem to have resorted to the kind of sequential figuration that everywhere characterizes his ornamental patterns in the *Trattado de Glosas sobre Clausulas*. See mm. 16–17 of the stanza *Ubi patres* (altus) in his Transfiguration hymn, for such a mechanical sequence.

Ortiz's 1565 miscellany contains a magnificat for each of the eight Tones. The number of the magnificat corresponds with the number of the Tone. Thus, the fourth magnificat in his collection is in Tone IV. The magnificats in Tones I, III, V, VI, and VIII set odd-numbered verses; those in Tones II, IV, and VII, even-numbered verses. With one exception, the successive verses in any given magnificat end on the same chord. Tone I (transposed) ends on G; II, III, V, and VII, on A; IV, on E; VI, on F; VIII, on G. Tones I and VI carry B♭ in the signature. The one exception to this rule that successive verses must end on the same chord is the *Et misericordia* of his Tone VIII, which—carrying the Tone VIII formula in the altus a fifth below normal pitch—closes on the C-Major instead of G-Major chord. Canonically conclude his Tones I, II, III, IV, and VII magnificats. Whether or not the last verse breaks into canon, it invariably augments. Tones I, II, III, IV, VI, and VII augment to six voice parts; Tones V and VIII, to five. The normal number of voices in every magnificat is four. Usually one or two interior verses reduces parts. The *Et misericordia* of Tone III and the *Fecit* of Tone VII reduce to a duo. Although Morales's influence is everywhere to be seen in Ortiz's magnificats, he does strike out on a new line with his paired imitations in verses 1, 3, and 7 of Tone I, and in verse 10 of Tone II. (Paired imitations will often be found in Victoria's magnificats.) A stylistic comparison of Ortiz's with Hernando Franco's magnificats should prove rewarding—one having been chapelmaster in the viceroyalty of Naples, 1565, and the other chapelmaster in the viceroyalty of Mexico, 1575–1585; the one a native of Toledo, and the other having been born near Alcántara in the extreme west of Spain.

Although in his hymns Ortiz as a rule sets even stanzas, in his psalms he invariably sets odd verses. Five of his nine psalms belong to vespers (Pss. 109, 110, 111, 112, 116, Vulgate numbering) and four to compline (Pss. 4, 70, 90, 133). The vespers psalms all begin with a plainsong initium for the first half-verse; and conclude with homophony for the last half of verse 1. Of the compline psalms, 70 belongs to Maundy Thursday, and 90 and 133 to Holy Saturday. These, unlike the other five, forgo any plainsong initium. In all the psalms he eschews imitation, contenting himself with simple four-part chordal writing. For the vespers psalms he uses Tones I, IV, VI, IV, and VIII, respectively. The compline and Holy Week psalms belong to Tone VIII.

In addition to Magnificats, office hymns, and psalms, Ortiz's 1565 *Musices Liber Primus* contains three settings of Zachary's canticle, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, in Tones I, VI, and VIII; Simeon's canticle *Nunc dimittis*; seven Marian antiphons (three *Regina caeli*, two *Salve Regina*, one *Alma Redemptoris Mater*, one *Ave Regina caelorum*); three other Marian items (*Beata es Virgo Maria*, *Dignare me laudare te*, and *Sancta et immaculata castitas*); an alternation setting of the *Te Deum*; and what Bruno Turner in his edition, *Diego Ortiz, Music for Vespers & Compline A Selection* (London: Vanderbeek & Imrie Ltd., 1986), page 2, classifies as "two canonic recompositions of Josquin's *Benedicta es caelorum Regina*," one a 5 the other a 7.

Turner's seven transcriptions begin with Psalms 112 and 116, both a 4; continue with the *Ave maris stella* hymn a 4 (*Monstra te strophe, a 3*; *Sit laus, a 5*); odd-verse *Magnificat primi toni, a 4* (*Et misericordia* verse, a 3; *Gloria, a 5*); *Te lucis ante terminum* and *Nunc dimittis*, both a 4, for compline; and conclude with a throughcomposed *Salve, a 4* (*Ad te a 3*; *Eia ergo* for SSAT). Except for Psalm 116 and the Magnificat transposed down a minor third, Turner's other items are all transposed up a major second. As a result, every item bears a two-sharp signature (except Psalm 116 with three sharps). Turner helpfully supplies the plainchants that must everywhere—except in the *Salve*—alternate with Ortiz's polyphony. He also supplies translations of the Latin texts into English.

On the evidence of pay vouchers signed in February, 1558, Ortiz's adult singers then numbered twelve. Choirboys presumably joined with the adult falsettists (*tiples*) in at least some of the polyphony. In 1558, blind Francisco Salinas served as viceroyal organist. See José Subirá, *La música en la Casa de Alba* (Madrid: Sucs. de Rivadeneira, 1927), pages 26–28. Although Salinas returned to Spain before 1565 (he served as organist in the cathedral of León from 1562 to 1567), Ortiz may have obliquely referred to Salinas when he complained in his dedication to Pedro Afán de Ribera (viceroi, 1559–1571) of the controversy then raging at Naples over the exact relationship of music to mathematics. For Ortiz the true doctors of music were not Boethius, Gaffurio, Le Fèvre d'Étaples, and Ciruelo, but rather Ockeghem, Josquin, Mouton, and Lupus. No Spaniard enters his list. Cerone later testified that Ortiz was an ardent admirer of Morales. Even so, he slighted Spaniards and peninsular music in his *Trattado* of 1553 when he composed four *ricercadas* on Arcadelt's madrigal *O felici occhi miei* and four on Pierre Sandrin's chanson *Douce memoire*, but none on an Iberian air. One further reference in the 1565 dedication casts some light on his career. He voiced a desire to publish a book



of masses. The fact that no such book appeared lends weight to the presumption that he died in 1570.

In the introduction to his 1986 publication of Ortiz's *Music for Vespers & Compline*, Turner argued against the invariable use of instruments to support vocal lines in modern day performances. Nonetheless, Ortiz's own explicit testimony in the dedication of his 1565 volume cannot be ignored. He asked, for instance, these rhetorical questions in his dedication: *An non in antiquo & nouo testamento, diuinus cultus, in catholica Ecclesia, non solum humanis uocibus, sed etiam musicis instrumentis: ex diuino praecepto, & sanctorum patrum ordinatione: deo optimo maximo exhibetur ac celebratur? Ecquid admirabilius ac magnificentius hac in re excogitari potest?* Although aware of the arguments against both instruments and excessive elaboration of polyphonic music, he ranged himself squarely in his dedication with the instrumental and the "artificial" party. His reasoning is important, not only because it teaches us to conceive his music in its proper instrumental context, but also because it throws light on performance practice at the Spanish chapel at Naples. Evidently the Spaniards, wherever they emigrated, always expected instruments to play a dominant role in any performance of sacred music.

Apart from "Diego" Ortiz, another sacred composer with the same surname calls for mention. To "Miguel" Ortiz are attributed two items in Enriquez de Valderrábano's 1547 tablature, *Silva de sirenas*. In the first, a motet *a 4*, *Ut fidelium propagatione*, Valderrábano intabulates STB, but mensurally notates the supple alto part (fols. 31^v-32). Again, in the concluding section of a Lamentation (at fols. 32^v-33), Valderrábano intabulates STB, but mensurally notates the alto part (the text for which reads, "Hierusalem, Hierusalem, conuertere ad Dominum Deum"). Both items belong to Mode I (motet in transposed dorian). Still another two items ascribed to "Ortiz" (no Christian name) survive in former Biblioteca Medinaceli MS 607 (now March library MS R.6829 = 682) at pages 74-79: an *Ave maris stella* and a *Pange lingua gloriosi* (both *a 4*). The funerary motet *a 5*, *Pereat dies*, published in Eslava's *Lira sacro-hispana*, I, ii, 191-195, must also be added to the "Ortiz" repertory. Contrary to *Grove's Dictionary*, 5th ed. Vol. VI, p. 455, it concords with nothing in the 1565 imprint. Among the other corrections that should be made in the same article the following can be named: Valderrábano intabulated nothing by "Diego" Ortiz in his 1547 *Silva de sirenas*; Diego Ortiz was not called to Naples by the great Duke of Alva; He did not begin service at Naples in the year 1555; The *glosas* in his 1553 *Tratado* are not designed exclusively for the bass viol; The title of his 1565 publication does not read *Musicae Liber I*.

Three long motets by Ortiz *a 6*, each in two *partes*, survive in Cappella Sistina Codex 24 (copied in 1545)—*Paulus apostolus, Omnes in regnum Dei* (fols. 109^v-115); *In illo tempore assumpsit Jesus duodecim discipulos, Ecce ascendimus* (115^v-120); and *In illo tempore assumpsit Jesus Petrum et Iacobum, Hic est filius meus* (133^v-141). Stylistically, all three motets demand an earlier Ortiz than Diego—perhaps the Miguel intabulated by Valderrábano.

Vicente Lusitano, putative author of *Un tratado de Canto de Órgano*, edited by Henri Collet from a Bibliothèque Nationale sixteenth-century manuscript (Madrid: Ruiz hnos., 1913), included familiarly to a *L'Homme armé* Mass by Ortiz (p. 48: no

first name). This is the only mass by a Spanish composer anywhere mentioned in "Lusitano's" immensely learned treatise.

²⁰According to *DML*, Vol. II, p. 1724, **Pedro de Pastrana** was inducted as a singer in the Aragonese chapel of Ferdinand V as early as September 20, 1500. On July 12, 1527, he was appointed a royal chaplain. He became chapelmaster to the Duke and Duchess of Calabria (Fernando de Aragon and Doña Germana) at the end of 1534 or in 1535. They named him *abbad de San Bernardo*. Later he had to give up the emoluments of this *abbadía*, but he held on to the title of *abbad* even after 1544, when he accepted the papal decision taking away the preferment. Upon the death of García de Basurto in 1547, he was named successor in the post of chapelmaster to the twenty-year-old Prince Philip: formal appointment being tendered on December 28, 1547 (he had served since the preceding October). Toward the middle of 1548 the adult singers under Pastrana's direction numbered 14—3 sopranists, 4 contraltos, 3 tenors, and 4 basses. In addition, the House of Castile chapel carried on its rolls the two brothers Antonio and Juan de Cabezón, organists. The elder members of the chapel were permitted to remain in Spain during Philip's extensive journeys abroad initiated in that year. Pastrana, one of the seniors, thereafter served Doña Maria and her consort Maximilian II of Austria, whose court was situated temporarily at Valladolid. In addition to his chapelmaster's pay, Pastrana was allowed to retain the emoluments due him on account of his appointment in 1527 as royal chaplain. His petition to the young prince asking this financial favor (March 5, 1548) survives. Pastrana was still alive in 1559, in which year he wrote a letter endorsing Tapia's *Vergel de música* (published 1570). In so doing, however, Pastrana lent the treatise more weight than it deserves (Tapia plagiarized outright from Juan Bermudo's *Declaración* [Osuna: 1549], changing only first and last sentences of chapters to throw unwary readers off the scent).

Of Pastrana's works, seven psalms *a 4* are extant in a Saragossa choirbook alongside psalms by Jean Mouton and Pierre de Manchicourt. At Valladolid, MS 5, folios 129^v-132, contains a Magnificat *a 4*; and at Tarazona, MS 4 contains three Magnificats *a 4*, three motets *a 4* (*Sicut cervus, Pater dimitte illis, Miserere mei Deus*), and a *Benedicamus, a 4*. According to *DML*, MS 5 at Tarazona embodies still other of Pastrana's compositions; and MS 454 at the Barcelona Biblioteca Central (or Biblioteca de Catalunya) contains two Spanish songs, *Llenos de lágrimas tristes, a 3* (concordance in Elvas songbook) at fol. 186 and *Ay dime señora di, a 4* (not *Ay de mi señora*) at fol. 190^v.

Concerning the Spanish songs in MS 454 see Emilio Ros-Fábregas, "The Manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 454," City University of New York Ph.D. dissertation 1992, Vol. I, pp. 171 and 173-174. His transcription of *Ay dime señora di*, last item in MS 454, occupies Vol. II, pp. 480-482. The phrases in the first 11 measures of this da capo A minor lover's query (as to whether he will be forgotten when in distant lands) all begin imitatively. Among the 204 choirbooks belonging to the chapel choir of Philip II in 1597 were two inventoried as items 101 and 184; the first of which contained several Pastrana psalms beginning with *Dixit Dominus*, the second a Magnificat, and certain unnamed motets (*Musica sacro-hispana*, x [1917], 124-125, 156).



²¹ **Juan Ginés Pérez**, founder of the so-called Valencian school of composers, was baptized in Orihuela, thirteen miles north-east of Murcia, on October 7, 1548. His father was a basket-maker, his godparents a notary public, a lacemaker, and a blacksmith (*HSMS*, v, iv). His early musical education can have been only fragmentary—Orihuela during his youth still lacking a chapelmaster and its university not yet having been founded (1568). However, his natural aptitude was such that when at last on October 15, 1562, decision was taken to add a *maestro de capilla* to the cathedral staff—a staff that was still in an embryo stage because the diocese of Orihuela had been created only recently—he was named to the post at the age of fourteen, with an annual salary of 60 libras (30,600 maravedís). He held this post somewhat longer than eighteen years. In that period a bishop of Orihuela was at last seated (1566) and the formal organization of the cathedral staff completed. At the age of thirty or thereabouts he was named to a cathedral chaplaincy, but for some reason he failed of advancement beyond deacon's orders while at Orihuela. On February 3, 1581, after demonstrating his talents in a public competition, he was elected chapelmaster of Valencia Cathedral. Here he remained some fourteen years, disappearing from the capitular records in May, 1595 (*HSMS*, v, x). From Valencia he returned to Orihuela, where he held a canonry within the royal gift until October 5, 1600. His trail then disappears. The fact that Canon Alenda in his manuscript history of Orihuela Cathedral (*ca.* 1636) refers to Pérez's death as a recent event gives grounds, however, for supposing that he did not die at fifty-two but lived perhaps a dozen years longer (*HSMS*, v, xii).

According to Don Julio Blasco, who wrote a biography at the turn of the last century, Pérez lacked serenity and poise, and was dropped from the Orihuela Cathedral rolls in 1600 because he failed to discharge his canonical duties. However, the esteem in which his musical gift was held by his fellow townsmen caused the Orihuela chapter to collect his *opera omnia* with a view to publishing them. Or at least so Alenda testified *ca.* 1636 when he said: *Las obras de Pérez están en este Archivo y con el favor de Dios saldrán a luz por lo mucho que se estiman.*

Unfortunately, Pérez's works were lost later from the Orihuela archive and are now but fragmentarily represented in such other musical libraries as those at Valencia (some thirty pieces), Málaga, and Segorbe Cathedrals (*HSMS*, v, xx). Pedrell, who devoted Volume V of *Hispaniae schola musica sacra* to Ginés Pérez, admired his style—writing as follows (p. xviii): "It cannot be denied that his works are instinct with devotion and solemnity. . . . On principle, he undertook to evoke the overall mood suggested by a text, rather than trying to paint any single, precise word—rightly believing that the latter technique produces deplorable results. . . . He used not only 'chords' and harmonic intervals but also allowed himself other licenses that were not yet sanctioned in his epoch. . . . He thus developed an original style, perhaps because of the isolation that he had to endure in an out-of-the-way cathedral where he was cut off from any contact with musical life in the one center where religious music shone most brightly—Rome."

Pérez's repertory in *HSMS*, Vol. v, includes two canticles (Magnificat and Benedictus), six psalms (113, 114, 119, 120, 129, 137), a Palm Sunday hymn (*Gloria, laus et honor*), a *Parce mihi* belonging to the Office of the Dead, and two funerary

motets. The canticles and psalms, all *a 4*, are alternate-verse settings. The remaining pieces, *a 5*, are through-composed. It is obvious to anyone who undertakes a comparison of Pérez's *Parce mihi* (*HSMS*, v, 45–49) with Morales's (*HSMS*, i, 9–11), that the junior composer vented a "romantic" grief, but the elder a "classical." Pérez uses the drooping fifth for affect ("peccavi," mm. 77–83), but Morales used it because it belongs to the plainsong formula (mm. 11–12, 40–42, 60–64). Pérez modulates (in the modern sense) from his home key of F Major to the dominant (mm. 23, 51, 126), the subdominant (meas. 105), and submediant (meas. 131); but Morales never for a moment forgot that he was in Tone IV, the "chordal" vocabulary of which is narrowly restricted. Pérez neither quotes a plainsong formula nor does he submit to any rigid scheme of imitations. Morales, on the other hand, considered himself honor-bound to adhere to the intonation-formula from beginning to end of his 131-bar setting.

Among the freedoms that Pérez allowed himself was the right to change at will the rhythms of the several answers in a point of imitation. In the opening points of both *Miseremini fideles animarum* (*HSMS*, v, 50–54) and *Domine Deus* (55–59), for instance, not one answer duplicates the rhythm of the subject. The melodic lines are always plangently expressive. The popular appeal of these two motets *a 5* is increased by his frequent use of melodic repetition and sequence. Neither exhibits Pérez's "learning." Both are ostensibly motets in Tone IV. But for all practical purposes they deserve to be called A-minor pieces that end on the dominant. In the second motet, Pérez even reaches the Neapolitan chord at the word "angustiis."

²² **Pedro Periañez**, whose *Ave Domina Maria, a 5*, was printed by Eslava in *Lira sacro-hispana*, i, ii, 197–201 (using for his source an El Escorial choirbook), was born *ca.* 1540 at Babilafuente. This village lies some ten miles east of Salamanca. See *AM*, ix, 68 (Anglés mistook the place name). In February, 1558, a singer named Periañez was employed in the Duke of Alba's chapel at Naples. See José Subirá, *La música en la Casa de Alba* (Madrid: 1927), page 27. Periañez's first chapelmaster's appointment took him to Almería (*AM*, ix, 68). In the week beginning Monday, September 30, 1577, he competed for the Málaga chapelmastership left vacant by Juan Cepa. On Tuesday morning he and his three rivals were instructed to compose within the space of twenty-four hours an imitative motet using as text, "Holy Father, keep them in thy name whom thou hast given me" (John 17:11b). At the same time the competitors were each required to add two voices to a given cantus firmus, a third voice to *un duo de la oposición de Morales* (a duo used in Morales's trial), and a fourth voice to a trio. The four motets were sung before the Dean and chapter on Wednesday afternoon. At the same late session each contender was required to improvise counterpoints above a plainsong and above a given piece of polyphony. Last, each was given a *soneto* with *copla* to set before the morrow. On Thursday afternoon at half-past two the final session began with the singing of the four villancicos composed overnight by the four composers. Various other tests culminated in Periañez's conducting of a *Benedictus qui venit*. While conducting, he sang the tenor part. Periañez was declared winner by a vote taken on October 16. However, in the intervening two weeks he had competed for the Cordovan chapelmastership. After some weeks of vacillation he accepted



the Málaga appointment. On January 21, 1578, he was formally inducted. Some six years later (October 28, 1583) he transferred from Málaga to Santiago de Compostela, where *por su gran suficiencia fue concedido los derechos y preeminencia de canónico con voto en el cabildo*. He retired in 1612 and on July 2, 1613, was succeeded by the Portuguese António Carreira.

²³ According to José Pavia Simó, "Nuevos datos para la biografía de Joan Pujol," *Anuario musical*, xxviii-xxix (1973 y 1974) [1976], 195-207, **Juan Pujol** was baptized June 26, 1570, in the parish church of Santa María at Mataró, and died May 17, 1626, at Barcelona. On March 18, 1593, the Barcelona Cathedral chapter appointed him coadjutor with the right of succession to Julián Andrés Vilanova, currently maestro de capilla. As such, he was delegated to board, lodge, and instruct the cathedral choirboys. However, he quit Barcelona at the end of the same year to become maestro de capilla at Tarragona Cathedral on or about October 29.

On January 23, 1595, the chapter of Pilar Church at Saragossa named him chapelmaster, but with the condition that he be ordained as quickly as possible (*que se haya de ordenar lo más presto que pudiere*). After ordination to the diaconate at Jaca in March of 1596, he was ordained priest in 1600, singing his first Mass in one of the chapels of Pilar Church August 18.

The Pilar chapter decided December 2, 1595, against any further singing of chanzonetas and villancicos in the vernacular. Although numerous blank pages in the Pilar Church books of capitular acts from 1600 to 1613 prevent specifying the full scope of his activities during his seventeen years at Pilar, his psalms and motets sung during a visit of Philip III in 1599 won high praise. Again in 1603, during the visit of the Duke of Savoy and the Infanta doña Isabel, a Mass composed by him was signalled for its excellence. His surviving works in the archive of La Seo (Saragossa Cathedral) include two Masses *a 8* in part-books (the second untexted), and incomplete parts for four Christmas and two Epiphany responsories. His most famous-to-be pupil at Saragossa was Diego Pontac (1603-1654).

On January 11, 1612, the Barcelona Cathedral chapter voted to call him from Saragossa at 30 *lliures* higher salary than what was paid his predecessor. The first two volumes of Pujol's *opera omnia* were published by Higinio Anglés in 1926 and 1932, but the contents (all dating from 1612 to Pujol's death in 1626) cannot be studied here.

²⁴ **Sebastián Raval**, like both Diego Ortiz and Mateo Flecha the Younger, spent his productive years abroad. No documentation showing that he returned to Spain after his early departure has thus far been adduced.

Born *ca.* 1550 in Cartagena diocese, he died at Palermo, Sicily, shortly before October 27, 1604. In youth he left the peninsula to fight with the Spanish army in the Low Countries. After being wounded in July, 1579, at the capture of Maas-tricht, he joined the Capuchin order. Because the Capuchin rules were too rigorous for him, in 1592 he obtained a papal dispensation permitting his transfer into the order of St. John Baptist of Jerusalem (Knights of Malta). During the previous decade, while awaiting permission to transfer, he worked as a musician at the court of Francesco Maria II della Rovere in Urbino, where he composed the five-voice madrigals published in his *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1593); in the preface he claimed to have consorted at Urbino

with such notables as Cavaliere del Liuto, Scipio Dentice, and Luca Marenzio. His *Madrigali a tre voci* (Rome: Nicolo Muti, 1595; 9 madrigals *a 3, 2 a 5, 1 a 8*) include works specifically composed for so accomplished a singer as Vittoria Archilei (= "La Romanina," 1550-*ca.* 1629). Ever the name dropper, he wrote in his 1595 preface that the two five-voice madrigals were composed for Carlo Gesualdo and the eight-voice (second quartet echoing the first in canon) for Emilio de' Cavaliere. At Rome his chief patrons were (1) Cardinal Peretti di Montalto; (2) Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, for whom he composed *dodici principii di Ricercar*; and (3) the Sicilian nobleman Giambattista Tagliavia, Duke of San Giovanni and Count of Cammerata, for whom he wrote *altri Ricercat' in quattro fughe d'accordio*.

On April 28, 1595, Sicilian viceroy Diego Enrique de Guzmán appointed Raval maestro di cappella in the viceregal chapel of San Pietro at Palermo. After Guzmán left Sicily on October 28, 1595, to take the reins as Spanish viceroy at Naples, his interim successor (until arrival at Palermo April 1, 1598, of Bernardino de Cárdenas, Duke of Maqueda—Philip II's next appointed Sicilian viceroy) was Giovanni Ventimiglia, president and Captain General of Sicily. With his usual adroitness in wooing patrons, Raval dedicated to Ventimiglia on November 29, 1596, his first Sicilian publication, *Il primo libro di ricercari a quattro voci cantabili, Per Liuti, Cimbali, & Viole d'arco* (Palermo: Gio. Antonio de Franceschi, 1596).

Having made himself notorious at Rome in 1593 by challenging Giovanni Maria Nanino and Francesco Soriano to a contest of contrapuntal skill (which he lost), Raval in the Spring of 1600 broke lances with another challenger. His competitor this time was less renowned—the 30- or 35-year-old Achille Falcone (*b* 1570/5 Cosenza, Italy; *d* there November 9, 1600). Currently chapelmaster at Caltagirone, Sicily, the youthful Falcone deemed himself better fitted than Raval to be maestro di cappella at Palermo. For a wagered gold ring, they each improvised a canon *a 5*, the subject being delivered by the other competitor. On April 18, 1600, the judge, Nicolo Toscano (a Dominican friar), declared Falcone the winner "because his work showed great skill in the entry of the voices, could be sung in eight different ways, and his commentary on it quoted the best authorities." Feeling himself mistreated by an Italian judge, Raval asked the Spanish viceroy, Bernardino de Cárdenas, Duke of Maqueda, to authorize a re-run of the contest. The return contest at the viceregal palace included these events:

(1) the performance of madrigals for three and six voices composed in advance of the contest on fugal subjects, which were to be used in all voices—the subjects to be chosen by the supporters of the contestants (who were Nicolo Toscano for Falcone, and the lutenist Mario Cangelosa for Raval); (2) improvised composition of a canonic motet for seven voices.

Supported by a celebrated musician rather than a friar, Raval was this time declared the victor. Nicolo Toscano's written protest dated July 26, 1600, includes Falcone's accusation that Raval had intercepted and falsified his compositions before they reached the judges. Being forbidden to challenge Raval any later in Sicily, Falcone decided to seek redress at Rome. However, while preparing for the trip he took ill and died at his home in Cosenza. Three years later, his father—Antonio Falcone—published a bitter account of the contest, along with a selection

of his deceased son's madrigals. Nowadays accepted as true by Italian partisans, the son's accusations pepper the father's *Alli signori musici di Roma: Madrigali a cinque voci . . . con alcune opere fatte all'improvviso a competenza, con Sebastiano Ravalle . . . con una narratione come veramente il fatto seguisse* (Venice: 1603¹¹). This publication

contains not only the competition pieces by both composers, but also works by Achille Falcone that proved the injustice of the judges at Palermo and the falsity of Raval's *Apologia* published in reply to Nicolo Toscano's July 26, 1600, protest. Achille's pieces were much the worthier because they documented exceptional skill in the new style.

Unfortunately for Raval, the Italian side of the controversy holds sway (in the *MGG* and *New Grove* articles on him and on Achille Falcone, the Falcone articles are by Italians). To rescue Raval's reputation Máximo Pajares Barón in 1985 edited for the Sociedad Española de Musicología at Madrid 6 *Canones (II Primo Libro di Ricercari, Palermo 1596)*, the unique partbooks of which are at Valladolid Cathedral (*AM*, III [1947]). In his introduction, Pajares Barón itemized in chronological order Raval's seven self-generated publications (*RISM*, A/1/7 [1978], pp. 100–111 = R.439 through R.445). Next he listed the three others in which Raval is anthologized (*RISM*, B/1/1 [1960], pp. 396 = 1603¹¹ and 419 = 1609¹²; and the lost *Infidi lumi, Madrigali a cinque voci di D. Luigi di Heredia, posti in musica da diversi autori siciliani* [Palermo, 1603]).

Lengthy accounts of Raval's life are to be seen in Raffaele Casimiri's "Sebastiano Raval: musicista spagnolo del sec. XVI," *Note d'archivio*, Vol. VIII, no. 1 (Jan. 1931), pp. 1–20; and in Ottavio Tivy's "Sebastian Raval: A 16th century Spanish musician in Italy," *Musica disciplina*, Vol. II, fasc. 3 and 4 (1948), pp. 217–223. In addition to the bibliography of Raval's publications in the Casimiri article, pages 8–12, H. Anglés's "El Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Valladolid," *AM*, Vol. III (1948), pp. 105–107, may be consulted.

Raval's three sacred publications—*Motectorum quinque vocum* (Rome: 1593), *Lamentationes Hieremiae prophetae quinque vocum* (Rome: 1594), and *Motecta selecta organo accommodata* (Palermo: 1600)—must be transcribed before his churchly powers can be assessed. The last parallels Victoria's 1600 Madrid publication by virtue of its organ part.

In Raval's dedication of the 1600 Palermo motets to the Duchess of Maqueda, wife of the viceroy, he makes several interesting allusions. He says that on Fridays during Lent she has caused polychoral works accompanied by instruments to be sung "en Oratorio." Raval dedicated the last of his 1595 *Madrigali a tre voci* to Emilio de' Cavalieri; in all likelihood he knew Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo* (Rome: 1600). It seems therefore at least possible that Raval had in mind not just a "prayer room" but a musical genre when he wrote:

Sin las demas obras de muchos coros, y instrumentos, que en los viernes de quaresma por deuocion de V. E. se han celebrado en Oratorio, quales plaçiendo a Nuestro Señor pretendo dirigillas con mayor oportunidad à V. E. entanto suplico a V. E. acepte lo mucho, que en mi animo deseo, aunque poco lo que en publico offerreco . . .

Raval adds that the polychoral works with instruments which had been performed on Fridays in Lent were not being published in the present imprint, although, please God, he hoped

to publish them when opportunity offered. In the meantime, he begged her to accept that which in heart he wished to be a large gift, but which in the public eye he knew to be small.

Only a single piece *a 8* has been included, he says in the dedication: *Super flumina Babilonis*—composed entirely for "tiples which in Italy are called *suprani*." Raval includes this piece for eight sopranos because he "has heard that from the Duke's estates have come forth excellent musicians, and more especially, choice *tiples*."

²⁵ Bernardino de Ribera, born ca. 1520 at Játiva, was the son of Pedro de Ribera, native of Seville who was chapmaster of the collegiate church at Játiva, and Beatriz Andresa, native of Játiva. His paternal grandparents were Sevillians, his mother's parents were natives of Játiva. The latter was the town in which both the Spanish popes were born. It was also the native town of the distinguished painter José de Ribera (ca. 1581–1652).

On April 14, 1559, the Ávila Cathedral chapter decided to seek an *honbre principal en su profesion* for chapmaster. Gerónimo de Espinar, the previous chapmaster, had died the preceding autumn. On June 2, 1559, the chapter voted to invest "Vernaldino" [= Bernardino] de Ribera with a full prebend, even though he was absent and had not given assurance that he would accept the Ávila chapmastership. The next day, the chapter secretary was instructed to write him a letter of invitation. On June 17, 1559, negotiations were still in progress. Before September 18, 1559, he had arrived and was on that date admonished to give lessons. On January 8, 1560, the chapter ordered "that boys with voices suitable for polyphonic singing be exempted from matins and paid an extra three ducats annually." For further details consult the Ávila *Actas Capitulares*, 1556–1560, especially fols. 88^v, 91, 92^v, 93, 101, and 109^v. Ribera's term extended until 1563, on April 15 of which year he was inducted as chapmaster at Toledo. His four years of service at Ávila coincided with Victoria's eleventh through fifteenth years. Since Victoria was a choirboy at Ávila Cathedral, Ribera deserves special consideration. Of the three Ávila chapmasters—Espinar, Ribera, and Navarro—Ribera probably exerted the most decisive influence. Only two years after Ribera left Ávila, Victoria had departed for Rome.

At Toledo, Ribera succeeded the disreputable Bartolomé de Quebedo (who was dismissed for misconduct). He brought with him a dozen large choirbooks for sale to the Toledo chapter. Of these, seven contained masses; three, magnificats; and four, motets. He was allowed to retain the books after sale, so that he might use them during singing lessons. Two of these were Morales's printed Masses, books I and II. The bill of sale to the chapter listed these two books as "old and with leaves pulled out." One of the two was at the moment of sale kept at the house of a certain assistant named Gómez. Ribera had given it to Gómez *para ejercicio delos seyses* (so that the choirboys could use it during practice sessions).

Unlike other Toledan chapmasters such as Morales, Boluda, and Torrentes, Ribera occupied Ración 45, which was the prebend designated for a contralto singer. Apparently Ribera held office for eight years. Andrés de Torrentes, who had already twice before occupied the primatial chapmastership, returned for a third term on February 9, 1571. (See Rubio Piqueras, *Música y músicos toledanos*, pp. 58, 60.)



Codex 6 in the Toledo musical archive contains two *De beata Virgine* Masses by Ribera, both *a 4*. Six motets *a 8*, *a 6*, and *a 5* follow. Last, this vellum choirbook, “the calligraphy of which is superb,” contains eight magnificats, two each for Tones I–IV. It is to be supposed that the remaining magnificats in a Tone I–VIII series have been lost. Rubio Piqueras (*Códices polifónicos toledanos*, pp. 21–22) describes this manuscript thus:

Bound in boards, this unindexed manuscript is devoted to Bernardino de Ribera’s masses, motets, and magnificats. Throughout are to be seen handsomely illuminated initials. The codex opens with a *De beata Virgine* Mass *a 4*, based on plainchant. Since folio 1 has been lost, cantus and tenor of Kyrie I are unfortunately missing. In the Gloria, the usual tropes are encountered. The Crucifixus reduces to three voices (Bassus silent). The verbal canon in the Benedictus *a 5* requires the upper voices to reverse themselves and sing backward in notes half the value of those written. Although fols. 28 and 29 have been torn out, it can be seen that the last Agnus augmented to five voices. At fol. 28^v was to have begun another *De beata Virgine* Mass, also *a 4*. All of Kyrie I has been lost as well as cantus and tenor of the Christe. In the Gloria are to be found the same Marian tropes as in the preceding mass. The loss of fol. 40 impedes somewhat our knowledge of the Credo. Obviously, however, this movement is polytextual from Patrem to Crucifixus, a fifth voice during the interim singing in cantus firmus fashion the plainsong hymn *Ave maris stella*. The Et resurrexit reduces to three voices. The polytextual Et in Spiritum augments to five (the fifth voice here singing the angelical salutation). The Pleni sunt again reduces to three. In the Osanna, Ribera writes a canon at the octave. The final Agnus expands to six voices.

The section of motets opens with a six-voice *Ascendens Christus* for Ascension. At fol. 69 is to be seen *Ortum dignissimum* for the Nativity of Our Lady. The loss of fol. 68 makes it impossible to transcribe the beginning of this, or the end of the preceding, motet. At fol. 75 occurs the psalm *Conserve me Domine*, *a 6*. There next follows a motet for the Translation of St. Eugenius, also *a 6*, *O quam speciosa festivitatis*. But a missing leaf again makes transcription of the opening impossible. At fol. 85 is copied the motet *a 6* for festivals of the Virgin—*Beata Mater et innupta Virgo gloriosa, Regina mundi*. A responsory copied much later than the main body of the codex precedes the next motet: *Regina coeli*, *a 5*, for Easter, Pentecost, Assumption, and Octave of Corpus Christi motets come next—*Hodie completi sunt dies, Virgo prudentissima*, and *Rex autem David* (each *a 5*).

So much for what Rubio Piqueras made known in 1925 concerning then surviving works in Toledo capitular archive. In his article, “The Toledo Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks,” *Fontes artis musicae*, 1973/3 (September–December), Robert Stevenson specified the works by Bernardino de Ribera that were extant a half-century later. The letter T before digits in Stevenson’s catalogue (herewith inserted) refers to the Toledo choirbook in which the item occurs.

Ascendens Christus in altum, *a 8*. T 6, fols. 63–66. Both the first and last leaves (62 and 67) are gone.

Beata Mater et innupta, *a 6*. T 6, fols. 84^v–87. At folio 87^v has been added in a later hand an anonymous fabordón, *Domine quando veneris*, having nothing to do with this manuscript.

Conserve me Domine, *a 6*. T 6, fols. 74^v–80.

Gloriose virginis Marie ortum dignissimum, *a 5*. T 6, fols. 69–74. First leaf (68) gone.

Hodie completi sunt dies, *a 5*. *In die sancti pentecostes*. T 6, fols. 92^v–98. This is the first item in T 6 that has escaped the vandal’s knife, and can be transcribed without guesswork. Magnificats *a 4*, Tones I, II, III, *Anima mea* set followed in

each tone by *Et exultavit* verses. T 6, fols. 107^v–114, 114^v–120 [115 gone]; 120^v–128, 128^v–133 [134–136 ripped out]; 137–141; 141^v–146 [142, 147, 148 torn out]. In *Gloria* of Tone I (112^v–114) Ribera makes Altus 2 the leader of a three-in-one canon (based on the tone formula). *Sicut erat a 8* of Tone I consists of four written voices, each the dux of a canon. Both *Gloria Patri a 7* and *Sicut erat* (number of voices uncertain because of the loss of fol. 134) vaunt elaborate canons. So does the *Gloria a 6* of Tone III (fols. 139^v–141). The following verses are scored *a 3*: *Et misericordia* and *Esurientes* of I, *Deposuit* of II, *Suscipit* of III. Pfundnoten in altus of *Fecit* II cite the tone formula.

Magnificats, Tone IV, odd verses followed by even. T 6, fols. 149–159. Due to the loss of 147 and 148, the odd-verse starts with a truncated *Quia respexit*. In both *Et misericordia* and *Suscipit* verses, the bassus sings the tone in Pfundnoten. The altus has it in the *Esurientes* verse. However, the unison canon between bassus 1 and 2 in the *Sicut erat* verses does not cite the tone.

Missa De beata Virgine, a 4. T 6, fols. 2–27^v. Like all his other major works in T 6, mutilated. Not only did vandals find the beauty of the illuminated capitals irresistible, but also whole pages of this manuscript—which in its original state was doubtless one of the most stunning visually in the entire Toledo polyphonic corpus. Ribera anachronistically included the *Spiritus et alme* (fols. 6^v–7) and *Mariam gubernans* tropes. The *Resolutio* (fol. 24) of the canon in the *Benedictus a 5* begins as a Pfundnoten ostinato consisting of the breves in the cantus, sung retrograde. Below the cantus (fol. 23^v) appears this explanatory legend: “*Cantus vnius euntis et alterius preeuntis ad finem cum breui. Retro euntisq³ ad principium cum semibreui cum mora in medio numerando pausas non numeratas partes.*” Filling folios 24^v–26, this *Benedictus* (CCATB) illustrates Ribera’s tendency to expend learning on sections of the Mass not usually reserved for erudite display.

Missa De beata Virgine, a 5. T 6, fols. 30 [28 and 29 ripped out]–60 [61 and 62 gone also]. Extant portions begin with *Christe*. Like his Lady Mass *a 4*, this one incorporates the tropes forbidden by Trent. The *Osanna* contains a canon at the octave (fols. 55^v–56), *compás mayor*. Throughout the polytextual *Credo*, one voice or another keeps repeating in breves and semibreves the March 25 antiphon “*Ave Maria gratia plena: Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus. Alleluia.*”

O quam speciosa festiuitas, a 6. T 6, fols. 80^v–84. Folio 81 of this motet for the Translation of St. Eugenius has been ripped out.

Regina coeli laetare, a 5. T 6, fols. 89–92. Incomplete, because some vandal tore out folio 88.

Rex autem David cooperto capite. “Dnica vi. post octauas corpus chri,” a 6. T 6, fols. 103^v–107.

Virgo prudentissima, a 5. T 6, fols. 99^v–103. One of only three transcribable motets in this heinously mutilated book.

Ribera is represented in a tenor partbook at Valladolid Cathedral with a motet *a 6*, *Dimitte me ergo* (MS 17, fols. 184^v–185). See *AM*, III, 86. At Plasencia in MS 2 (fols. 47^v–49) is to be seen Ribera’s hymn *a 4* in honor of St. James, *Huic caeli ab altis sedibus* (pt. 2, *Tu ceca nos atque impia*). The music for part 2

exactly repeats that for part 1. In this hymn, each of the four lines of verse is set in a new point of imitation—all four voices participating in the first three points. There is no sign of a cantus firmus.

In view of Bernardino de Ribera's origin at Játiva (halfway between Valencia and Elche), he may also have composed items 7 through 11 (*Flor de virginal belleça, a 4; Aquesta gran novetat, a 3; O Deu, Adonai, a 4; Promens Jueus, a 3; and Nosaltres tots creem, a 4*) in the polyphonic music transcribed by Samuel Rubio to accompany his article, "La música del 'Misterio' de Elche," *Tesor Sacro Musical*, XLVIII/4 (July–August 1965), pages 61–71. Although the oldest extant source containing these five items credited to "Ribera" (without given name) is the *Consueta* of 1709 (copied from an older manuscript dated 1639), the two other named composers in the *Consueta* are Juan Ginés Pérez (1548–ca. 1612), native of nearby Orihuela, and Luis Vich, appointed maestro de capilla of Santa María church at Elche March 22, 1562—after having been organist there since no later than 1560. Samuel Rubio rightly observed that the "Ribera" responsible for five of the sixteen polyphonic numbers copied in the *Consueta* could not (for stylistic reasons) have been Antonio Ribera, papal singer from 1506 to 1523, but had to be a later composer (*ibid.*, p. 63).

²⁶An untitled Mass *a 5* by Melchor Robledo survives in Cappella Sistina Codex 22 at Rome. Kyrie I is composed *a 4*, Agnus II *a 6*. In the "O" of the Osanna is inscribed the year in which the codex was copied—1568. The head motive in Kyrie I consists of the same *fa re ut fa sol la* theme on which Morales based his *Missa cortilla*, and which was to be used again as a motto by Juan de Lienas in his five-part *Convento del Carmen* mass. The Lienas Mass comes closer to the Robledo, because it is scored for the same high voices and ends throughout on the A chord (rather than the D chord chosen by Morales). Robledo throughout his Mass treats the head motive as an ostinato (*Pfundnoten*) threaded through the top voice of every movement except the *Crudifixus a 4* and *Et in Spiritum* (even in these, he uses the head motive, but modifies it slightly). It is vehemently to be suspected that the *Missa fa re ut fa sol la* attributed to Melchor de Aragon in a manuscript of Toledo provenience (copied in 1696) concords with the mass by Robledo in Cappella Sistina Codex 22. See *AM*, VIII (1953), 121 (n. 150).

According to the catalogue of his works published by Pedro Calahorra Martínez in *La música en Zaragoza en los siglos XVI y XVII. II. Polifonistas y ministriles* (Saragossa: Institución "Fernando el Católico," 1978), pages 45–50, Robledo's *Missa super fa re ut fa sol la, a 5*, survives also at the cathedrals of Ávila (MS 1, pp. 65–99 [pp. 92–93 torn out]) and Tarazona (MS 4, núm. 40, fols 128^v–151). His *Missa toni octavi, a 4*, is in Calahorra Cathedral MS 503; his *Missa de Beata Virgine, a 4* and *a 5*, is in Tarazona MS 4, núm. 4, fols. 9^v–17; and his *Missa in tempore Adventus et Quadragesimae, a 4* in Huesca Cathedral MS 53, *fol. 50, and La Seo (Saragossa) MS 7.

His fifteen psalms (*Dixit Dominus, Confitebor, Beatus vir, Laudate pueri Dominum, Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, In exitu Israel, Memento Domine David, Credidi, In convertendo, Domine probasti me, Laetatus sum, Nisi Dominus, Lauda Jerusalem, De profundis, Beati omnes*, in Tones VIII, VII, VI, V, IV, III, II, I, IV, II, VII, VI, III, III, and VI respectively) survive in the Alquézar (Huesca) collegiate church MS 3, fols. 1^v–62; in Huesca Cathedral MS 53, fols. 1–36; in La Seo

MS 6, fols. 1–36 and MS 9; and selectively in manuscripts at Barcelona (Felipe Pedrell, *Catàlech de la Biblioteca Musical*, 1, 312), at Tarazona and Tudela Cathedrals, and at the Valencia Patriarca.

Alquézar collegiate church MS 3 contains his odd-verse Magnificats *a 4* in Tones VI, VII, VIII, and even-verse *a 4* in Tones III and V. Even-verse Magnificats in all tones survive in cathedrals at Pamplona (MS 3) and Tarazona (MS 13). Alquézar collegiate MS 2 contains his *Passio secundum Matthaëum, a 4* and *a 5*, and his *Passio secundum Iohannem* (beginning at folios 1^v and 16^v).

Cappella Sistina Codex 38 (copied 1563) contains his polytextual motet *a 5, Simile est* (pt. 2, *Inventa autem*). The fifth voice sings the *Veni sponsa Christi* antiphon (second vespers) in cantus firmus style, each note lasting three semibreves. MS 17 at Valladolid—a tenor partbook—contains both a motet, *Concussum est mare et contremuit (a 5)*, and a secular song, *Recuerde el alma dormida (a 6)*. The Diego Sánchez codex in the Santiago parish archive at Valladolid, Tarazona Cathedral MS 8, fols. 25^v–27, and Barcelona Biblioteca de Catalunya (= Central) MS 685, fol. 86, show all four parts of *Hoc corpus*. Elústiza-Castrillo printed the last-named work in their *Antología musical* at pages 130–133. At meas. 36 and again at meas. 53₄, Robledo breaks (after a general pause) into homophony. Attention is thereby focused on *Hoc facite* (This do, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me). As for other motets: Huesca MS 53 contains his *Surge prospera amica mea* and *Tota pulchra es amica mea*, both *a 4*. Partbooks at the Patriarca in Valencia include his *Tulerunt Dominum, a 5*.

Robledo composed two extant even-verse Salves: one *a 4* copied in Huesca Cathedral MS 53 (*fol. 42) and La Seo at Saragossa in MS 6 (*fol. 77^v); the other *a 6* in Alquézar MS 3 (fol. *176^v), Tarazona Cathedral (MS 8, núm. 4, fols. 7^v–12), and in Puebla (Mexico) Cathedral *Libro de Coro 1* (SSAATB, fols. 47^v–52). A "G minor" work, the *Salve a 6* seems to be his sole work in New World archives. If this is a typical work, he liked to repeat or sequence expressive melodic incises, especially with such emotion-fraught words as "vale of tears."

Christmas and Corpus Christi invitatories and a *Veni Creator Spiritus* hymn by Robledo, all *a 4* are in Montserrat MS 2991, fols. 18, 32, and 30^v; and *Ave maris stella* hymns *a 4* and *a 5* in Alquézar MS 3 (*fol. 105^v) and Huesca MS 53 (*fol. 37), according to Calahorra Martínez.

Whether Robledo also composed lamentations remains less certain. At Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS II.1.285 (*olim* Magliabechi XIX.56), a 210-page folio copied in 1559, contains 38 lamentations, all but one anonymous. According to the *Census Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550*, compiled by the University of Illinois Musicological Archives (American Institute of Musicology, 1979), page 216, Arcadelt (2), Brumel (1), Carpentras (1), Costanzo Festa (2), Morales (2), Robledo (possibly 1), and Verdelot (1) composed ten of the unattributed lamentations in this collection. At Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale MS Q 132—a large sixteenth-century folio containing Holy Week lamentations—ends with four leaves on which is written Melchor Robledo's name, according to Gaetano Gaspari (*Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale*, II, 301).

Robledo's biographical data assembled by Pedro Calahorra Martínez for publication in 1978 can be thus summarized: of



illegitimate birth, he originated in Castile. He was presumably born in the diocese of Segovia ca. 1510. Calahorra Martínez's misreading of José López-Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI*, 1, 82–83, resulted in Samuel Rubio's accepting the suggestion that Robledo was a boy chorister in the Granada Capilla Real in 1520 (see Rubio, *Historia de la música española*, II, 152; but the "Robledillo" in question was, along with five other singers, dismissed from Granada Cathedral choir December 27, 1551). On Saint Christopher's day [July 25] in 1531 El Pilar Church at Saragossa accepted Robledo, "Castilian singer," as maestro de capilla at an annual 600 sueldos (paid in thirds), plus 9 dineros and 4 cahizes of wheat every day. The boy servant who came with him was received as chorister (*Año 1531. Recepción de cantor. Lunes, día de San Cristóbal, recibimos al cantor castellano y a su criado; a él por maestro de capilla y le damos DC sueldos en dineros, en tercios, y los nueve dineros cada día y cuatro cahices de trigo; y al muchacho recibimos en infante mayor*).

In 1549 and again in 1566 (*Actas capitulares del Cabildo de la Catedral de Tarragona*, January 11, 1556 [fol. 66^v]) Robledo served as *maestro de canto* in Tarragona Cathedral. In January of 1566 the chapter of the same cathedral instructed a prebendary to prepare a book of Robledo's compositions. Between 1549 and 1566 he assuredly visited Italy. Otherwise it is difficult to account for his Mass copied in Cappella Sistina Codex 22 in 1568. Robledo's continuing fame at Rome after his return to Spain is attested in a letter drafted June 29, 1574, by Antonio Boccapaduli, *maestro della cappella pontificia* (see *Note d'archivio*, XI, 3–4 [July–Dec., 1934], 203–206). But even though renowned at home and abroad, he did not always enjoy smooth sailing after returning to Spain. On July 2, 1569, the Saragossa Cathedral chapter appointed him maestro de capilla of La Seo, but however with a certain salary adjustment until he became at least a deacon (*en tanto que no se ordenare*). Because he was not yet in major orders, various attempts to confer benefices on him backfired. As a result, he twice appealed to Spanish singers at the papal court—the Catalanian bass Antonio Calasanz and a singer from León diocese Cristiano de Aymyder (July 20 and November 5, 1574)—for their help in pushing his case at Rome, but to no avail. At last he did receive the four minor orders May 16, 1576, on which date he must already have reached his mid-sixties. On December 22, 1576, he was ordained deacon.

On October 19, 1580, Palencia Cathedral wrote a canon at Saragossa cathedral asking his opinion of seventy-year-old Robledo's current capacity. The encomiastic reply resulted two months later in a letter from the Palencia chapter to Robledo offering him post of chapelmaster. He replied that, although interested, he needed to know the exact financial terms. As a result, Palencia chapter sent a messenger to meet Robledo midway, at Calahorra. The terms proving not sufficiently attractive, Palencia's messenger returned February 6, 1581, with Robledo's refusal.

Robledo died at Saragossa November 23, 1586, after executing a will leaving the Archbishop of Saragossa his universal heir and asking for burial in San Valero Chapel of Saragossa Cathedral. Not the least of his achievements in later life was the education of such formidable disciples as Sebastián de Aguilera and Pedro Ruimonte.

The entire Seo chapter accompanied his body to the grave. Later, a rule was made that on great occasions at Saragossa only the music of Morales, Palestrina, Victoria, and Robledo should be sung. Robledo's successors as chapelmaster were (1) the Valencian Joseppe Gay, 1587 (previously maestro at Gandía), who died September 10, 1587, after less than three months at La Seo; (2) Cristóbal Téllez, 1588–1593 (previously at the collegiate church of Berlanga). Téllez competed against Francisco Garro, native of Alfaro (who was chapelmaster at Sigüenza from October 17, 1580 until 1593), and Miguel Monente, native of Erla in Saragossa province (who was a member of the Capilla Real at Madrid from September 1, 1584, to his death there January 24, 1592). After Téllez came (3) Francisco de Silos, 1593–1611 and 1614–1632. Although elected December 9, 1611, to replace temporarily ousted Silos, Bernardo de Peralta—then maestro de capilla at Burgos—refused, and instead continued at Burgos until his death there November 4, 1617.

For further details concerning musical life in the Saragossa Seo from 1569 to 1601, see Madrid Biblioteca Nacional MS 14047, "Libro de Memorias de las cosas que en la Iglesia del Asseo de Çaragoça se han ofrecido tocantes a ella desde el Agosto del año 1579 hasta el año 1601 inclusive." The author of these cathedral memoirs was Doctor Pascual de Mandura, richly informed canon of La Seo.

²⁷ **Francisco de Sepúlveda** succeeded Morales as chapelmaster at Ávila Cathedral on October 12, 1530. A singer named Barri-nuevo had substituted as an interim appointee after Morales's departure for Plasencia. Gerónimo de Espinar succeeded Sepúlveda. See *AM*, VIII (1953 [1954]), 5–6. Manuscripts 2 and 4 in the Plasencia musical archive contain hymns with music by Sepúlveda. In MS 2 are two Christmas, a Circumcision, and two Epiphany hymns; in MS 4 a Holy Innocents.

Each stanza in each of these six hymns is set to the same music *a 4*. See *AM*, V (1950), 152–153, 155–156. Enríquez de Valderrábano published an intabulation of Sepúlveda's Apostles and Evangelists hymn *a 3*, *Exultet celum laudibus*, at fol. 10^v in *Silva de sirenas* (Valladolid: 1547). The tenor (ciphered in red) sings the complete text. In the opening point, the tenor is imitated by the soprano (meas. 2₃) and then by the bass (meas. 6₃). The rhythms are boldly accentual; the mode is major; the key is F. The chord progressions are everywhere amenable to modern tonic-dominant analysis. In this environment, the "Landini" cadence at mm. 7–8, and escaped notes in the soprano at meas. 14₁₋₂ sound atavistic. That the tempo moves briskly could be surmised from text and rhythmic patterns. Valderrábano confirms such a surmise with the sign Φ : (= fast).

²⁸ In 1911–1912 Rafael Mitjana published his monograph "El Padre Francisco Soto de Langa" in seven installments (*Musica sacro-hispana*, Vol. IV, nos. 8–10; Vol. V, nos. 1, 3, 8, 9 [Aug.–Oct. 1911; Jan., March, Aug., Sept., 1912], pp. 125–129, 142–144, 156–163; 1–5, 33–38, 115–121, 131–133). Because he dealt exhaustively with this expatriate, a large chapter would be needed for an adequate exposition of his biographical and bibliographical results. Here, however, his monograph must be reduced to a mere note. The reason for doing so is that **Francisco Soto de Langa**, although born in Spain, spent his entire adult life in Rome.

Mitjana, against the authority of others, selected 1534 as Soto's year of birth. Langa is a town lying somewhat west of

Burgo de Osma in the province of Soria. Paolo Aringhi, who became an Oratorian in 1622, wrote a life of Soto—to be seen in his *Vitae, Sententiae, Gesta et Dicta Patrum Congregationis Oratorii de Urbe a S. Philippo Nerio fundatae*, a manuscript collection in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana at Rome (sign. O. 58-60). The biography begins thus (Cod. O. 58, pp. 245, 249): “Having from earliest childhood manifested extraordinary musical ability and in particular a marvellous voice, he soon won the plaudits of the most discerning critics of his time. Arriving in Rome while still a youth he here came under the instruction of the best masters. Quickly he gained the same renown as in Spain. Not much time passed before a vacancy for a soprano in the papal choir was announced. (The choir at that time comprised representatives of four nations: Spanish, French, German, and Italian.) After submitting to a competition he was unanimously declared the best candidate, elected by acclamation, and forthwith admitted to the choir [June 8, 1562]. Throughout many years he continued to be always beloved and favored by a long succession of popes on account of his exquisite voice and his dignified deportment” (quoted in *Musica sacro-hispana*, Vol. iv, no. 10, p. 158).

According to the *Liber Ordinationum, 1570–1575*, in Vatican archives Soto received the four minor orders between December 22, 1571, and February 10, 1572. He became deacon December 19, 1573, and was ordained priest December 17, 1575.

Four years after entering the choir, Soto came under the spell of St. Philip Neri, founder of the Oratorian congregation. Aringhi provides a detailed description of the circumstances of Soto's entry into the society. Struck by the brotherly spirit that animated the new group, Soto decided to choose one of St. Philip's associates for his own confessor. He then underwent the spiritual exercises enjoined by Neri. His zeal caught Neri's attention. Since the plan of the infant community called for the preaching of four sermons every day at the church to which the group was assigned from 1564 until 1575—S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini—and since each homely half-hour homily was followed by the singing of *laudi spirituali* and other popular devotions, the services of so eminent a vocalist as Soto were especially welcome. After a visit to his native land to put his affairs in order so that he need never return to Spain again, Soto placed himself as completely at Neri's disposal as his continuing duties in the papal choir would allow. At Neri's request, Giovanni Animuccia, chapelmaster of St. Peter's and a friend of the new group, composed *diverse laudi e canzonette spirituali* to be sung by Soto. Soto's singing on festival days in particular helped to draw the youth whom Neri desired to attract.

The infant community was as yet a purely informal association of secular priests bound by no vows, although under obedience. Not until July 15, 1575, did Pope Gregory XIII give the community S. Maria in Vallicella for its own church. Soto formally joined the group on the December 17 following (*Musica sacro-hispana*, Vol. iv, no. 10, p. 160). He still continued as a papal chorister, however. In 1590 he was elected interim *maestro* of the pontifical choir. During his term in office Cappella Sistina Codex 29 was copied. All three of the greatest Spanish composers were represented in this codex: Morales with *Lamentabatur Jacob*, Guerrero with *Pastores loquebantur*, and Victoria with *Vidi speciosam*. Aringhi concludes his account of Soto's career in the choir with the following tribute: “He was

always looked upon in later years as an oracle, and when time came for his superannuation the occasion was treated as a great festival in his honor.” The year of superannuation, according to Mitjana, cannot have preceded 1617 (*ibid.*, p. 161).

During his long Roman sojourn, Soto amassed a sizable fortune. On December 10, 1591, he purchased a house on the outskirts of the city. By a series of financial transactions dated November 2, 1595, and April 30, July 1, and November 16, 1596, he added certain small nearby orchards to this property at a cost of 2,360 scudi. Between 1596 and 1598 a church and convent were built on the combined grounds—the approval of Pope Clement VIII having been won for the establishment at Rome of a house of discaled Carmelites subscribing to the reform of St. Theresa of Ávila. By the bull of erection (1598), Soto was named patron, and the house was conceded exceptional exemptions and privileges. He was also allowed to name his successor. In 1611 he passed on his rights as patron to the president and congregation of Santiago parish in Rome. He died on September 25, 1619, at the age of eighty-five. He was buried in the Chiesa Nuova chapel set aside for founders of the Oratorian congregation.

Soto's name is nowhere blazoned as editor of *Il primo, Il secondo, Il terzo*, or *Il quarto libro delle laude spirituali* (Rome: 1583, 1583, 1588, 1591), but it does appear in *Il quinto libro* published at Ferrara in 1598. Nevertheless, the first four books were as certainly as the fifth edited by Soto. From concordances in Giovenale Ancina's *Templo armonico* (1599) seven unattributed items in these books are known to have been composed by Soto. Ancina's *Templo armonico* attributes another six laudi to him which are not to be found in any of his five editions of *laude spirituali*. Giovanni Arascione's *Nuove laudi ariose* (1600) attributes to him a further ten items. Lastly, the lauda *a 3, Jesu dulcedo cordium*, found at fol. 105 in *Il quarto libro* (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1591) is Soto's because of a concordance in E. Frober's *Jubilus rhythmicus de nomine Jesu* (see *Musica sacro-hispana*, Vol. v, no. 3, p. 36). Thus, Soto's identifiable original laude total twenty-four. Only one of these sets a Latin text—the remaining twenty-three setting Italian poems. Musically, the entire group is characterized by (1) block chords, (2) treble-dominated harmony, and (3) symmetrical phrases. Those reprinted by Ancina were composed *a 3*; those by Arascione, *a 4*. About them all hang the charms of devout simplicity, homely fervor, and unaffected commonness which gave the Oratorians their distinctive hold on the populace.

The following is Mitjana's list of the laude in Soto's editions identifiable as his own original compositions because of concordances in Ancina's *Templo armonico*: (1) *E. natto il gran'Iddio*, (2) *Vergine se ti calse*, (3) *Beneditt'il Signor*, (4) *Donna celeste*, (5) *Ond'è che l'aureo crine*, (6) *Il pietoso Giesu*, (7) *Per aspri monti*. Items 1 and 2 appear in Soto's *Secondo libro*; 3, 4, and 5 in his *Terzo*; 6 and 7 in his *Quarto* (*Musica sacro-hispana*, Vol. V, no. 3, p. 34).

^{28A} **Alonso [de] Texeda** = Tejada, born at Zamora in about 1556, died there February 7, 1628. Thanks to Dionisio Preciado's *Obras Completas* (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, 1974; 1977), Texeda has been rescued from the shadows. His maternal grandfather, Miguel de Texeda, rose from being secretary of the Zamora Cathedral chapter to being a secretary of Charles V's royal council. Both Alonso and his brother Diego



studied at Salamanca University. From about 1580 to 1591 Alonso was maestro de capilla at Ciudad Rodrigo Cathedral. On February 18, 1591, he was elected chapelmaster of León Cathedral. On November 11, 1593, he began as maestro de capilla at Salamanca Cathedral and on November 14, 1601, at Zamora. On August 3, 1604, he was appointed chapelmaster at Toledo Cathedral and on May 14, 1605, took formal possession of the post.

Zamora tried recalling him with an offer of lifetime appointment made September 29, 1606. Resisting this blandishment, he continued twelve years at Toledo—offering his resignation on May 2, 1617, only because of repeated affronts that he had suffered from three contumacious cathedral musicians. Next day, he entered the Augustinian monastery of San Felipe el Real at Madrid for a year of spiritual refreshment. On April 5, 1618, he was elected maestro de capilla at Burgos Cathedral. After a quinquennium there, he resigned February 20, 1623, in order to go home to Zamora—where from February 28, 1623, to his death he completed his last chapelmastership.

Zamora Cathedral MS núm. 6, catalogued in José López-Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Zamora*, Vol. 1 (Zamora: Diputación Provincial, 1985), pages 58–75, contains 82 a cappella motets by Texeda: 25 a 4, 36 a 5, 17 a 6, 4 a 8. Except for *Gaude Maria-Gabrielem archangelum*, a 5 (fols. 106^v–108, 108^v–109) and *Sancta Dei-Propitius*, a 6 (143^v–145, 145^v–147), Texeda confines each motet to a single *pars*. He begins his Book I with a canonic motet, *O beate Iacobe*, a 5. Among Book II motets a 5 he adds eleven with canons at every interval (unison, motets 3, 16, 28; lower second, 17; upper third, 4; lower fourth, 4, 18; lower fifth, 19; upper sixth, 20; upper seventh, 21; lower octave, 22). Among his 17 motets a 6 in Book III, *Fugiens David* contains a triple canon at the unison and the Pentecost motet *Factus est repente de caelo sonus* contains a trinitas in unitate canon with the second also answered by tenor at the lower fourth and bass at the lower octave.

Harking back to Flemish precedents, Texeda weaves a cantus firmus through ten of his motets a 5. In *Veni Domine et noli tardare* (*Obras Completas*, II, 167–177) he assigns the second tiple a cantus firmus already used by Morales, Guerrero, and Esquivel. Preciado published four of Texeda's motets containing "Cantus firmus 'ostinati'" in a 20-page musical appendix to his article of that name appearing in *Tesoro sacro musical*, LV/620 (April–June 1972), 48–50. *O felix Anna*, the fourth of these "cantus firmus 'ostinati'" motets published in *TSM*, LV/620, takes for its ostinato the same ten notes (notes 5 and 6, g instead of f) used by Morales in his five-voice *Andreas Christi famulus* (*MME*, XIII, 157–165). Not only is the ostinato the same, but in each motet it is the second soprano (Cantus II = tiple 2^{us}) that sings the ostinato. In this Morales-Texeda pair, the influence of Morales could not be more patent.

Texeda did depart from his predecessors when joining together in the text of his final five-voice motet, *Domine, memento me* (*Obras Completas*, II, 375–388), all but one of the seven last words of Christ on the cross. The single word missing from *Domine, memento mei* is *Pater dimitte illis* (Luke 23:43: "Father, forgive them"). Preciado points out how rarely Spanish Renaissance composers wrote motets incorporating any of Christ's seven last words (*ibid.*, p. 23)—Pedro de Pastrana

and Melchor Robledo being Texeda's only predecessors cited by Preciado. However, even Robledo's motet *In passione Domini Nostri Iesu Christi* published by Hilarión Eslava (*Lira Sacro-Hispana*, I, I, siglo XVI, pp. 171–173) hardly compares, since Robledo set only two of the seven last words ("Eli, eli" and "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit").

Apart from the 82 unaccompanied motets in Zamora núm. 6, Texeda is represented by six introits a 4 in a Guadalupe Monastery manuscript; by three motets in the Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos) archive (*In manus tuas*, a 4; *Miserere mei Deus*, a 5; *Super flumina Babilonis*, a 6 [the latter two concordant with Zamora]; and by a "motet" in Tarazona MS 4 (no. 38), *Tu lumen*, a 5, that sets second and fourth stanzas of the hymn *Iesu, Redemptor omnium* (*Obras Completas*, I, 114).

²⁹ **Andrés de Torrentes** born ca. 1510 died at Toledo September 4, 1580. On December 9, 1539, he became maestro de capilla of Toledo Cathedral, but within a year had so offended the canons by unauthorized absences that the chapter moved to dismiss him. His protector, Juan Tavera, cardinal and archbishop of Toledo, successfully intervened, excusing Torrentes in a letter to the chapter dated November 12, 1540, on grounds of illness (*AM*, XIII [1958], 162–163). On August 13, 1545, ten days after Cardinal Tavera's death, the Toledo chapter voted to dismiss Torrentes in order to engage Morales. By September 1, Torrentes was gone, but was invited back December 16, 1547, and confirmed February 1, 1548, after Morales had proved unacceptable. In October 1552, Torrentes led the cavalcade which accompanied Tavera's remains from Valladolid to the Hospicio de San Juan at Toledo (*AM*, VI [1951], 178). He was again forced to leave his Toledo cathedral post on May 26, 1553, and did not return until February 9, 1571—continuing in office thereafter until death nine years later.

Torrentes may have been a man of some personal wealth. On October 7, 1551, he could, for example, guarantee the Toledo chapter the sum of 15,000 maravedis if within two months a certain player from Seville Cathedral had not moved to Toledo. Throughout his twenty years as maestro de capilla he engaged the best singers and instrumentalists in the peninsula. As late as the year before his death he coaxed money from the cathedral chapter November 14, 1579, to bring promising candidates to Toledo for trials. On November 26 he led a committee that enticed Jerónimo de Peraza from Seville Cathedral. During the last two years of his life his assistant Jorge de Santa María took charge of the cathedral choirboys, and composed the Christmas villancicos ordinarily expected of the maestro de capilla.

Thanks to the researches of Michael Noone culminating in his master's thesis, "Andrés de Torrentes (1510–1580), Spanish Polyphonist and Chapelmaster: *Opera Omnia*, Bibliography and Source Study," accepted by the Department of Music, the University of Sydney, October 1982, not only is the entire corpus of Torrentes's extant oeuvre now available for critical study but also Torrentes's biography can be amplified with additional details entered in the following chronological table.

ca. 1510 His birth at Berlanga de Duero in what is now the province of Soria is certified in the Toledo Cathedral capitular act of November 28, 1570. On that date, the chapter debated whether to call back into Toledo Cathe-



- dral service an *hombre de sesenta años o casi* ("man of sixty years or almost").
- 1539 On June 7, the chapter identifies Andrés de Torrentes, a contestant for the Toledo Cathedral chapelmastership, as a *vecino de berlanga* ("inhabitant of Berlanga"). That same day Torrentes enters his name as candidate to succeed Francisco Maldonado.
- July 3. Torrentes's annual pay is fixed at 25,000 maravedís in consideration of his assuming care and instruction of the choirboys.
- Saturday, July 6. The chapter assigns Torrentes six ducats to cover moving expenses.
- November 9. The chapter instructs him to start teaching a youth named Durango, whose style of singing and glossing (*muy buen ayre de Cantor y garganta*) the chapter finds appealing.
- December 3. Andrés de Torrentes *cantor contralto* is confirmed in the prebend vacated by Maldonado's death. As newly named maestro de capilla he inherits all Maldonado's duties.
- December 9. Identified *clérigo de la diócesis de Sigüenza*, he is formally installed as prebendary.
- 1540 June 21. Torrentes shall teach polyphony every [working] day.
- July 16. He receives a twenty-day leave to visit his "very sick" father, but overstays his leave (with the result that the chapelmaster post is declared vacant on October 29).
- 1542 September 7. He receives a thirty-day leave to convalesce in his home town from his own recurrent illness.
- 1545 March 16. The chapter receives his letter of resignation.
- 1547 November 19. The chapter instructs Canon Francisco de Silva to write Torrentes, inviting him to resume the chapelmastership.
- 1548 February 1. Now identified as *clérigo de la diócesis de Osma*, Torrentes is formally installed as Cristóbal de Morales's successor, again with all the usual chapelmaster duties.
- 1553 June 26. The chapter receives his resignation from his prebend and from the office of chapelmaster.
- 1570 November 6. The chapter appoints a commission to study the possibility of again recalling Torrentes. Four days later the creation of such a commission is called in question.
- November 28. Andrés de Torrentes *Contralto Canonigo de Berlanga* is voted (by a secret majority) to fill the singer's prebend left vacant by Bartolomé de Quevedo's death August 31, 1569.
- 1571 February 8. He is formally installed in the prebend and post of maestro de capilla that he had twice previously held.
- 1572 January 8. The contralto prebend held by Bernardino de Ribera, maestro de capilla, 1563–1571, "who has departed" (*que la dexó y su fue*), is declared vacant and a competition to fill it is announced.
- April 11. Torrentes receives a twenty-day leave to visit Guadalupe.
- 1573 July 1. Torrentes is canonically installed in the contralto prebend formerly held by Ribera, and fully recognized as again maestro de capilla.
- July 19. Singers hired to plainchant psalms shall stay away from the choirbook stand. Only polyphonic singers shall gather at the *facistol*—the plainchanters staying quietly in their stalls.
- 1579 October 8. In anticipation of changes that Torrentes's chronic illnesses will entail, the chapter commissions Pedro González de Mendoça, cathedral treasurer, to confer with the cardinal concerning future musical usages.
- 1580 September 6. The chapter calls a general meeting to discuss the office of chapelmaster, vacant because of Torrentes's death September 4.

Hilarión Eslava published Torrentes's *Magnificat Septimi toni* (*Lira sacro-hispana*, 1, i, 87–94) without realizing the canon in the Gloria. Dionisio Preciado published the *Lauda Jerusalem Sexti toni a 4* in *Tesoro Sacro Musical*, 1975/2, musical supplement, pp. 14–17. In 1982, Noone included the following items in the second volume of his thesis (all transcribed by him): *Missa Nisi Dominus a 4* (based on Jean L'Héritier's motet of the same name); *Missa de Beata Virgine a 5*; 14 Magnificats (all *a 4*); 14 psalms (6 *Laudate pueri*, 6 *Lauda Jerusalem*, 2 *In exitu Israel*); 3 fabordones (psalms 120, 125, 139); 16 hymns, 2 Lamentations; 5 other liturgical works (*Asperges*, *Ave gloriosi Dei*; 2 *Nunc dimittis*, *O sapientia*). He also offered valuable observations concerning Toledo Cathedral polyphonic choirbooks 10, 12, 16, 18, 21, 33, and 34—these being the *libros de facistol* containing Torrentes's compositions. In so doing, he added to the information in Felipe Rubio Piqueras's *Códices polifónicos toledanos* (1925), pp. 26–28, 35–37, 43–44, and 58–59. Torrentes himself corrected choirbooks 16 and 33.

Robert Stevenson published in "The Toledo Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks," *Fontes artis musicae*, 1973/3 (September–December) the following explicit record of Torrentes's surviving compositions (T stands for Toledo Choirbook).

Acuerunt linguas suas sicut serpentis, a 4. Psalm 139. Tone VIII. *Fabordón*. Gloria in skipping ternary meter. T 18, fols. 47^v–50.

Aleph a 4, Quomodo obscuratum est, Dispersi sunt a 4; Beth a 5, Filij Sion inclyti a 5; Gimel a 4, Sed et lamie nudaverunt a 4; Daleth, Adhesit lingua lactantis, Paruuli a 3; Ierusalem a 6. Although earlier sections of this Lamentation set ended on G, *Ierusalem* closes on C. Change of texture from section to section is a hallmark of Torrentes's style. T 18, fols. 14^v–22.

Alme Vincenti veneranda, a 4. Himnus Sancti Vincenti. T 24, fols. 101^v–104. The same music in T 12, fols. 57^v–58, serves for the second quatrain of *Iste Confessor Dominic*.

Asperges me Domine, a 4. Both this and the *Miserere mei Deus* that follows start with tenor plainchant. T 10, fols. 40^v–42.

Aurea luce et decore. Hymnus In festo Apostolorum Petri et Pauli. T 12, fols. 61^v–62. Indexed *Janitor Celi* (first line of second quatrain).

Ave gloriosa Dei genitrix, a 5. T 10, fols. 42^v–47.

Beata quoque, a 4. In festo oinum sanctorum. T 18, fols. 39^v–40. Hymn begins *Christe redemptor omnium*

[*Deus tuorum militum. Hymnus in festo sancti Eugenij et Decollatio sancti Joannis baptiste*. 8^o tono]. Indexed under



- first line of second strophe, *Hic nempe mundi*. T 12, fols. 52^v-53. Part 2, *Laus et perennis gloria*, 53^v-54.
- Et factum est postquam*, a 4, followed by *Aleph Quomodo a 5*, *Princeps a 3*; *Beth a 4*, *Plorans a 5*, *Non est qui consoletur a 5*; *Gimel a 4*, *Migrauit a 5*, *Habituauit inter gentes a 5*; *Omnes a 3*; *Hierusalem a 5*. Although early sections of this Lamentation set end on E, *Hierusalem* closes on C. T 18, fols. 14^v-22, 22^v-30.
- Hec Toletana nobilis fuit sancta laudabilis*, a 4. In *festis Sancti Leocadie*. ☩ throughout. T 18, fols. 43^v-44.
- Hostis Herodes*, a 4. In *epiphania dni*. T 18, fols. 44^v-45.
- [*Hy sunt quos retinens*. Hymnus in *Communi Plurimorum martyrum*]. Indexed under first line of second quatrain, this is the hymn beginning *Sanctorum meritis inclyta gaudia*. T 12, fols. 56^v-57.
- In exitu Israel de Egypto*, a 4. T 21, fols. 35^v-41. Begins plainchant, then polyphony at "Domus Iacob."
- In exitu Israel de Egypto*, a 4. T 12, fols. 42^v-49. Plainchant fourth higher, begins on d.
- Israel es tu rex Daudis*, a 4 (three triples and bassus). T 21, fols. 32^v-34. Palm Sunday hymn attributed to Morales in T 22.
- Lauda Jerusalem*. Verses 3, 6, 9, and 11 (first half). Tones I, II, III, IV, VI, VIII. T 12, fols. 23^v-27, 27^v-30, 30^v-34, 34^v-37, 37^v-39, 39^v-42.
- Laudate pueri*. Verses 3, 6, two settings of 9 (the second being the more elaborate), and 10 (second half). Tones I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII. T 12, fols. 1^v-4, 4^v-7, 7^v-12, 12^v-15, 15^v-19, 19^v-23.
- Laudibus canoris*, a 6. De S. *Ildefonso* (= *Ildefonso*). T 18, fols. 40^v-41. Hymn starts *Celsi confessoris*.
- Magnificat Octavi toni*, a 4. T 18* (second foliation), fols. 7^v-13. *Quia fecit a 3* (Ti Ti A). *Fecit potentiam a 5* (*fuga in diapente*), *Esurientes a 3* (A Te B), *Sicut locutus a 5* (Ti Ti A Te B), *Sicut erat duo* (Ti A). *Esurientes sicut locutus*, and *Sicut erat* end on C. *Compás mayor*. Tone reminiscence in *Fecit* but not in final duo.
- Magnificat Primi Toni*, a 4. Even verses. T 18* (second foliation), fols. 1^v-7. *Esurientes a 3*. Every movement ends on G (one flat in signature). *Compás mayor*.
- Magnificat Primi toni*, a 4. Odd verses plus verse 12. T 18*, fols. 19^v-25^v. Leaves from 25^v (*Sicut erat* tple, tenor tacet) to 32 gone. *Et misericordia*, *Deposuit*, and *Gloria* end on D, previous movements and *Suscepit* on A. *Et misericordia a 3* (Ti Ti A), *Deposuit a 5* (Ti A A Te B), *Suscepit a 3* (A Te B) *Gloria a 5* (Ti Ti A Te B). Movements all in *compás mayor*.
- Magnificat Quarti toni*, a 4. Even verses. T 18*, fols. 13^v-19. *Esurientes a 3* (A A B). *Quia fecit*, *Fecit*, *Esurientes*, and *Sicut locutus* end on A, *Sicut erat* on E. All blacks from "et in secula" (3) to end, but otherwise *compás mayor*.
- Magnificat Quarti toni*, a 4. T 18*, fols. 32^v-38. Even verses. Different from Quarti even-verse at T 18*, fols. 13^v-19. *Et exultavit* and *Sicut erat* (duo for Ti A) end on E, other verses on A. *Quia fecit a 3* (Ti Ti A), *Esurientes a 3* (A Te B), *Sicut locutus a 5* (Ti Ti A Te B). Minimal reference to tone formula.
- Magnificat Septimi toni*. T 18, fols. 30^v-36. All verses except the *Gloria* of this *Anima mea* end on A. Whereas in his Lamentations ☩ was the rule, C is a frequent mensuration in Torrentes's Magnificats. Only the *Suscepit* of this Magnificat (Pfundnoten in tenor) and *Gloria Patri* (same) call for ☩. *Et misericordia* reduces to three voices, *Gloria* augments to six (Te II, canon at the fifth above Te I).
- Magnificat Tertii toni*. *Et exultavit*. T 34, fol. 114^v (third gathering). Ti and Te. Rest gone.
- Magnificats in all eight tones, a 4, odd verses only except Tone V (even). T 12, fols. 62^v-68, 68^v-74, 74^v-77, 77^v-83, 83^v-90, 90^v-97, 97^v-101, 101^v-104.
- [*Maria soror Lazari*. Hymnus in *festis S. Marie Magdalene*.] Although indexed under first line of the second quatrain (first quatrain begins: *Lauda mater ecclesia*), the text at the opening is that of the last quatrain, *Uni Deo sit gloria*. T 12, fols. 50^v-51.
- Missa De Beata Virgine*, a 5. T 33, fols. 69^v-77. Kyrie-Gloria pair. *Qui tollis* shifts to ☩3 (blacks in all voices). *Suscipe* reverts back to ☩. *Spiritus alme* trope at fols. 73^v-74, *Mariam sanctificans*, *gubernans*, *coronans* at 75^v-76. *Cum Sancto Spiritu*, all voices ☩3.
- Missa super Nisi Dominus*, a 4. T 16, fols. 62^v-84. Crucifixus and *Et resurrexit* are a connected section a 3 (SSA). *Pleni sunt a 3* (tenor silent). In *Osanna*, bass sings an ostinato (in breves). Separated by four or two breves rest the ostinato figure starts thus: D-F-GA-D; D-F-GA-D; A-c-de-A. Later on, he twice descends stepwise from D. Throughout this *Osanna*, (fols. 78^v-79), other parts are in ☩, bass in ☩. Last *Agnus*, a 5, adds another bass.
- Non det in commotionem pedem tuum*, a 6. Ti Ti A Te B (tenor clef), B (baritone clef). Tone VIII. Psalm 120, verses 3, 6, and 9 (doxology). *Fabordón*. *Gloria Patri* in galloping triple meter. T 18, fols. 45^v-47.
- Noua resultat gaudia-Vni trinoque domino*, a 4. In *festis sancti Eugenij*. Shifts to ☩3 at "palma ecclesie" and continues in same mensuration throughout second part. Tone VIII. T 18, fols. 41^v-43.
- Noua veniens*, a 4. In *dedicatione ecclesie*. T 18, fols. 36^v-37. Hymn begins *Urbs beata Jerusalem*.
- O sapientia*, a 4. T 21, fols. 41^v-42. Labeled *Hymno* and credited to Torrentes in prefatory Index but not at opening.
- [*Pater superni luminis*, a 4. Hymnus in *festis S. Marie Magdalene*. *Ad vespas*.] T 12, fols. 49^v-50. Based on the same plainchant as is *Pater superni humilis*, the doxology verse *Uni sit Deo*, a 4, at fols. 50^v-51 belongs to *Lauda mater ecclesia*.
- Qui condolens-Laus honor*, a 4. In *natiuitate dni nri*. T 18, fols. 37^v-39. Hymn begins *Conditor alme siderum*.
- [*Qui pius prudens humilis*. Hymnus in *Communi Unius Confessoris*.] Indexed under first line of second quatrain, this is the hymn beginning *Iste confessor domini*. T 12, fols. 57^v-58.
- Tibi Christe splendor Patris*, a 4. T 21, fols. 96^v-97. Not credited at opening, but Torrentes's according to the prefatory Index.
- Tristes erant apostoli*. Hymnus in *festis S. Joannis ante portam latinam*. T 12, fols. 59^v-61.
- Tunc dicebant inter gentes*. Tone VIII. Psalm 125. *Fabordón*. *Gloria* in ternary meter at same opening. T 18, fols. 50^v-51.
- Veni Creator Spiritus*, Hymnus a 4. T 21, fols. 42^v-43.
- Vos secli iudices*, Hymnus in *natali Apostolorum*, a 4. T 12, fols. 51^v-52. Hymn begins *Exullet orbis gaudiis*.

³⁰ Luis de Vargas of Seville (1502–1568), although primarily a painter, was also an accomplished musician. So testified Francisco Pacheco, his first biographer, in the *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos* (Seville: 1599) when he declared that Vargas *fué músico fundado y ecelente*. See R. Mitjana, *Estudios sobre algunos músicos españoles* (Madrid: 1918), p. 122. Vargas's most admired painting, *Generación temporal de Cristo*, belongs to a retable in the Seville Cathedral, the upper inside panels of which show angels as musicians. In the left inside panel four angels sing out of an open book, the music of which can be read and has been transcribed. In the right inside panel an angel plays the organ: a choirbook on the organ rack is open at the same music that the angels on the left are singing. The interlined text reads *Tota pulchra es amica mea et maculata non est in te* (Song of Songs 4:7). Vargas, if he is the composer of this short motet *a 4*, well exemplified the Renaissance ideal of a universal artist. See the transcription in Mitjana, *op. cit.*, pages 123–124. Vargas is also represented in the Tarazona Cathedral archive; see *España sagrada*, vol. 50 (1866), p. 87, col. 2.

³¹ Juan Vásquez, a native of Badajoz, published two secular collections: *Villancicos i canciones . . . A tres y quatro* (Osuna: Juan de León, 1551) and *Recopilacion de Sonetos y villancicos a quatro y a cinco* (Seville: Juan Gutiérrez, 1560). He published also an *Agenda defunctorum* (Seville: Martín de Montedoca, 1556), in the dedication of which (fol. A ij verso) he subscribed himself *sacerdos*. The printing privilege dated at Valladolid February 9, 1555 (fol. A ij), denominates him “Juan Vasquez musico natural de la ciudad de Badajoz.”

According to the Plasencia Cathedral *Actas Capitulares*, V, fol. 77 (cited in Román Gómez Guillén's “Juan Vázquez en la catedral de Plasencia,” *Revista de Estudios Extremeños*, xxix/3 [1973], 499), the Plasencia Cathedral chapter as early as October 27, 1511, hired a musician named Juan Vasques to sing and serve as supply organist. Such a musician must be a homonym. Either the composer who is the subject of this note, or again his homonym, was elected on St. Cyprian's day (September 14), 1529, to serve as *Maestro de Canto llano* in Ávila Cathedral during the ensuing year. By that date, September 14, 1529, Cristóbal de Morales had already left Ávila Cathedral (he had begun there as chapelmaster August 8, 1526).

On April 22, 1530, Badajoz Cathedral hired “Juan Vasques” as singer for an annual 15,000 maravedís (Carmelo Solís Rodríguez, “Juan Vázquez en la Catedral de Badajoz,” *Revista de Estudios Extremeños*, xxx/1 [1974], 141, citing Badajoz Cathedral *Actas Capitulares*, I [1519–1536], registro 3.º, fol. 4^v). On September 30, 1530, the Badajoz chapter appointed “Juan Vasques” to give four choirboys a daily lesson (Sundays and feast days excepted) in polyphony and the six altar boys a daily lesson in plainchant (*A.C.*, I, registro 3.º, fol. 16).

During the years 1531 to 1533 he probably continued at Badajoz even though his name does not turn up again in the cathedral acts until March 5, 1534. On that date the episcopal visitor and the Badajoz cathedral chapter specified the teaching duties of “Juan Vasquez” to include giving not only the altar boys and choirboys daily lessons in plainchant and polyphony but also the adult Badajoz cathedral clergy who lacked appropriate musical training (*A.C.*, I, registro 4.º, fols. 24^v–25). Because of these now heavier duties the chapter raised his annual salary by 6000



TIPLE IVAN VÁSQUEZ TITL

cuasi los males fino en el ver q de los el carece fino en el ver que de los el carece

O ojos de marfida hechos fuentes su coraçon cantado y affigido en fo

La vna speranza lo tenido sufrir puede sus graues acedentes con en el grau mal de verfe au

lomas ya duan alcanzar lo prometido y la lengua foveada del leuado dñia A II

Los ojos de Marfida (Recopilación, Seville, 1560).

maravedís—an added amount contested by the cathedral major-domo on March 9, 1534, but later that month (March 23) confirmed by the chapter.

On June 26, 1535, the Badajoz cathedral chapter accepted *chantre* Baltasar Briceño's recommendation that “Juan Vasques” be appointed Francisco Grageras's successor as succentor (*sochantre*)—his duties to continue including the same teaching load as was previously his, and his yearly emoluments to be still a miserly 15,000 maravedís and two cahizes of wheat. Not pleased with this income, or for some other reason, he left Badajoz in September of 1538. According to Santiago Kastner (see below), he was by 1539 a singer in Palencia Cathedral, and on April 19, 1541, was voted traveling-expense money to Madrid, where he was hired the next month to sing in Cardinal Tavera's chapel choir (see Jaime Moll Roqueta, “Músicos de la Corte del Cardenal Juan Tavera [1523–1545],” *AM*, vi [1951], 165–166). In October, 1543, Cardinal Tavera's chapel choir was transferred to Prince Philip, but Juan Vásquez seems to have left the choir at this time to return home. He succeeded Luis de Quiñones as chapelmaster of the Badajoz Cathedral in mid-1545, and was receiving an annual salary of 25,000 maravedís from the cathedral in 1546—5,000 less than the organist, Juan de Trejo (who served the cathedral from 1525 to 1572). Vásquez was still chapelmaster at Badajoz during 1549, on June 10 of which year Badajoz capitular acts (*A.C.*, III, fol. 1^v) for the first time list him as *clérigo*. On November 7, 1548, the Badajoz chapter gave him a forty-day leave to visit nearby Vila Viçosa, seat of the dukes of Bragança, to “cure himself” (*Revista de Estudios Extremeños*, xxx/1, 150: “quarenta dias para que vaya a Villaviciosa a curarse”). The Badajoz Cathedral account books (*Cuentas de Fábrica, 1542–1556*, fol. 72) confirm his continuance at Badajoz to about Assumption of 1550, after which a *maestro de capilla* named Bruxel succeeded him.

Next he settled at Seville, where in 1551 he belonged to the private household of the magnate Antonio de Zúñiga, who was son of the second Duke of Béjar. Eleanor Russell in “The patrons of Juan Vásquez: a biographical contribution,” *Anuario musical*, xxvi–1971 [1972], page 65, identified this grandee as Grand Prior of San Juan. His cousin, Francisco de Zúñiga,



Los ojos de Marfida

Los o - jos de Mar - fi - da
 Los o - jos de Mar - fi - da
 Los o - jos de Mar - fi - da
 Los o - jos de Mar - fi - da
 Los o -

he - chos fue - tes, Su
 da he - chos fue - tes, he - chos fue - tes,
 jos de Mar - fi - da he - chos fue - tes
 he - chos fue - tes, he - chos fue - tes,
 - jos de Mar - fi - da he - chos fue - tes,

co - ra - çon cas - sa - do ya - fil - gli - do,
 Su co - ra - çon cas - sa - do ya - fil - gli - do, ya - fil - gli
 tes, Su co - ra - çon cas - sa - do ya - fil - gli - do,
 Su co - ra - çon cas - sa - do ya - fil - gli - do,
 Su co - ra - çon cas - sa - do ya - fil - gli - do,

En so - la - na 'spe - ran - ça sos - te - al
 do, En so - la - na 'spe - ran - ça sos - te
 do, En so - la - na 'spe - ran - ça sos - te
 do, En so - la - na 'spe - ran - ça sos - te

do, Su - frir pue - de sus gra -
 do, Su - frir pue - de sus gra -
 te - al do, Su - frir pue - de sus gra - ves, Su - frir pue -
 al - do, Su - frir pue - de, su - frir pue - de
 el - do, Su -

ves a - ci - den - tes.
 ves a - ci - den - tes. Llo -
 do sus gra - ves a - ci - den - tes, a - ci - den - tes.
 sus gra - ves a - ci - den - tes. Llo -
 frir pue - de sus gra - ves a - ci - den - tes. Llo -

The exquisite beauty of Vázquez's individual vocal lines combine to make the translucent whole. Juan Bermudo rightly elevated Vázquez's secular music to a pinnacle (*Declaración de instrumentos musicales*, 1555, fol. lx).

Count of Miranda, was dedicatee of the first imprint to contain any of Vázquez's music—Enríquez de Valderrábano's *Silva de sirenas* (1547; see Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600*, pp. 100–101 [items 39, 43, 70]). In turn, Antonio de Zúñiga accepted the dedication of Vázquez's *Villancicos i canciones* (1551).

Both in his own century and in ours, Vázquez has won recognition primarily as a composer of delightfully fresh villancicos. Nineteen secular items by Vázquez were ciphered in Enríquez de Valderrábano's *Silva de sirenas* (1547), Pisador's *Libro de música de vihuela* (1552), and Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* (1554)—but not any sacred items. No other Spanish composer except Morales was intabulated so frequently. If only secular items intabulated at home and abroad are considered, Vázquez stands first with 19, Pedro Guerrero second with 10, Mateo Flecha the Elder third with 7, Francisco Guerrero fourth with 5, Rodrigo de Ceballos fifth with 4, and Navarro sixth with 3 items.

Among Vázquez's intabulators, Miguel de Fuenllana alone accounts for nine items from Vázquez's 1551 *Villancicos i canciones* (see nos. 135, 136, 138–142, 158, 166, in Charles Jacobs's 1978 edition of *Orphénica lyra*); two from Vázquez's 1560 *Recopilación* (nos. 143, 148); and one that is a unicum (no. 137). This last, *Vos me matastes, niña, en cabello* (transcribed in

Felipe Pedrell, *Catàlech de la Biblioteca Musical de la Diputació de Barcelona*, II [1909], 137–138), is not only a unicum in *Orphénica lyra* (without concordances) but is also unique because it alone among the total of 188 items intabulated in *Orphénica lyra* continues in ternary mensuration throughout. Two of Vázquez's other songs shift back and forth between ternary and duple mensuration (items 136, *Morénica dame un beso*, and 142, *Quiero dormir*). In all of Vázquez's songs, Fuenllana confides the sung melody to an upper voice part, except in item 158, *La mi sola*, where he assigns the lyrics to the bass (singing the solmization syllables *la, mi, sol, la*, at the outset). All Vázquez's *Orphénica lyra* songs, with no exceptions, set amorous texts—which sometimes border on the less than entirely chaste (items 141, *No me hableys, conde*, and 166, *Covarde cavallero*, by way of example).

In contrast with his secular songs, his *Agenda defunctorum* (Seville: Martín de Montedoca, 1556 [title page facsimiled in Pedrell, *Catàlech*, I, 282]) contains solely majestic and solemn music, nothing flippant, nothing in ternary mensuration. Only five of the 27 funerary office and mass items comprising the *Agenda* fail to quote identifiable Gregorian melodies as *cantus firmi*. Eight of the 27 are hypodorian items (nos. 12, 13, 14, 17, 21, 23, 24, 26), five are hypomixolydian items (nos. 3, 4, 8, 9,

Ay que non oso mirar

Orphénica lyra, fol. 134

Ay que non o so mi rar ni ha cer el
 o . jo. mi rar ni ha cer el o . jo. Ay! que no
 pro do De . et . roa lo que qua . re. Ay!
 que non o so Mi . rar ni ha .
 cer el o . jo. Ay! que no pro do De .
 et . roa lo que qua . re. De . et . roa lo que qua . re.

T si so mi . ro, y no mi . ro. Con te . nar . de . no .
 . jo . res. De . y . un . so . pi . ro, de . y . un . so . pi . ro. Y . pro . do . que . ha .
 . bla . . ro . To . do . no . e . ma . roo. Y . no . de . no . pe .
 . ro . Ay . que . non . o . so . Mi .
 . rar . ni . ha . cer . el . o . jo . Ay ! que . no . pro . do . De .
 . et . roa . lo . que . qua . re . le . De . et . roa . lo . que . qua . re .

In the above transcription (Pedrell, *Catàlech*, II) the vihuela part sounds an octave lower than written pitches. Charles Jacobs provides what he considers correct vocal leading in his transcription (*Orphénica lyra* [Oxford: 1978], 726–730). Concordance: *Villancicos i canciones* (Osuna: Juan de León, 1551), no. 3.

22). Among other church modes, Vázquez chooses Mode I for number 16; Mode III for 7, 27; Mode IV for 5, 10, 25; Mode V for 15; VI for I, 19, 20; VII for 2, 11 (italicized numbers signal a transposed mode). All of the *Agenda* traits—duple meter throughout, dependence on Gregorian *cantus firmi* that in successive items migrate from one voice to another, and modality (he cleaves to the modes of the plainsongs)—separate it utterly from Vázquez's other published oeuvre. For further comment on the *Agenda*'s stylistic hallmarks, see below. Fortunately for analysis, Samuel Rubio published his transcription of the entire contents of the *Agenda* in a now widely available edition prefaced by an analytical study of the contents (Madrid: Real Musical Editores [Carlos III n.º 1], 1975, xlii + 155 pp.). What Rubio did not deal with, however, was the identity of Vázquez's dedicatee.

Higinio Anglés in *MME*, Vol. IV, pp. 16–18, suggests that Vázquez dedicated the *Agenda* not to an actual person named Juan Bravo, but “symbolically” to Juan Téllez Girón, Count of Ureña. This suggestion must be rejected. The bearings charged on the escutcheon in the sinister chief quarter belong to the Bravo family, not to the Téllez Girón house. See Julio de Atienza, *Nobiliario español* (Madrid: M. Águilar, 1948), p. 490, col. 1. Moreover, the helmet on the title page of *Agenda defunctorum* is that of an hidalgo rather than that of a conde.

Eleanor Russell sought to solve the riddle of Vázquez's *Agenda* dedicatee in her article, “The patrons of Juan Vázquez,” page 70, by making Juan Bravo de Morata Vallalta

Pérez-Rubia the *Ioanni Bravo Viro Nobilissimo ac domino suo* to whom the *Agenda* is inscribed. Eleanor Russell's Juan Bravo resided at Lorca. His father, Martín Bravo de Morata, “made a testament in 1556, probably soon before his death.” Unfortunately, the force of Russell's argument is weakened by the date of the *Agenda* printing privilege—February 5, 1555.

Already in 1555, Juan Bermudo who in his *Declaración de instrumentos* had praised Vázquez on other grounds (*La musica que aveys de poner, sea primero unos villancicos del acertado musico Juan Vasquez*, fol. lx) had declared *Basis*—the word used in the *Agenda defunctorum*—to be the right way of naming the lowest part of a polyphonic complex (*A la ultima boz dizen en España Bassus, y entiendo estar corrupto el vocablo. No devia llamar Bassus, que es latin barbaro sino Basis por ser fundamento*, fol. cxxxv^o). As can be easily confirmed from the facsimiles in Rubio's edition (pages xix and xx), Vázquez does denominate his lowest voice part “Basis,” not “Bassus.”

At page xix of his edition, Rubio also reprints the dedication (in Latin) prefacing the *Agenda*. In it, Vázquez admits that the dedication of such a book to a secular person may seem inappropriate. But Bravo is given to meditation on Eternity. The words, by their very nature, cannot be “dedicated”—only the music—and Bravo has repeatedly shown himself an outstanding patron of the art. Bravo's continued favor will sheathe him from the attacks of the envious. In the 18-line Latin poem that follows, he recalls Orpheus's success in assuaging the torments of the dead. His *Agenda defunctorum* will not console



No se qué me bulle en el carcañar

Orphénica lyra, fol. 134

Charles Jacobs pitches the vihuela part a fifth lower and the voice part a fourth higher (*Orphénica lyra*, pp. 731–735). Concordance: *Villancicos i canciones* (Osuna: Juan de León, 1551), no. 4.

the dead but is meant to comfort the living (*Conciliantque animis vota benigna Deum*).

So far as the actual contents of Vásquez's *Agenda defunctorum* go, Rubio made these observations: (1) No other Renaissance publication issued anywhere contains so much Office of the Dead polyphony (16 items for the three nocturns of matins, all *a 4* except the concluding responsory of the third nocturn, *Libera me, Domine*, which is scored for five voices; two items *a 4* for lauds: Zachary's canticle and *Requiescant in pace*, both *a 4*), followed by a complete polyphonic Mass of the Dead (nine items, all *a 4*, except for the *In memoria aeterna* versicle *a 3*); (2) Within Spain, the *Agenda* is the single most majestic monument erected in honor of plainchant; (3) Already six years before Session 22 at the Council of Trent September 17, 1562, Vásquez's *Agenda* proleptically obeyed every musical precept enunciated at that famous session (text clarity, nothing "seductive or impure," no melodies of profane origin).

The music of the *Agenda* shows these other traits: (1) exquisitely sensitive contrast of high and low groupings of voices, for expressive purposes; (2) liberal use of the higher accidentals, especially C_2 and G_2 ; (3) frequent recourse to the *nota cambiata*; (4) occasional lightening of texture with trellises of fleetly running scales through an octave or more in the top voice; (5) harmonic treatment of the bass—which skips freely in fourths and fifths; (6) exploitation of such extreme notes as D_1 for dramatic effect; (7) free use of cross relations for expressive purposes; (8) use not only of consonant fourths at cadences, but of consonant sevenths as well; (9) frequent use of repetition and

sequence in successive melodic incisives. This last trait, of course, is a hallmark of Morales's style as well as of Vásquez's.

Vásquez's *Agenda* culminates in a Mass for the Dead. Among its other distinctions, this volume is the first printed in Spain to contain such a polyphonic Mass. Throughout the *Agenda*, Vásquez adopts a much more richly figurative style than is customary in Office for the Dead music. The first Requiem aeterna even includes a canon between soprano 1 and the alto (at the lower fourth). He also pays greater heed to pace-distinctions than the usual composer of funerary music. The *Dirige, Domine* in furore, and *Ne quando* of the First Nocturn choose, for instance, C for their time signature; but the lessons from Job which immediately follow are composed with Φ for their signature. He also varies the voice part to which he entrusts the cantus firmus. As if changes from soprano to tenor were insufficient, he even allots the cantus firmus to the bass in both second and third antiphons of the Third Nocturn. The lessons, as a rule, veer away from Gregorian quotation; indeed, such an item as Psalm 41 (= 40 A.V.) after the Gradual proceeds throughout in motet style, that is, as a series of imitative points.

In contradistinction to Morales in 1544, Vásquez in 1556 does not feel obligated to start every movement of his *Missa pro defunctis* with a plainsong intonation. Both composers do set the *In memoria* versicle *a 3* for male voices, but Vásquez omits the Hostias versicle that Morales chose to set polyphonically. As for their quoted Gregorian material, Morales seems bent on interpolating perhaps a greater number of under-notes at cadences than Vásquez. Vásquez's plainsong in the Sanctus

and Agnus I of his *Missa pro defunctis* does not correspond with the plainsong for these movements in either Morales's 1544 Requiem Mass or in the presently familiar *Liber usualis*. Instead, his Sanctus (item 24 in Rubio's 1975 edition) quotes the distinctively Spanish plainsong found (among other places) in an El Escorial choirbook inventoried by Rubio ("Las melodías de los 'libros corales' del Escorial," *La Ciudad de Dios*, CLXXXII [1969], 363–364), and published anew in his edition of the *Agenda* at page xxix. Vázquez's Agnus Dei (item 26 in Rubio's edition) quotes at length the Agnus in Mass XV (*Liber usualis*).

His choice of modes shows exquisite sensitivity to the demands of a large canvas. Up to the Dirige of the First Nocturn he clings to the sixth mode (flat in signature); the three lessons Parce, Taedet, and Manus tuae move successively, however, from the finals A (SSAT) and G (SATB)—both with flat in their signatures—to E (SATB) without key signature. He also varies lengths of items, from a mere 10 measures for the *Sana Domine* (item 13) and 21 for the *Sitivit anima mea* (item 14) antiphons to 129 for the bipartite motet *Spiritus meus* (item 15) that follows these antiphons. Built on the familiar series-of-imitative points plan, the *Spiritus meus* motet (setting Job 17. 1–3; 11–15) is a C Major work; in *pars I*, Vázquez modulates successively to what are the equivalents of modern G Major (meas. 18), A minor (40), and D minor (51 and 61).

Strangely, in view of the exquisite beauty of the music, its liturgical appropriateness, and the fact that the *Agenda defunctorum* was printed at Seville, entrepôt of Spain and the Indies, only two copies are extant, the first (which served Rubio) being property of the Biblioteca Central = de Catalunya at Barcelona (*RISM*, A/1/9 [1981], page 59, item V 996). On the other hand, Vázquez's *Por amores lo maldixo* (*Villancicos i canciones*, 1551, no. 23; *Recopilación*, no. 3; *MME*, iv, 122–124) and *Con qué la lavaré* (*Recopilación*, no. 36; *MME*, iv, 209–211) traveled as far afield as northwestern Guatemala, where they were locally copied in a manuscript formerly at San Juan Ixcoi and now at Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana (see Paul Borg, "The Polyphonic Music in the Guatemalan Music Manuscripts of Lilly Library," pp. 229 [item 8/52] and 236 [8/82]).

Equally intriguing is the problem of Vázquez's own final days. In 1572 he was maestro in the household of the richest grandee in Spain, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán (1549–1615), seventh Duke of Medina Sidonia (Lola de la Torre Trujillo "Juan Vázquez en 1572," *Revista de Musicología*, II/1 [1979], 131). Inheritor of the vast Medina Sidonia estates from his grandfather, Juan Alonso de Guzmán (sixth duke, who died November 26, 1558), the seventh Duke of Medina Sedona (who in 1588 was to command the Spanish Armada) married the Prince of Eboli's daughter in 1572. "On his various estates, the Duke had at least 90,000 vassals; more than 400 folio pages were required to list and describe the inheritance of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, seventh Duke of Medina Sidonia" (Peter O. Pierson, "The Seventh Duke of Medina Sidonia and the Defense Establishment in Andalusia," UCLA Ph.D. dissertation, 1966, pp. 33, 36).

³² **Pedro Alberch [y] Vila** (1517–1582 [November 16]) whose name was properly Pere Alberch i Ferrament (Josep M. Gregori, "La nissaga dels organistes Vila i les famílies Vila, Alberch, Ferran i Ferrament de la ciutat de Vic al segle XVI," *Recerca musicològica*, vi–vii, 1986–1987, section 4, pp. 61–72)

was born at Vich and died at Barcelona. His uncle, who had the name of Pere = Pedro Vila (1465–1538), and who was also from Vic = Vich, preceded him as organist of Barcelona Cathedral. In 1536, Pere Vila gave the Barcelona Cathedral chapter an endowment for organs and organist. In reply, the chapter assured him that preference in choosing his successor(s) would be given members of the Vila family (Josep Pavia Simó, "Història del òrgano mayor de la Catedral de Barcelona, 1538–1952," *AM*, xxxiii–xxxv, 1978–1980 [1980], 82).

On June 5, 1538, the Barcelona chapter signed a contract for the building of a new large organ for the cathedral (*ibid.*, pp. 83–84). Among the witnesses to the contract with the organ builder Pere Flamench and associates was *Pere Alberch y Vila organista de la dita yglesia*—proof that by June 1538, if not earlier, the nephew had become titular organist of the cathedral. When finished two years later, the organ boasted twelve registers (including four mixtures—ten consisting of tin pipes, the other two containing one octave of wooden pipes). The manual (counting semitones) contained 54 keys (*En lo joch y a de aver comensant e cessant cinquanta e quatre teclcs cantant los cemitons*).

In 1539 Vila obtained the unusual honor for a musician of being promoted to a canonry in Barcelona cathedral. In recognition of his supreme artistry, he was at the same time permitted to continue as cathedral organist.

In 1560/1561 the Barcelona printer Jaume Cortey at his own expense published two books (paginated in one) of Vila's secular and sacred compositions wedded to vernacular texts (see below). In 1565 the Gerona Cathedral chapter sought his advice on the construction of a new organ and in 1566 imported him to try it out (Francisco Civil, "El òrgano y los organistas en la Catedral de Gerona durante los siglos XIV–XVI," *AM*, ix [1954], pp. 229 and 245, nos. 48 and 49). Due to Vila's advancing age the Barcelona Cathedral authorities in 1580 named as his assistant a 15- or 16-year-old nephew from Vich, Lluís Ferran Vila, who was however already recognized as a very adept player (and who succeeded him at his death).

The circumstances of Vila's death and burial in November of 1582 are minutely described in a chronicle of Barcelona affairs assembled the next year by Pere Joan Comes (*Libre de algunas cosas asanyalades*, bk. 4, chap. 42). According to the chronicler, his admirers and disciples covered his casket with epigrams and elegies saluting him as "Perfecter of music," "Father of music," "Preserver of music" (*Perfeccionador de la música, Pere de la música, Conseruador de la música*). They did not exaggerate, because during his lifetime visitors from Italy, France, and other parts of Spain came from afar to hear him. His merits included not only performance but also unequalled knowledge of organ construction and tuning (*lo dit canonge hauia afinat tant lo orgue, que no y ha orgue en tota spanya que se li pugua comparar*).

One of the few Catalonian artists whose fame exceeded provincial boundaries, Vila was lauded by Bermudo as a compeer of Juan Doyz (Málaga Cathedral), Antonio de Cabezón, Francisco de Soto (royal organists), and Pedro Villada (Seville Cathedral). See *Declaración de instrumentos* (1555), fol. 60^v, col. 1. The first works of Vila to reach print were two keyboard *tientos* published in Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro de cifra nueva para tecla, harpa, y vihuela* (Alcalá de Henares: Juan de



ODARVM (QVAS VVLGO MADRIGALES APPELLAMUS) diuersis linguis decantatarum Harmonica, noua, & excellenti modulatione compositarum, Liber primus.

Harmonica, noua, & excellenti modulatione compositarum, Liber primus.

Petro Albercio Vila Canonico
Barcinonensi auctore.

ALTUS.

COR SOPRAN



Cum gratia

& priuilegio.

Barcinone
IN AEDIBVS IACOBI CORTEY.
ANNO M. D. LXI

Title page, *Altus*.

Brocar, 1557). See *MME*, II, 172, 43–46. Under date of December 23, 1559, Philip II signed at Toledo a license for *Pedro Vila, canónigo de Barcelona* to print various works *de canto llano y de organo, y de missas, motetes y madrigales de su invención* (José María Madurell, “La imprenta musical en España. Documentos para su estudio,” *AM*, VIII [1953], 231). Thus licensed, Vila published in 1560/1561 the two books analyzed in José Romeu Figueras’s “Notas a la bibliografía del músico Pere Alberch Vila,” *AM*, XXVI–1971 [1972], 75–92. The book issued in 1561 bears the title *Odarum (quas vulgo madrigales appellamus) diuersis linguis decantatarum Harmonica, noua, & excellenti modulatione compositarum, Liber primus*. Unfortunately, only one partbook survives, the *altus* (Barcelona, Biblioteca Central = de Catalunya, M. 49). As catalogued in José Romeu Figueras’s cited article, 80–82, the 45 items in Book I set mostly Castilian texts, with a few in Catalanian and Italian. At least 33 of the 45 items require four voices, the rest three or five (item 16 scored *a 3, 4 y 5*; item 43 *a 3, 4, 5 y 6*). Book II, which starts (at page lxxxv) after the secular songs with the title *Odarum spiritualium musico, et per eleganti concentu compositarum, Petro Albercio Vila, Barcinonensis ecclesiae canonico auctore, Liber secundus*, carries a publication date of 1560 (*In aedibus Iacobi Cortey. M.D.LX.*)—a year earlier than Book I. This 1560 date has been explained as a printing error, or, more likely, as proof that the sacred items (all but the last with Castilian text) were set up in print before the secular (but paginated later). The total number of sacred items has been estimated by Romeu Figueras as 12 (pages have been lost from the printed unique *altus* part). These sacred pieces are scored *a 4*, except for *Recuerd’ell alm’ adormida, a 6*, and *O Cuerpo fragil-Gosemos alma mia, a 8 (Dialogo a ocho)*. The secular items published in Vila’s *Odarum Liber Primus* take pride of place because they were the first madrigals published in Spain. No others were published in the peninsula until 1585 (by Joan Brudieu at Barcelona). All the greater pity that nothing but Vila’s *altus* partbook is now extant. However, in contrast with the secular contents of Vila’s *Odarum*, the sacred numbers (*Liber secundus*) do survive in Barcelona M. 588/2, a collection of three manuscript partbooks, *tiple, altus*, and *bassus* (*tenor* partbook missing). These also

contain at folios 39–44 a setting of the Castilian translation of Psalm 137, entitled *La Babilonia, a 4*. This work entered King John IV’s *Primeira parte do Index da livraria de Musica* (1649) at page 151, number 615 with the remark, *Escrito de mão* (hand copied).

On the other hand, *Bon jorn*, the *ensalada a 4* with which Barcelona Biblioteca Central M.49 and M.588/2 ends, was republished in *Las ensaladas de Flecha . . . Recopiladas por F. Matheo Flecha su Sobrino* (Prague: Jorge Negrino, 1581). The four partbooks of this printed collection that are extant at Barcelona (three at Orfeó Català, plus the *bassus* in Biblioteca de Catalunya) permitted transcription and publication of *Bon jorn* at Barcelona in 1983 (Josep M. Gregori, editor; *La lucha* is Vila’s other *ensalada a 4* in the 1581 collection published at Prague). Apart from the works in Venegas y Henestrosa, the 1560/1561 *Odarum*, and the 1581 *Las ensaladas*, Barcelona M.587 at fol. 84^v attributes to Vila the motet *O crux, ave spes unica, a 4*. Orfeó Català MS 6, fols. 42^v–43 assigns a three-voice lamentation to Vila. Anglés included a photograph (Facsimile 15) of the latter work in *La música española desde la edad media*. Transcription of this Maundy Thursday Lamentation (*Lamech [= Lamed], O vos omnes, Hierusalem*) reveals, however, a turgid approach to the Latin text (especially when comparison is made with Morales’s noble ventures) and suggests that Vila chose wisely when he specialized in the instrumental and secular fields.

Romeu Figueras in *AM*, xxvi (1971), page 91, descried weaknesses in Vila’s *ensalada, La lucha*, but excused its inferiority to *Bon jorn* on account of its possibly being an earlier *ensalada* written before Vila obtained full mastery. In footnotes 26 and 29 of the same article he corrected several of Pedrell’s gross errors concerning Vila. The “Luis Alberto” mentioned in Pedrell’s *Hispaniae Musica Schola Sacra*, VIII, page iv, and *Catàlech*, II, 178, as Vila’s putative nephew, was not yet born when in 1557 Venegas de Henestrosa included “Luis Alberto” in his anthology. The tiento published as Vila’s in Pedrell’s *Antología de organistas clásicos españoles (Siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII)* (Madrid: I. Alier [1968]), at pages 87–89 and harshly criticized by Pedrell at page iii in his preface for its crudeness and bad style (*dureza de estilo*) is actually by Antonio de Cabezón (cf. *Libro de cifra*, no. 32, in *MME*, II).

³³ According to Rafael Mitjana, *Don Fernando de Las Infantias* (Madrid: Imp. de los Suc. de Hernando, 1918), pages 121–122, Andrés de Villalar competed successfully for the chapelmastership at Cordova in the early summer of 1563. In a secret chapter ballot cast on July 5 [1563] he received 30 votes; the two other candidates—Diego Ximénez (interim Cordovan chapelmaster since October 15, 1561) and Gerónimo de Barriónuevo—18 and 1, respectively. Villalar hankered after his native Zamora during his triennium in Cordova. On October 30, 1566, he petitioned the Cordovan chapter for leave to visit his sick mother at Zamora. Once granted the leave, he departed—never to return. On December 16 [1566] the Cordovan chapter received his letter of resignation from Zamora. His successor at Cordova, Gerónimo Durán de la Cueva—a native of Granada—was elected on April 24, 1567, and held office until death (January 7, 1615). Villalar, although invited to Palencia in 1580, chose to remain at Zamora: where he was still chapelmaster as late as 1593. The Diego Sánchez Codex at Valladolid (Santiago



parish) contains a *Regina coeli, a 4* by Villalar. Although constructed as a series of overlapping imitative points, each of which introduces a new incise of the plainsong Marian antiphon for Eastertide, this motet nevertheless should be called a treble-dominated piece. Only the treble consistently paraphrases the plainsong. The other voices do not allude to the plainsong except during imitative points. The tonality can hardly be denominated anything but F Major. Authentic cadences debouch into F-Major chords of resolution at mm. 8, 30, 51, 69, 79, 86, 104, 113. An interesting chain of "consonant" fourths is to be seen at mm. 6, 37, 39, 41, 49. Elústiza-Castrillo show this piece at pages 134–137 in their *Antología musical* (Barcelona: 1933). They print Villalar's altus an octave too high, however, and belie his counterpoint with parallel fifths (in semibreves) at mm. 77–78.

The only printed piece ascribed to Villalar during his lifetime, *Esclarecida Juana*, is found in Esteban Daza's *El Parnasso* (Valladolid: 1576) at fol. 90. Trend accepted Daza's attribution in his article, "Catalogue of the music in the Biblioteca Medinaceli, Madrid," *Revue hispanique*, LXXI (1927), 499. On the other hand, Francisco Guerrero at no. 38 in his *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* (Venice: 1589) printed as his own the same music that Daza ascribed to Villalar. It is unthinkable that Guerrero should have thus misappropriated music by Villalar. Daza must therefore have erred in his attribution. See *MME*, viii, 21 (item 163 = 92).

³⁴P. Samuel Rubio, writing for *La Ciudad de Dios*, CLXIII, nos. 1–3 (Jan.–Dec., 1951), traced the early history of music at El Escorial in an article entitled "La Capilla de Música del Monasterio de El Escorial." At pages 89–90 of this article he showed that **Martín de Villanueva**, before his arrival at El Escorial in 1586, had been a Jeronymite friar in the Granada house of this distinctively Spanish religious order. Since it was only in 1586 that the Office first began to be chanted in the basilica of the monument to St. Lawrence built by Philip II, skilled musical talent began to be needed in that year. But Villanueva was already known as a *gran polifonista y diestro tañedor de órgano* (fine polyphonic musician and accomplished organ player). His transfer from Granada to El Escorial was therefore in all probability prompted by his known musical talent. Rubio considers him to have been the second chapelmaster at El Escorial—probably the first having been Fray Gaspar de León. Villanueva served also as *corrector mayor del coro*. At El Escorial the hours were timed so exactly that every minute was accounted for. In a letter to the general of the order written in the year of Philip's decease, it is revealed that all three masses were sung every day; that the religious occupied their choir stalls from 5 A.M. until 12 noon without respite; and that the afternoon was similarly occupied with continuous exercises. Philip II himself frequently spent as many as fourteen hours daily in devotions—"a thing that seems impossible." See *La Ciudad de Dios*, xxviii, 133. It was Villanueva's duty as *corrector mayor* to see that such tempi were chosen as would enable every hymn, psalm, lesson, and responsory to fit into a foreordained schedule. The organist's interludes had similarly to be timed with the kind of precision now expected only in radio and television programs. See *La Ciudad de Dios*, CLXIII, 113–114 (note 1). Just as the capitular acts at such a cathedral as Málaga reveal that no such thing as "correct" tempo for any particular chant was

then known, but only a "correct" tempo for a particular event, depended upon the ceremony within which the chant in question was expected to fit. See R. Mitjana, "La capilla de Música de la Catedral de Málaga. Año de 1543 al año de . . .," page 22 (May 5, 1548): *Que se diga al sochantre* [Pedro González, bass singer and succentor] *que lleve el compas segun la fiesta, si mayor, mayor, si menor, menor*. A similar idea is expressed in the "Directorio del corrector mayor del canto," a manuscript guidebook for the regulator of plainchant tempi in El Escorial. Villanueva filled this office, as well as that of polyphonic conductor, until his death. Sent to Valladolid on monastery business, he died there in June, 1605. See *La Ciudad de Dios*, CLXIII, 114–115, for further biographical details. His extant compositions at El Escorial are considerably less interesting than his Mass of Our Lady preserved at The Hispanic Society in New York. The El Escorial repertory includes Passions according to Matthew and John, each *a 4*, a Kyrie *a 3*; the opening Lessons for Good Friday and Holy Saturday, each *a 4*; *Miserere mei Deus* and *Positus Jesus in agonia*, each also *a 4*. At The Hispanic Society a manuscript of 117 paper leaves, *Missae secundum ritum Toletanum cum aliis missis variorum auctorum* (57 by 42 cm.), copied at the end of the sixteenth century contains at fols. 18^v–30 a *Misa de N. Señora con el canto llano de fray Martin de Villa nueva*. This alternation mass testifies to the musical culture of the Jeronymites who sang it; such masses do not enter the repertories of Villanueva's Spanish contemporaries. Even the method of copying departs from that found in any other known Spanish manuscript. Throughout Kyries and Gloria the tenor sings black breves, which must, however, be transcribed as semibreves (unreduced) or minims, common time. Throughout Gloira and Credo, unaccompanied plainsong alternates with polyphony. Thus, *Laudamus te, Adoramus te, and Gratias agimus* are set polyphonically. The intervening phrases—*Benedicimus te, Glorificamus te, and so forth*—are to be plainchanted. Still more interesting is the fact that in the polyphonic passages the tenor continues to sing the plainchant, without making the slightest concessions to the three other voices. Not that the tenor sustains notes lengthily: notes of even longer value appear frequently in other parts. But the tread of the tenor is inflexible. True, the tenor in the Credo does occasionally include a few notes of minim-value (= crochets). However, in the Agnus Dei the tenor again resumes its pendulum-like regularity of motion. In this last movement 40 semibreves (= minims in transcription) succeed without pause or relief of any kind. All the more to be admired under the circumstances are the supple and finely wrought CAB parts that Villanueva has invented to encase, as it were, with velvet and pearls the hard bone of the martyr's relic that is the tenor part.

The following subtitle for the mass, *Tenor primero tono de nuestra señora*, appears in the manuscript. But actually the tenor throughout the Kyries sings the plainchant belonging in the present-day *Liber usualis* to Mass IV (Cunctipotens Genitor Deus); in the Gloria, the plainchant belonging to Mass III (Kyrie Deus sempiterno); and in the Credo, the plainchant belonging to Credo II. Only in the Agnus Dei does Villanueva assign his tenor a plainchant belonging to Mass IX (In Festis B. Mariae Virgins [Cum júbilo]). One must therefore conclude that the several chants comprising a plainsong Mass of Our Lady as



sung at El Escorial during the last decade of Philip II departed widely from what would now constitute such a plain-song mass. For further information on plainchanting at El Escorial in the sixteenth century, see *La Ciudad de Dios*, Vol. CLXIII, p. 112, n. 3. Since Villanueva's musical procedures in his mass correspond so closely with norms known to have been prescribed by Philip II, perhaps royal rather than personal tastes dictated the character of the mass now under consideration. For a contemporary description of the *modo de cantar* . . . *en las fiestas en el coro de san Lorenzo el Real* which Philip himself prescribed for the Jeronymites at El Escorial, see *La Ciudad de Dios*, CLXIII, 63. The king desired that *sobre el canto llano que canto el coro, se echasen otras voces*. The commonly held opinion that he desired only the singing of plainchant in the monastery that he endowed so richly cannot be sustained in the face of either literary evidence supplied by Fray Martín de la Vera, or the musical evidence available in Villanueva's extant Holy Week music and Mass of Our Lady. The best proof of Philip's tastes is the character of this very music. Villanueva was constrained to compose a tenor alternation Lady Mass for use in El Escorial which departs radically from the style of any known masses composed during his epoch for performance in Spanish cathedrals.

³⁵Nicasio Zorita [= Çorita], an Aragonese, was admitted chapelmaster at Tarragona Cathedral on September 9, 1578—he previously having served at Valencia. His beginning salary at Tarragona was unusually large: 75 libras annually (15 being added to the accustomed stipend of 60 in order to induce him to accept). Soon after his appointment he was permitted to return to Valencia for his effects. He also promised to bring back with him a talented boy chorister, an adult contralto, and a *castrato*. The offer to bring back a *castrato* shows that the Italian vogue of the eunuch invaded the east coast of Spain a full generation before other parts of Spain succumbed. (The first eunuchs to sing at the Seville Cathedral, for instance, were not employed until 1620 in Fray Francisco Santiago's first term as chapelmaster. See Simón de la Rosa y López, *Los seises de la Catedral de Sevilla*, pp. 137, 145.) Upon Zorita's return to Tarragona he obligated himself to care for six boy choristers in his house. Zorita was still chapelmaster on March 4, 1589. An assistant named Peruga was appointed *maestro de canto* on April 21, 1587.

Pedrell was the first to examine Zorita's motets, published at Barcelona in 1584. His lengthy article describing the set of four partbooks discovered by him in the music archive of the Colegiata de Gandia appeared under the title "Libros de música españoles raros ó desconocidos" in two successive issues of the *Revista crítica de historia y literatura españoles, portuguesas é hispano-americanas*, Vol. IV, nos. 7 and 8; nos. 9 and 10 (July-Aug., 1899; Sept.-Oct.), pp. 302-308, 420-425. Part II of this article deals primarily with the Zorita publication: *Liber primvs Nicasii Corita Chori, Sancte, metropolitane, Ecclesie, Tarraconensis, Magistri Motectorum quae partim quaternis partim quinis vocibus concinnantur. Barcinonae Cum licencia & Priuilegio apud Hubertum Gotardum*. Because of its date and its printer, Zorita's collection invites comparison with Joan Brudieu's well-known set of madrigals printed in Barcelona by the same Hubert Gotard only one year later. Zorita's set contains 32 four-voice and 20 five-voice motets. Among the latter is to

be found one entitled *Virgo Dei Tecla* in honor of the patroness of Tarragona, St. Thecla. The collection is prefaced by a Latin dedication to Don Rafael Doms, archdeacon and canon in Tarragona Cathedral. The terms of the preface are by no means unusual. Zorita praises the art of music; declares that modesty forbade publication of his motets until the importuning of friends caused his resolution to change; and vows that if Doms will look benignly on the collection, he will be inspired to better labors in future. Next comes a Latin eulogy of Zorita's work by a friend filled with such commonplace mythological conceits as: "Zorita knows better how to move the listener than Orpheus how to move Galathea." Two poetic paeans in Spanish conclude the stiff introductory formalities.

Einzeldrucke vor 1800, edited by Karlheinz Schlager (Kassel/Basel: Bärenreiter, 1972 [RISM, A/1/2], II, 219, item C 3935) records Zorita's publication under the letter C (Corita instead of Çorita), and lists only two partbooks in Spain—superius and altus at Segorbe Cathedral. Robert Stevenson, "The Bogotá Music Archive," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xv/3 (Fall 1962), 311, called attention to a bassus part at Bogotá Cathedral, and itemized the contents of Zorita's motet anthology. The 31 four-voiced motets proceed in this order (items 9-24 follows liturgical year sequence, Advent through Pentecost, 25-28 pay tribute to John the Baptist, Saints Laurence and Bernard, and the archangel Michael):

- (1) *Ave Maria*, (2) *Tradent enim vos*, (3) *Iusti sunt viri sancti*, (4) *Iste sanctus*, (5) *Gaudent in coelis*, (6) *Sacerdos et pontifex*, (7) *Simile est regnum caelorum*, (8) *Sanctificavit Dominus*, (9) *Veni Domine et noli*, (10) *Tu es qui venturus es*, (11) *Ecce apparebit Dominus*, (12) *Ecce iam venit*, (13) *Tulit ergo Dominus*, (14) *Dixit Dominus ad Noe*, (15) *Locutus est Dominus*, (16) *Inter vestibulum*, (17) *Ductus est Jesus* . . . *Si filius Dei es*, (18) *Assumpsit Jesus*, (19) *Erat Dominus*, (20) *Abit Jesus*, (21) *Quis ex vobis*, (22) *Pueri Hebraeorum*, (23) *Regina caeli*, (24) *Dum complerentur*, (25) *Descendit angelus*, (26) *Beatus Laurentius*, (27) *Charitate vulneratus*, (28) *Dum sacrum misterium*, (29) *Manus tuae Domine*, (30) *Constituit Deus*, (31) *Vita dulcedo* (of the *Salve*);

The 20 five-voice motets run thus:

- (1) *Pater noster*, (2) *Ave Maria*, (3) *Salve crux*, (4) *Viri Galilei*, (5) *Rubum quem viderat*, (6) *Videns Dominus*, (7) *Hodie Simon Petrus*, (8) *Stans beata Agnes*, (9) *Virgo prudentissima*, (10) *O magnum misterium*, (11) *Puer qui natus est*, (12) *Dum gustas factor*, (13) *In te Domine speravi*, (14) *Gustate et videte*, (15) *Laudate Dominum*, (16) *Virgo Dei Tecla*, (17) *Tulerunt Dominum*, (18) *Mulier qui erat*, (19) *Confundatur*, (20) *Laboravi*.

Apart from these 51 motets, a *Credo* by Zorita survives at Barcelona in Orfeo Català MS 6 (fols. 92^v-93). Nine motets for Pre-Lent and Lenten seasons are to be seen in a manuscript catalogued as item 382 in Pedrell's *Calàtech de la Biblioteca Musical de la Diputació de Barcelona*, I, 243. Rubio, in his *Antología polifónica sacra*, I (1954), published one of these—the Palm Sunday motet *a 4, Purei Hebraeorum*.

Literary allusions to Zorita's motets authenticate their importance. In one of the 27 sonetos in his *Rimas* published at Tarragona in 1586, Juan Felipe Mey (later professor of Greek at Valencia where he died October 17, 1612), extolled the learning everywhere evident in Zorita's oeuvre.

Apart from Mey's fulsome soneto, Zorita is also remembered because Cerone paid tribute to him in *El mellopeo y maestro*



Some of the reasons for the difference in numbers are sufficiently obvious. In England the disparaging attitude of the Reformers adversely affected the musical careers of such composers as John Taverner and John Marbeck. There are no comparable instances of blight caused by Cirillo Franco's enemy influence in Spain.³⁶ For another matter, artistic life

was more centralized in London than at Madrid, Valladolid, or any other Spanish capital. In sixteenth-century Spain the provincial capitals were jealous of their own cultural traditions to an extent hardly matched elsewhere. Upon entering capitals such as Saragossa, Segovia, or Seville, Philip II always began with the ritual of swearing to uphold

(Naples, 1613)—at page 109. While making a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in 1593, he stopped briefly in an unnamed city where he ran into a plagiarist. A meddling third party told the plagiarist that Cerone had discovered one of his motets to be a steal from Nicasio Zorita, "to whom I paid my respects sometime ago, and whom I have always praised and now laud for his excellent compositions" (*Ya muchos dias ha que hize reuerencia al Señor Nicasio Zorita, y siempre alabe y soy para alabar sus excelentes composiciones*). Cerone's saying that the unnamed maestro had plagiarized Zorita naturally infuriated him. After snubbing Cerone on the street, he a day or so later vented his spleen, "even wishing to eat me alive for having said such a thing" (*Mas topandome otro dia mostrose muy enojado, y quisome comer viuo por auer dicho aquello*). After being tongue-lashed, Cerone felt that he had no other recourse except to substantiate his accusation and to add to it another—namely that the maestro in question had not only plagiarized Zorita but also an Italian composer. A second motet had been shamelessly copied from the doubly canonic *Noé, Noé psallite Noé, Noé, a 4*, by Marc' Antonio Ingegneri (1547–1592). This citing of chapter-and-verse temporarily silenced the guilty maestro, "who for a time at least remained as mute as a disciple of Pythagoras" (*Con esta respuesta tan salda dexome el buen Maestro, amansose vn tantico . . . quedando mas mudo, que vn discipulo de Pythagoras*). But not for long. The guilty maestro next began grumbling that Cerone was a slanderer bent on wrecking the school that he had so laboriously established. Cerone ends the anecdote by testifying that the spite and rage of the guilty maestro turned to thunderbolts.

³⁶ Among sixteenth-century Italian divines who inveighed against "modern" church music, none slashed it more vigorously than the outspoken archdeacon of Loreto, Cirillo Franco (born at Aquila in 1499; died at Rome June 18, 1575). His harshest attack on "modern" church music, first published in *Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini . . . terzo libro* (ed. by Aldo Manuzio [Venice: 1567]), took the form of a letter (dated February 16, 1549, at Loreto) to Ugolino Gualteruzzi *sopra l'improprietà delli musici moderni nelle loro compositioni delle messe e canto ecclesiastico*. This letter, which was promptly translated into Spanish, began with a frontal assault on Josquin's Hercules Mass. As late as 1649 the king of Portugal, João IV, felt the necessity of parrying Franco's thrusts with a *Difensa de la musica moderna contra la errada opinion del Obispo Cirillo Franco*. An Italian translation of João's "Defense of modern music" was published at Venice in 1666. No such defense of church composers from Josquin to Palestrina would have been required, however, had not the Italian divine's animadversions found their echo in the writings of certain Spanish moralists. Typical of these "echoes" was a

treatise entitled *Ynconuenientes, y gravisimos daños que se siguen de que las Religiones tengan Musica de canto de Organo* ("Troubles and very great mischiefs which arise from the use of polyphonic music by religious orders"). This tract, which belonged to a collection formed by the historian Gil González Dávila (ca. 1578–1658), dates from the first decade or so of the seventeenth century. A copy is to be seen in MS 14059.11 at the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional. The following long paragraph contains a summary of its contents.

"Although the use of plainchant is a laudable custom, polyphony should not be allowed in religious houses under any circumstances. *First*: the singing of polyphony requires special talent of a sort that is quite unrelated to the religious vocation. Then again where part-music is sung, novices are all too often given the habit solely because of their fine voices. Moreover they often rise to positions of authority. But both SS. Gregory and Thomas inveighed against entrusting musicians with such responsibility. The better the singer, the more unlikely he is to be himself either an acceptable preacher, teacher, or exhorter. At best, he attracts other singers into a house, rather than preachers and exhorters. *Second*: polyphony of the kind nowadays sung contravenes the very object for which music was first introduced into the church, which purpose is to convert rather than to entertain. SS. Augustine and Bernard considered it sinful to give ear to church music on account of its beauty rather than because of its call to contrition. Navarro [Martín de Azpilcueta Navarro (1491–1586), professor at Salamanca and Coimbra; author of *De musica et cantu figurato*] has treated of the same sin most learnedly and piously. Singers interested in beauty of sound never pay much heed to the sense of a text and indeed scarcely ever care whether the words can be understood or not. Villancicos sung in the vernacular are a still worse abuse. The kind now popular mix Castilian, Portuguese, Basque, and Galician in an unconscionable farrago. What is more, characters such as Negroes, Moors, and others just as hostile to the Christian religion, are introduced solely to divert, to cause laughter, and to turn the House of God into a playhouse. What shall we say of the cornets, the sackbuts, and all the other wind instruments that some religious orders today permit on every occasion? Their use ought also to be extirpated. St. Thomas expressly condemned such instruments. Religious who allow the glossing, the embellishment, the disfiguration, that these and other like instruments frequently add, should blush for shame. Then to further compound the abuses that polyphony engenders, the majority of religious must invariably sit mute as statues while only a select few gargle their runs. Heaven is better pleased with the sound of a plainchant, even if 'there is no beauty in it nor comeliness.' Doctor Navarro made the same point when he told of an old raucous religious who dared to open his mouth at a



all the local exemptions and privileges. He, more-
 over, was king of *las Españas*. Elizabeth I was never
 queen of "the Englands"; nor was there ever any
 doubt that London, or its environs, was the center
 of her government. She can hardly be imagined
 upon entering some great English cathedral (as
 Philip did upon entering Seville Cathedral in 1570)
 to have made an elaborate bow to the whole body
 of "privileges" extended the cathedral by her royal

principal feast. The polyphonic singers stood aghast because of the ugliness of his voice. Suddenly, however, a voice from Heaven interrupted, saying: *solus raucus auditur* ['only the raucous voice is heard']. Now, if someone should aver that we would exclude all polyphonic singing from churches administered by secular clergy, we deny the charge. Let the secular brethren have their polyphony if they insist. But religious orders must aspire to higher ideals. They should be nearer angels than men. *Third*: religious houses that allow polyphony must usually admit outside singers to eke out parts on important feast-days, at special thanksgivings and the like. These outsiders never fail to sully the purity of the cloister. *Fourth*: musicians who inveigle their way into religious orders are for the most part silly, idle, vacillating, vain, effeminate, and even vicious individuals. Ovid well knew the pernicious influence of music when in his *Remedia amoris*, lines 753-754, he wrote: 'The sound of citharas, lyres, flutes, and voices has an enervating influence.' The Greeks always required that instruction in gymnastics be joined to music in order to overcome the effeminacy that music alone induces. When musicians wheedle their way into religious orders they always shy away from work, refuse to arise betimes (especially in winter), insist on favored treatment such as delicate food and other special privileges 'in order to preserve their voices.' If not coddled, they apostasize, or desist from their vocation. In any event, they never fail to make nuisances of themselves. *Fifth*: the strictest groups such as Carthusians, Recollects, and Discalced Friars, have never known such a thing as polyphony. Several Franciscan generals have proposed its abolition. At the recent Friars Minor chapter meeting in Segovia its use was utterly condemned. The Dominicans long ago gave it up absolutely so that they might devote themselves without let or hindrance to sacred learning and to the preaching of the Gospel."

Perhaps the most important official pronouncement on church music, so far as sixteenth-century Spain is concerned, was delivered at the Toledo Provincial Council of 1565. The *Actio de Reformatione* passed at this council (which brought together prelates from all of Spain) may be seen in Joseph Sáenz de Aguirre's *Collectio maxima conciliorum omnium Hispaniae*, Vol. iv (Rome: J. J. Komarek, 1693), p. 50 (par. 11). "Whatever is sung in church must redound to the glory of God and be understood by the people. Words must not be obscured. Polyphonic singing may be retained but the text must be clearly intelligible. Above all, theatrical music (*sonus quid theatrale*) and any type that arouses the venereal or warlike passions or those sentiments associated with certain classic modes (*classicos modulos*) must be rigorously excluded."

ancestors.³⁷ Neither would she have gone through the motions of humbly "praying" permission of some mere bishop (as Philip did of the Bishop of Segovia in 1570) to marry in his cathedral. Nor would she have assuaged any such mere bishop's feelings by promising that all the ceremonies would be conducted strictly according to local diocesan use³⁸—even had there been a local use to observe anywhere in England as late as 1570.

Local pride incited Seville to compete with Toledo, Ávila with Salamanca, Saragossa with Burgos, Cordova with Málaga, and Plascencia with Palencia. As a result, the movements of such composers as Navarro, Lobo, and Vivanco read like American Express tours of Spain, with a master such as Vivanco, for instance, moving from Lérida to Segovia, to Seville, to Ávila, and to Salamanca, in succession. In England, on the other hand, if Thomas Weelkes was appointed to Chichester, there he remained; even though, relatively speaking, Chichester was second-class and Weelkes first-class. The same applied to Francis Pilkington at Chester. Public announcement of vacancies distributed far and wide, public description of salaries and duties, public competitions in which any reasonably qualified entrant could take part—but secret balloting to decide the winner—were all typical of the Spanish system. True, these features of the system made for frequent moves, but at the same time they made it easy for the abler men to rise.

Sixteenth-century Spanish music differs also from English, French, and even Italian music in that only the Spanish royal house maintained two royal chapels: one of which was called the chapel of the House of Burgundy; the other, that of the House of Castile. The first chapel was made up entirely of Charles's and Philip's Low Countries subjects. The second, which was usually smaller, comprised Spaniards. Historically, this double establishment harked back to the union of the houses of Burgundy

³⁷ Juan de Mal-lara, *Recebimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal Cibdad de Seuilla* (Seville: Alonso Escrivano, 1570), fol. 172: "Alli se le tomo el juramento de guardar las inmunidades y priuilegios de la yglesia."

³⁸ *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), fol. Y 3^o: "Y para que todos entiendan con quanto miramiento guarda su magestad las disposiciones de la yglesia, sepan que el dia antes del matrimonio . . .".

and Castile at the marriage of Philip the Fair with Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella (1496). Charles V, son of this pair, always kept the House of Burgundy chapel for his own. The House of Castile chapel, on the other hand, belonged successively to his wife, Isabella of Portugal (whom he married in 1526 and who died in 1539), and to his children (while still in their minorities).³⁹ After Charles's abdication in 1556, Philip II was served by this succession of Flemish chapelmasters: (1) Nicolas Payen (1556–1559); (2) Pierre de Manchicourt (1560–1564); (3) Jean Bonmarchais (1564–1569); (4) Gérard de Turnhout (1572–1580); (5) Georges de La Hèle (1581–1586); (6) Philippe Rogier⁴⁰ (1587–1596). As for the House of Castile chapel during the reign of Philip II,⁴¹ its numbers dwindled from 14 adult singers, 4 boys, an organist (Juan de Cabezón) and a tuner (Cristóbal de León) in 1562; to only 8 singers in 1587 (a year in which the Flemish chapel enrolled 21 singers). However, during the next decade it “revived markedly.” At the end of his reign, just as at the beginning, Philip II with his two chapels of singers and players—the one Flemish, the other Spanish—outdistanced every contemporary sovereign in his support of music. Though it is not to our present purpose, we could also add to his credit the support (after 1582) of a third musical chapel—with headquarters at Lisbon. Indeed, only after Philip's accession to the Portuguese crown did Lusitanian polyphonic achievement begin to match Spanish, as evinced, for instance, in the music of Duarte Lobo, Manuel Coelho, and Filipe de Magalhães.

Philip was also the only monarch of his time who patronized Italian, Spanish, and Flemish composers with impartial largesse. He was the only patron to whom Palestrina dedicated two books of masses (1567 and 1570). Guerrero found him an equally ready patron for his first foreign publication—his

magnificats published at Louvain by Phalèse in 1563. Victoria dedicated his most lavish single publication to Philip—the *Missarum Libri Duo* of 1583. Or, to turn to Flemings: La Hèle dedicated to him “one of the most magnificent specimens of music typography” in existence—his *Octo Missae* of 1578 (published at Antwerp by Plantin). Finally, it was Philip's generosity that made possible in 1598 the posthumous publication of Rogier's *Missae sex*.

Not only was Philip II the leading international music patron of his age, but also at his court foreign and domestic music mixed on impartial terms. With his approbation, Morales and Guerrero were composers whose masses and magnificats were performed frequently. Despite the evident clannishness of his Flemish singers, motets by the two Spaniards were also marked out for the intensive study required to produce parody masses. In Rogier's case, his first three parody masses were based respectively on motets by Clemens non papa, Crecquillon, and Gombert. But his last parody mass, *Inclina Domine*, was based on Morales's motet *a 4*. Ghersem (as has often been noted) chose Guerrero's *Ave Virgo sanctissima*. We find (1) in the repertory sung at court and (2) in the parody sources used by the Flemings themselves, the strongest proofs that the music of these two composers—and for that matter, of such other composers performed at court as Rodrigo Ceballos, Escobedo, Infantas, and Pastrana—won esteem not for merely particularistic or patriotic reasons but because even Flemings found their music no less meritorious than the best Flemish product.⁴²

The task of deciding who the ablest peninsular composers were between 1550–1600, leaving out of account Victoria and Guerrero, poses difficulties: (1) on account of the sheer numbers; (2) because during the reign of Philip II such a clear-cut test as membership of a court chapel was never permitted to determine a composer's superiority. The Tallises, Byrds, and Morleys of Spain, while enjoying Philip's favor, pursued their careers entirely outside the “Chapels Royal.” A fortiori, the eminence of the less famous is not to be gauged by such tokens of royal favor. Somewhat arbitrarily, then, the following four have been chosen for special study:

⁴² Edmond Van der Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle* (Brussels: Schott frères, 1888), viii, 361 [Ceballos]; 358 [Escobedo]; 363–364 [Guerrero]; 358 [Las Infantas]; 371, 380 [Morales]; 358 [Pastrana].

³⁹ *MME*, II, 29, 85 (last paragraph).

⁴⁰ Anglés's explanation of the term *Rugier*, which he connects with the name Rogier (*MME*, II, 181), must be rejected. John Ward in his “The *Vihuela de mano* and its Music (1536–1576)” [Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, April, 1953], pages 189–190, pointed to the similarity between the alto melody in *Ruggier qual sempre fui tal esser voglio*, intabulated by Enriquez de Valderrábano in *Silvu de sirenas* (1547) at fol. 24, and Antonio's *Rugier* ciphered by Venegas de Henestrosa in his *Libro de cifra* (1557) at fol. 67.

⁴¹ Isabel Pope, “The ‘Spanish Chapel’ of Philip II,” *Renaissance News*, v, 1 and 2 (Spring and Summer, 1952), 2–5, 34–37.



Navarro, Lobo, Vivanco, and Esquivel. The criteria for this selection included: (1) extensive publication before 1611; (2) activity in Spain rather than in Italy; (3) centralization of activity in the sacred rather than in the secular field; (4) availability of invaluable dissertations on Vivanco's works by Montague Cantor (1967) and Enrique Alberto Arias (1971), and on Navarro's music "based on pre-existent materials" by Timothy Howard Thomas (1990). In addition, Robert Joseph Snow has placed Hispanists in his profound debt by virtue of his vast scholarship that includes an Esquivel monograph (1978).

JUAN NAVARRO (ca. 1530–1580)

In existing biographies, Seville and Marchena vie for the honor of having been Navarro's birthplace.⁴³ The title page of his posthumously published *Psalmi, Hymni, ac Magnificat* (Rome: Francesco Coattino, 1590)⁴⁴ begins thus: *Joannis Navarri Hispalen*. Since *Hispalensis* means "Sevillian," the case would seem to be settled. The fact that Navarro while at Salamanca was on August 17, 1569, granted leave of absence to visit his father, then living in Seville, strengthens Sevillian claims. But, on the other hand, he registered as a native of Marchena when inducted as chapelmaster at Ciudad Rodrigo, after leaving Salamanca at the beginning of 1574.⁴⁵ Furthermore, a singer by the name of Juan Navarro belonged to the chapel of the Duke of Arcos at Marchena in 1549. These seeming contradictions will best be resolved by accepting the dictum of Gilbert Chase, who, in his article "Juan Navarro *Hispalensis* and Juan Navarro *Gaditanus*" (*The Musical Quarterly*, xxxi, 2 [April, 1945], 189), wrote as follows: "It appears that Navarro was born in Marchena. . . . At all events, since Marchena is a town in the province of Seville [lying 30 miles east of Seville], our composer could have been born there and still be called *Hispalensis*."

Morales was chapelmaster to the Duke of Arcos from at least May, 1548, until February, 1551. He was thereafter chapelmaster at Málaga Cathedral (from November 27, 1551, until his death 22 months

later). Juan Navarro, if the thesis of his Marchena origin is accepted, sang in the chapels conducted by Morales at both places. The evidence for his presence at Marchena survives in the form of a pay voucher dated September 6, 1549.⁴⁶ In this voucher his annual salary for singing in the Duke's chapel is listed as 10,000 maravedís. Obviously if this Juan Navarro is our composer he, like Francisco Guerrero, enjoyed Morales's tutelage. Furthermore, Morales seems to have done what he could to help Navarro, just as he had already helped Guerrero. Morales's efforts in behalf of the young Guerrero are certified by a Jaén Cathedral capitular act dated July 1, 1546. His efforts in behalf of the young Juan Navarro—or another youthful singer of the same name—are certified by two Málaga Cathedral capitular acts. On July 12, 1553, the succentor at Málaga persuaded the chapter to hear an "excellent tenor who had been singing at Jaén Cathedral." The chapter postponed decision until July 14, on which date Juan Navarro was hired at an annual salary of 25,000 maravedís.⁴⁷ Although again near Morales, Navarro was not to enjoy the privilege of renewed association for more than a few weeks (Morales died suddenly in early autumn). Navarro's next step was to submit his name as a contender in the competition to decide Morales's successor. Failing in his tests on February 9, 1554, he continued as a mere singer in the cathedral until October 2, 1555. On the latter date he asked permission to resign from his post and for a month's "terminal leave" pay.⁴⁸

His trail is not picked up again until September 28, 1562, when the collegiate church of Valladolid hired him as maestro de capilla with an annual salary of 150 ducats and six measures of wheat. To document Navarro's stay at Valladolid until March 6, 1564, Pedro Aizpurua's article, "Juan Navarro en la Catedral de Valladolid (1552–1564)," *Revista de Musicología*, v/2 (Madrid, 1982), 339–343, quotes the texts of four Valladolid collegiate capitular acts. (Valladolid collegiate church became a cathedral in 1595.) The act of September 18, 1562,

⁴⁶Nicolás A. Solar-Quintes, "Morales en Sevilla y Marchena," *AM*, viii (1953 [1954]), 35.

⁴⁷R. Mitjana, "La capilla de Música de la Catedral de Málaga. Año de 1543 al año de [1569]," Stockholm: Kungl. Musikaliska Akademiens Bibliotek [unnumbered manuscript containing data taken from Málaga Cathedral capitular acts], p. 45.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁴³Gilbert Chase, "Juan Navarro *Hispalensis* and Juan Navarro *Gaditanus*," *Musical Quarterly*, xxxi, 2 (April, 1945), 191.

⁴⁴The printer was Giacomo Tornieri.

⁴⁵Elústiza-Castrillo, *Antología musical*, p. LXXIII.