



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.<sup>43</sup> The title page of his posthumously published *Psalmi, Hymni, ac Magnificat* (Rome: Francesco Coattino, 1590)<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup>

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,

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

<sup>47</sup>R. 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.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 62.

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

<sup>44</sup>The printer was Giacomo Tornieri.

<sup>45</sup>Elústiza-Castrillo, *Antología musical*, p. LXXIII.



deals with Navarro's reception; the act of January 4, 1563, establishes his rank as that of half-prebendary (*medio racionero*) who is to be fined two *reales* for each stipulated day that he fails to provide polyphonic music. On March 16, 1563, the collegiate chapter gave him time off to compose music [for Holy Week]. On June 4, 1563, the chapter promised him 30 days leave each year to compose and rehearse Christmas music, 20 days to compose and rehearse Corpus Christi music, and 10 to compose and rehearse Holy Week music; also on this date the chapter reminded him of his duty to board and house four boy choristers. The chapter on March 6, 1564, gave him leave to go elsewhere.

What music did Navarro compose at Valladolid during 1562–1564? Aizpurua suggests that the Diego Sánchez codex in Santiago parish church at Valladolid containing 13 motets by Navarro (only Morales, with 22 motets, exceeds him) testifies to Navarro's creative activity at Valladolid.

Next, Navarro appears at Ávila Cathedral as chapelmaster. The *Actas Capitulares, 1565–1566–1567–1568* at Ávila reveal him to have been Bernardino de Ribera's successor. According to the act of Wednesday, September 12, 1565, he had been missing appointments in the cathedral on account of a protracted illness.<sup>49</sup> Because of an imminent *fiesta de música*, the chapter on that day urgently requests his presence in the cathedral. The bishop, Álvaro de Mendoza (who is something of a musical connoisseur), himself hopes that Navarro can attend the necessary practice sessions. On September 17 the chapter authorizes Navarro to write Alexandro de la Serna, *contralto*, a letter offering that renowned singer a half-prebend on condition that he agree to ordination *in sacris*.<sup>50</sup> On Saturday, December 8,

the chapter authorizes the dean and precentor to offer another even more famous singer, Mosén Roque, *contrabaxo*, the best salary that it is within their power to give.<sup>51</sup> (Within three months, however, Roque yields to the lure of a higher salary at Seville.<sup>52</sup>)

Samuel Rubio, the first scholar to publish a modern edition of Juan Navarro's *Psalmi, Hymni, ac Magnificat* (Real Monasterio del Escorial: Biblioteca "La Ciudad de Dios," 1978), called attention (in his literary introduction, page 19) to an Ávila Cathedral capitular act dated January 7, 1566, that documents Navarro's having received a gift of 300 reales for a book of polyphonic hymns composed by him and for playlets given at Christmas of 1565:

Ávila Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, XXII, fol. 38<sup>v</sup>: "al maestro de capilla trescientos reales, habiendo consideración al libro que ha hecho de himnos en canto de órgano y para gratificación de las representaciones que se han hecho en la festividad del nacimiento de nuestro Señor."

José López-Calo's *Catálogo del Archivo de Música de la Catedral de Ávila* (Santiago de Compostela: El Éco Franciscano [Sociedad Española de Musicología], 1978), pages 6–9, lists 31 hymns by Juan Navarro that were copied into 240-page Ávila Choirbook 3 (*Libro de atril*, 3) by a local scribe in 1796. These Ávila hymns, itemized in Samuel Rubio's *Juan Navarro* at page 41, attract all the greater interest because the volume published in 1590 does not merely duplicate the hymn music in Ávila Choirbook 3. Instead, Navarro makes changes. He shortens, suppresses, shifts music from one hymn to another, or from one strophe to another within the same hymn (all Ávila hymns contain music for only the first strophe, and the same music can be used for different hymns).

<sup>49</sup> Ávila Cathedral, *A. C. 1565–1566–1567–1568*, fol. 21.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 22. Francisco Alexandre [= Alexandro] de la Serna was installed on June 24, 1548, as singer in Toledo Cathedral, by direct order of Cardinal Siliceo. His duties were to include both the playing of organs and polyphonic singing. His last years were spent at Seville. On September 13, 1581, the Sevillian chapter authorized a bread allowance. At the moment he was boarding the choirboys. Bartolomé Farfán took charge of them on March 17, 1584. On December 19, 1586, Alexandre de la Serna was recalled for temporary duty while the chapter looked about for a permanent master. On February 14, 1587, the chapter voted to continue him in the post and to pay him the income of a half-prebend. The arrangement lasted until Vivanco took temporary charge of the boys on February 29, 1588. On July 20, 1594, the chapter commissioned him to travel

in search of new choirboys. As of September 26, 1594, the chapter voted to receive two whom he had sent. On May 14, 1599, the chapter decreed that he need no longer sing, march in processions, nor even attend services, except when he felt able to do so, "on account of his age and illnesses."

<sup>51</sup> Ávila, *A. C.*, 1565–1566–1567–1568, fol. 35.

<sup>52</sup> Mosén Roque, purportedly the best bass in Spain when on June 4, 1565, Seville Cathedral chapter authorized advancing him twenty ducats in order to lure him from Ávila, was on January 14, 1570, named one of the four singers who accompanied the Cardinal of Seville, Gaspar de Zúñiga y Avalleneda to Santander on a journey of state. He died at Seville shortly before November 3, 1581.



Rubio provides the following examples to show changes made in the music of Navarro's *Ave maris stella* (no. 22 in 1590 publication) and *Christe Redemptor* (no. 31 in 1590). At his page 42 he tabulates changed texts (for example, the music for strophe 1 of St. Raphael's hymn at pages 77–80 in Ávila Choirbook 3 becomes music for strophe 6 of the *Pange lingua in festo Corporis Christi* in the 1590 volume).

The variants in Navarro's hymns, not only in Ávila 3 but also in the "Two Choirbooks of Renaissance Polyphony at the Monasterio de Nuestra Señora of Guadalupe" inventoried by David Crawford in *Fontes artis musicae*, xxiv (1977/3, July–September), 162–165, 170–171, and in choirbooks at Plascencia (2 and 4), Salamanca (4), and Valladolid (2) are magisterially tabulated in Timothy Howard Thomas's indispensable "The Music of Juan Navarro based on pre-existent musical materials" (University of Texas at Austin Ph.D. dissertation, 1990), at pages 237–241.

Appendix A contains Thomas's transcriptions of 21 hymns in Avila 3 (all with post-1632 texts), two from Guadalupe 1, one each from Plasencia 4, Salamanca 4, and Valladolid 2. He summarizes the changes in Navarro's musical style evident in the 27 hymn settings published in 1590 at pages 296–297 of his dissertation:

Later settings are more concise, dissonance is more controlled, two head motives subject to imitation begin simultaneously, later settings use shorter note-values and the counterpoint is more active.

Because of his evident teaching successes at Ávila, not to mention his creative output, Navarro began to attract nationwide attention by no later than 1565. On September 27, 1566—the Salamanca chapelmastership having fallen vacant recently—the Salamanca chapter decided to invite him to occupy it without undergoing any formal trial of skill.<sup>53</sup> On Wednesday, October 9, the Ávila chapter grants him a fortnight's leave of absence.<sup>54</sup> Presumably he visits Salamanca during this leave and returns to Ávila ready to pack his bags and depart. Faced with an emergency, the Ávila chapter in special session on October 23 votes to increase his salary by an amount to be specified at a meeting on the morrow.<sup>55</sup> Al-

<sup>53</sup>A direct invitation saved the cathedral the expense of *edictos*. See the capitular act at Salamanca dated September 27, 1566 (fol. 495<sup>v</sup>). The minutes of the *cabildo ordinario* held on this day state: "por quanto estaban informados de la habilidad e suficiencia de Juan Navarro maestro de capilla que esta en Avila e la prevenda de esta santa iglesia de maestro de capilla esta vaca que acordaban e acordaron que se fuese a llamar al dicho Juan Navarro y le proveen y proveyeron desde agora la dicha prevenda de maestro de capilla si aceptare de venir."

<sup>54</sup>Ávila, *A.C.*, 1565–1566–1567–1568, fol. 66.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>.



ready having recently raised his salary by 30,000 maravedís, the chapter on October 24 agrees to raise it by another 30,000 annually, provided that he bind himself to remain at Ávila for life.<sup>56</sup> To assure themselves, the chapter decrees that he must post bond guaranteeing repayment of the entire salary raise of 60,000 maravedís annually—times the number of years he shall have enjoyed the raise—in the event that he at any later time decides to renege the life-time agreement. So eager is one canon, Cristóbal de Sedano, to keep Navarro at Ávila that of his own free will he immediately offers in the same chapter meeting to go surety for Navarro. However, the raise, bringing Navarro's salary from the level of a mere half-prebend to that of a whole, fails to fulfill all of his demands now that the Salamanca Cathedral has offered him a more desirable post. He wishes the chapter also to decree that he shall take precedence over every other musician employed at Ávila, even those who have occupied their prebends longer than he. The chapter can reply only tentatively to this last demand, and decides instead that the senior musicians must first themselves agree to such a leap over the conventional hurdles of cathedral seniority before the chapter can formally accede to this request. For a few days Navarro wavers in his decision to move. But at last on Thursday, November 7, he does depart.<sup>57</sup> In order to avoid a last-minute flurry of protests and recriminations he goes off without formal leave-takings. Next day the chapter reprehends both him and his aider and abettor in the getaway—Juan Sánchez, cathedral succentor.

Navarro remains at Salamanca from the autumn of 1566 until January 2, 1574—a period of slightly more than seven years. During this epoch, Salamanca music reaches unprecedented heights. Francisco Salinas, professor from 1567 until 1587, governs music in the university and reaps the praise of such discerning lovers of music as the great poet Luis de León.<sup>58</sup> Of Salinas's researches during this epoch (culminating in his *De musica libri septem* published at Salamanca in 1577), Vicente Espinel was to write thus:<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 67.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 69<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, xxxvii (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1855), pp. 2–3.

<sup>59</sup> *Bibl. de aut. esp.*, xviii (1851), p. 431, col. 2 [Relación tercera, Descanso quinto].

That prince of music, Salinas, who revived the enharmonic genus, could obtain it only by means of a keyboard instrument. Apparently singers cannot conform to that particular genus except with superhuman effort and difficulty. I have seen him playing his specially tuned keyboard instrument in Salamanca. On it he performed miracles with his hands. But I never found that even he had reclaimed the genus so that human voices could sing in it; although there were then at Salamanca in the cathedral choir expert soloists with splendid voices; and their master was the great composer, Juan Navarro.

Salinas, immediately before coming to Salamanca in 1567, had spent five years as cathedral organist at León (1562–1567);<sup>60</sup> on other accounts he enjoyed warmest respect at Salamanca, as both a practical and a theoretical musician. Espinel's first-hand account allows us to believe that Salinas communicated his research results to Navarro and used Navarro's choir as a laboratory in which to test his discoveries.

From Salamanca capitular acts the following further details concerning Navarro's career have been recovered. On April 18, 1567, the contracts let by the chapter for the repair of certain houses in the Calle de San Millán formerly occupied by Doctor Luis Pérez are made over to Navarro. Probably it is in one of these houses that Navarro is to be found during the next year boarding four choirboys "with beautiful voices."<sup>61</sup> On August 17, 1569, the chapter authorizes him to take a trip to Seville.<sup>62</sup> While there he is to look over the sopranists in Sevillian churches and to offer the best-qualified singer the half-prebend in Salamanca Cathedral left vacant by Martín de Herrera.<sup>63</sup> The replacement whom Navarro selects is to be guaranteed reimbursement for his travelling expenses from Seville to Salamanca, But since the primary purpose of Navarro's

<sup>60</sup> Elústiza-Castrillo, *Antología musical*, p. LXXIII.

<sup>61</sup> Salamanca Cathedral, *A. C. 1568–1574*, fol. 6 (June 7, 1568).

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 47<sup>v</sup>–48: El diez y siete de agosto 1569 los dichos señores mandaron que el maestro de capilla fuese a Sevilla y viese los tipleos que en aquellas iglesias hay y el que le pareciese mejor se la diesse la media racion quen la dicha iglesia esta vaca e tenia Martin de Herrera y el gasto que hiciese en yr se le pagase a costa del proveido en la dicha media racion e el demas gasto que hiciese en ir a Sevilla atento que abia de yr a ver a su padre que le hiciese a su costa.

<sup>63</sup> Vicente Espinel, in *La casa de la memoria* [1591], fol. 47<sup>v</sup>, cited this singer as the cynosure of the age: "Mas Martin de Herrera, que es del alma, / Al uno ecede, al otro lleva palma."



trip is to see his father at Seville, he must take care of his personal expenses out of private pocket.

Immediately upon his return, a grave disciplinary problem arises with Pedro Ricardo, cathedral organist. Discovered drunk while on duty, Ricardo is fined 20 ducats on October 1, 1569, and warned not to touch wine henceforth on pain of irrevocable dismissal.<sup>64</sup> In 1570 the chapter secretary draws up a revealing list of salaried musicians. As in all other Spanish cathedral lists of this period, the names of *cantores y ministriles* run parallel in such fashion to prove that singers and instrumentalists enjoyed equal importance in the making of cathedral music. Among the cathedral singers in 1570, interestingly enough, is another Navarro—a *cantor contrabaxo*, whom the chapter minutes designate as a *licenciado*.<sup>65</sup> A second homonymous official in this year is the cathedral succentor, Rodrigo Ordoñez (d. 1572). By an interesting coincidence a Rodrigo Ordoñez is summoned to succeed Navarro in 1574.

In early September, 1570, Navarro shows signs of being overworked, perhaps venting his fatigue in outbursts of temper. On September 11 the chapter therefore acts favorably on his petition for a leave of absence, granting him the remainder of the month on full pay with permission to "recreate" himself.<sup>66</sup> On January 31, 1571, Bernardino de Villel relieves him by taking charge of the choirboys.<sup>67</sup> On February 19, 1571, the chapter requests Navarro to arrange for the immediate tuning of the cathedral organs.<sup>68</sup> On March 23, 1571, Francisco López, formerly a chaplain at Granada, joins the choir as a soprano. But the search for better sopranists still goes vigorously forward. On October 11, 1572, the chapter authorizes an absentee canon, Antonio de Soria (detained in Rome while sick), to treat with

Francisco Soto de Langa.<sup>69</sup> Canon Soria is to discuss with Soto, "soprano at Rome in the pope's chapel," the possibility of his accepting a half-prebend at Salamanca; and if he shows interest to hand him an official letter inviting him to take up his duties at Salamanca in May, 1573. Before delivering the Salamanca chapter's letter of invitation, however, Canon Soria is first to ascertain whether or not Soto keeps his voice—and whether it is as beautiful as reported.

Navarro's departure from Salamanca comes as suddenly as it is dramatic. On New Year's Eve he strikes the succentor. The full details cannot be reconstructed, but on January 2, 1574, the chapter meets to "discuss the transgression committed by the chapelmaster during Vespers on New Year's Eve when in the choir enclosure he dealt Juan Sánchez, cathedral chaplain and succentor, a violent blow on the face, thereby causing a grave scandal."<sup>70</sup> After some discussion, the chapter votes that Navarro's contract must be cancelled, his salary withdrawn, and his name crossed off the list of cathedral officials. On January 4 the chapter decides to distribute public announcements of the vacancy, with Ash Wednesday set as the terminal date for receiving applications.<sup>71</sup> Within a little more than three weeks the chapter agrees not to await the public competition but to offer the post straightway to Rodrigo Ordoñez at an annual salary of 300 ducats and 50 fanegas of wheat. (Born probably ca. 1530, Rodrigo Ordoñez was in 1553 a chapelmaster at Zamora and a *clérigo de la primera tonsura*. In November, 1554, he entered the competition to succeed Morales at

<sup>64</sup> Salamanca, A.C., 1568-1574, fol. 53<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Still other homonymous contemporaries must be distinguished from the composer. *Gaditanus* emigrated to Mexico, where he published *Quatuor passionis* in 1604 (105 leaves of monody). In 1580 the *capiscol* in Toledo Cathedral bore the name of Juan Navarra. A canon as well as cathedral precentor, he had visited Rome two or three years previously, had met Victoria, and had received from the latter a copy of the *Liber primus. Qui Missas, Psalmos, Magnificat . . . Aliaq. Complectitur* (published at Rome in 1576) for presentation to the Toledo chapter.

<sup>66</sup> Salamanca, A.C., 1568-1574, fol. 106<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 126<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 132.

<sup>69</sup> Further on Soto de Langa above in note 28.

<sup>70</sup> A.C., 1568-1574, fol. 212: En Salamanca este dicho día dos días del mes de enero del dicho año de 1574 años estando juntos y congregados los illustres señores dean e cabildo de la dicha yglesia cathedral de Salamanca los dichos señores trataron del delito que la vispera de año de este año cometio estando en el choro en visperas el maestro de capilla contra Juan Sanchez capellan de la dicha iglesia e sochantre della en dalle un bofetón de que hizo grande escandolo en la dicha iglesia y choro e habiendo votado sobre ello parecio al cabildo que le debia de quitar de salario e partido que tenia e la prevenda de maestro de capilla de la dicha iglesia e ansi se la quitaron y mandaron no fuese mas avido por maestro de capilla de la dicha iglesia de aqui adelante e le borrasen de los libros de la iglesia. / Testigos / Pedro Sanchez / pertiguero de la dicha iglesia / e Francisco Maldonado de Toro / e yo el dicho notario secretario.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 213<sup>v</sup>.



Málaga, but was disqualified. In 1567 Villalar became chapelmaster at Zamora. In 1574 Rodrigo Ordoñez was chapelmaster at Murcia. Vicente Espinel lauded him in *La casa de la memoria* [1591].<sup>72</sup> On February 4, the further enticement is offered Ordoñez of placing a house at his disposal. Eventually, however, the chapter finds its lures have been to no avail and decides to search elsewhere.

Ironically enough, Navarro's fame at the very moment of his dismissal had traveled so widely that on June 29, 1574, he was one of only two Spanish chapelmasters whose opinion the nuncio in Spain was advised to consult on candidacies for the papal choir.<sup>73</sup> Antonio Boccapaduli, master of the papal choir, forwarded a letter on that date asking that the nuncio in Spain seek out three or four Spanish singers. But Boccapaduli in his letter showed himself behind the times when he thought Navarro was still at Ávila. With irrefutable finality the Ávila capitular acts reveal that Navarro never regained the chapelmastership after leaving Ávila in 1566. Indeed, his relations with the Ávila chapter were so strained that in 1572 when he tried to retrieve some money still owing, the Ávila cathedral chapter refused him or his representatives so much as an opportunity to review the disputed accounts.<sup>74</sup> Not Ávila, then, but the less opulent cathedral at Ciudad Rodrigo (50 miles southwest of Salamanca) was to be Navarro's next stopping-place. That despite his troublous departure from Salamanca he was not to be treated with contumely during his four years (1574–1578) at Ciudad Rodrigo is proved by the fact that while there he was given the honor of a "high seat" in the choir and the right to vote at cathedral chapter meetings.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, his stay was fruitful, musically. While there he instructed the youthful Juan Esquivel, a native of Ciudad Rodrigo.<sup>76</sup> Esquivel in turn later rose to the dignity of the Ciudad Rodrigo

chapelmastership, and by virtue of his publication of masses and motets at Salamanca shortly after the turn of the century established himself as one of the two or three worthiest sacred composers active during the reign of Philip III.

Navarro's last halting-place was to be Palencia. The aging former papal chorister Pedro Ordoñez (a native of Palencia) was in service there as a chapelmaster during 1551–1578; but because of his infirmities a committee was appointed on October 26, 1577, to find a successor.<sup>77</sup> Matters dragged somewhat slowly, because adequate financial provision had first to be made for the retiring Pedro Ordoñez. A prebend was found for him on April 9, 1578, and on the following September 10 the Palencia chapter voted to receive Navarro—"of whose abilities and talent an excellent report had been given." He took six weeks to wind up his affairs at Ciudad Rodrigo; and on October 17 reported for duty at Palencia.<sup>78</sup> The cathedral act announcing his arrival is of interest for several reasons. First, it shows that he brought into the chapter meeting of that date an effusive letter written in his behalf by the new Bishop of Palencia, Álvaro de Mendoza. This bishop had governed the diocese of Ávila from 1563 until 1577. His term at Palencia was to last from 1577 until 1586. Beyond doubt, the new bishop's interest dated from the days of Navarro's chapelmastership at Ávila—Navarro's last two years there (1563–1564) having coincided with the bishop's first two. Second, the act of October 17, 1578, is of interest because it proves that Navarro coveted certain evidences of respect for his profession, among them (1) the right to wear the same brocade as that worn by canons, and (2) the right to a high seat in choir. The act itself deserves at least partial quotation.

On Friday, October 17, 1578, Juan Navarro, the chapelmaster of Ciudad Rodrigo, brought in a recommendatory letter written by His Excellency the Bishop: in which after warmly urging the chapter to accord Navarro all possible honor the bishop stated that everything done for the chapelmaster would be interpreted as a kindness done him personally, his reason being that Navarro's talents did not fall short of the best recognition that the chapter could give them. Navarro, after presenting the letter, offered his services to the cathedral with every mark of

<sup>72</sup> (1) *AM*, viii (1953 [1954]), 25. (2) R. Mitjana, "La capilla de Música de la Catedral de Málaga. Año de 1543 al año de . . .," p. 54 (Nov. 5, 1554). (3) Vicente Espinel, *La casa de la memoria* [1591], fol. 47.

<sup>73</sup> R. Casimiri, "Melchor Robledo, maestro a Saragozza: Juan Navarro, maestro ad Avila nel 1574," *Note d'archivio*, XI, 3–4 (July–Dec., 1934), 203–206.

<sup>74</sup> Ávila Cathedral, *A.C. 1572–1573–1574–1575*, fol. 9<sup>v</sup> (Oct. 24, 1572).

<sup>75</sup> Elústiza-Castrillo, *Antología musical*, p. LXXIV (line 31).

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. LXXIII (lines 7–8).

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. LXXIX.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. LXXIV–LXXV.



appreciation for the chapter's kindness in inviting him to Palencia. Having paid his devoirs, he left. The Archdeacon of Campos and the precentor then made mention of the fact that Navarro did not ask for more than he had been previously conceded in other cathedrals; and that while His Excellency was now asking the chapter to assign him an altar and a high seat in choir, Navarro had been enjoying even greater honors at Ciudad Rodrigo, where in addition to these tokens of respect he had had the privilege of a vote at chapter meetings. This privilege he was not now requesting in our cathedral. Navarro's petition having been heard, his many fine qualities explained, his preëminence as an artist bespoken, but principally the bishop's letter having been taken into consideration, it was proposed that a vote be taken. Juan Alonso de Torres, prebendary, intruded at this juncture to protest (in his own name, and in that of the other cathedral prebendaries who had authorized him to speak for them) that the proposal clearly prejudiced the rights of the titular prebendaries in elevating Navarro over them in the seating plan; and that he must therefore denounce the proposal and was prepared to do so at great length, given time and place; and that he would himself petition His Excellency not to approve any action taken by the chapter. His protest having been heard and his notice of intention to appeal to the bishop duly recorded, the chapter proceeded to vote. Scrutiny of the tallies showed 27 for the bishop's proposal, 10 against. The chapter then ordered that because of his personal merits Navarro should during the time of his service in Palencia Cathedral be allowed the privilege of his own altar in weeks chosen by him, provided that they did not encroach on double or semidouble feasts marked in the calendar for polyphonic celebration. Also he might wear the same silk brocade worn by canons, and enjoy a high seat in choir: all of this by express permission of the chapter.

The next capitular act mentioning Navarro is dated May 22, 1579. Having just completed his seventh month of service he waited on the chapter that day with a request, made "in his own name, and in that of the musical prebendaries and twelve singing chaplains," for permission to establish a Brotherhood dedicated especially to the praise of Our Lady and of the cathedral patron Saint Antolín (French third-century saint thought to have been buried on the site of Palencia Cathedral). At the same time he brought in the constitutions of the proposed brotherhood and asked the chapter to reserve a special chapel for their religious exercises. The chapter agreed to study the proposed constitutions.

That Navarro continued to enjoy the bishop's high favor throughout his stay at Palencia is borne

out by the personal letter that the bishop wrote in his behalf to the chapter in April, 1580, asking that he be granted a salary raise. But he had not long to enjoy it, for he died at two on Sunday afternoon, September 25 of the same year. As a mark of honor he was buried in the cathedral. On the following Saturday, October 1, the chapter met to consider how his place, and also several other musical vacancies, might best be filled. Because of the difficulty of luring first-rate musicians to Palencia, the chapter decided that the next chapelmaster must be offered the same privileges as Navarro: namely, "brocade and an altar in addition to all the rest." Villalar of Zamora (whose name they mistook for Villacampa) was their first choice. He refused, whereupon the chapter voted (December 19, 1580) to write Melchor Robledo—who had for a decade been serving as chapelmaster at Saragossa. Their letter to Robledo proved a futile gesture—the financial terms not proving sufficiently attractive. After the messenger sent to treat with Robledo at midway Calahorra returned empty-handed, nought remained but to hire a contender who suffered from the serious disadvantage of being a married man—Bricio Gaudi.

Like Guerrero, Navarro first bursts into print in a vihuela tablature. Guerrero was represented by intabulations of nine items in Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* (1554); Navarro is represented by three in Daza's *El Parnasso* (1576). Two of these are labeled villanescas, *No vez amor* (folios 89-90<sup>v</sup>) and *Ay de mí, sin ventura* (folios 85<sup>v</sup>-87<sup>v</sup>). Daza classifies the third as a villancico, *Que razón podeys vos* (folios 99-100<sup>v</sup>). These three are, of course, secular items: just as are six in the *olim* Medinaceli cancionero (*MME*, Vol. VIII, items 26,<sup>79</sup> 35, 45, 50; Vol. IX, items 55, 76), two of which items (items 35 [= 89], 76) concord with the second and first Daza intabulations. Apart from these secular pieces, Navarro seems not to have reached print during his lifetime.

On the other hand, his *Psalmi, Hymni, ac Magnificat*, published at Rome ten years after his death, establishes him as a unique figure among Spanish sixteenth-century composers in that his was the only

<sup>79</sup>In *MME*, Vol. VIII, item 26 at page 53 of the "parte musical" is listed as anonymous. At pages 17 (item 35 = 26) and 29 (line 14) the same item is ascribed to Navarro. Cf. J. B. Trend, "Catalogue of the music in the Biblioteca Medinaceli, Madrid," *Revue hispanique*, LXXI (1927), p. 497, line 27.



such monumental collection (177 leaves) for which publication was engineered not by the composer himself, but by an admirer willing to defray the costs. Moreover, it was the only such publication that rose, phoenix-like, above a composer's ashes. True, individual motets by this or that Spanish composer reached a first printing posthumously. But only in the instance of Navarro did such a collected edition comprised entirely of a single composer's works appear after his death.

The patron at whose charges the collection was printed, Canon Francisco Reinoso, bore the title of *abad* (abbot) *de Husillos*—this being a dignity in Palencia Cathedral. Husillos, a small village five miles north of Palencia, gives its name to this cathedral dignity.<sup>80</sup> Later, Reinoso when bishop of Cordova (1597–1601) patronized Victoria. It was he also

<sup>80</sup> Further concerning Husillos in Joseph Saenz de Aguirre's *Collectio maxima conciliorum omnium Hispaniae*, III (Rome:

whom Antonio Ortiz in his *A Relation of the Solemnities wherewith the Catholike Princes K. Phillip the III. and Quene Margaret were receyued in the English Colledge of Valladolid the 22. of August. 1600* (published 1601) came to extol for the gift of a "payre of virginales of an excellent sound" used to "accompany the other instruments which the schollers vse with great dexteritie in the solemnities of Masse and Euensong vpon feastiuall dayes, which they sing with no lesse deuotion and proprietie of Ecclesiasticall ceremonies as the Institution and statutes of these Seminaries ordayne." Such largesse proves that Reinoso was an unusually cultivated music lover and a patron of informed taste. At his solicitation, Fernando Navarro Salazar (himself a distinguished canonist) submitted manuscript copies of his uncle's vespers music (perhaps identical with the two large manuscript collections still existing in 1933, although in deteriorated condition, at Palencia Cathedral). Reinoso, who had visited Rome *ca.* 1580, in turn transmitted these to Francisco Soto (1534–1619), the singer in the papal chapel for whose services the Salamanca chapter had vied unsuccessfully in 1572–1573 while Navarro was still chapelmaster. Soto was an experienced editor. Before 1590 he had already edited three books of *Laudi spirituali*. In the third he had even changed *a lo divino* the secular words of a villanesca—*No ves amor*—that Daza had in his *El Parnasso* (1576) attributed to Navarro: the new sacred lyrics bearing as title, *No ves mi Dios* (*Il terzo libro delle laudi spirituali* [Rome: 1588]). Obviously, Soto already knew and therefore admired Navarro's music before Reinoso commissioned him to set the 1590 selection through the press.

In his 1590 preface Soto begins with an expression of thanks to Reinoso for assigning him such an editorial task.<sup>81</sup> He declares that Navarro's art

J. J. Komarek, 1694), p. 317: "Concilium Fusselense," Elu-stiza-Castrillo in their *Antología musical*, page LXXV, journeyed to an Alice-in-Wonderland "Fusel" in their search for a place name. But see Sta. Teresa de Jesús, *Obras.*, ed. by P. Silverio de Santa Teresa, ix (Burgos: Tip. de "El Monte Carmelo," 1924), p. 185, n. 2: "D. Francisco Reinoso, *abad de Husillos en la catedral palentina* . . . conoció en Roma al general de la Compañía . . ." In Rome *ca.* 1580 Reinoso doubtless met both Soto and Victoria, as well as Aquaviva.

<sup>81</sup> For the Latin original (though unfortunately in a faulty transcript) see Gaetano Gaspari, *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo musicale di Bologna* (Bologna: Lib. Romagnoli dall'Acqua, 1892), II, 279–280.





No ves mi Dios\*

Il primo libro delle laudi spirituali (Rome: 1588), fol. 53<sup>v</sup>.

[Juan Navarro]\*\*

Tiple 1 Alto

No ves mi Dios, no ves mi Dios, que es-

Tiple 2 Tenor

No ves mi Dios, no ves mi Dios, que es-

te al-ma se con-sue-la en-tre va-nos pla-ce-res de

te al-ma se con-sue-la en-tre va-

te al-ma se con-sue-la en-tre va-

te al-ma se con-sue-la en-tre va-

tal sucr-te, de tal sucr-te, que sien-do tu he-

nos pla-ce-res de tal sucr-te, que sien-do tu be-

nos pla-ce-res de tal sucr-te, que sien-do tu he-

sucr-te, de tal sucr-te, que sien-do tu he-

su-ra; y pues en dar-te e-no-jos se des-ve-

ra; y pues en dar-te e-no-jos se des-ve-

su-ra; y pues en dar-te e-no-jos se des-ve-

su-ra; y pues en dar-te e-no-jos se des-ve-

la, ti-ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

la, ti-ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

la, ti-ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

due-la, ti-ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

ti-ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

ti-ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

ti-ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la, que le due-

u-na sa-e-ta que le due-

que le due-la, u-na sa-e-ta que le due-

chu-ra, se a-bra-za con la muer-

chu-ra, se a-bra-za con la muer-te, con

chu-ra, se a-bra-za con la muer-

chu-ra, se a-bra-za con la

te, ol-vi-da-da de ti, su-ma her-mo-

le muer-te, ol-vi-da-da de ti, su-ma her-mo-

te, ol-vi-da-da de ti, su-ma her-mo-

muer-te, ol-vi-da-da de ti, su-ma her-mo-

su-ra, ol-vi-da-da de ti, de ti, ol-

su-ra, ol-vi-da-da de ti,

su-ra, ol-vi-da-da de ti,

su-ra, ol-vi-da-

vi-da-da de ti su-ma her-mo-su-ra, her-mo-

ol-vi-da-da de ti su-ma her-mo-

ol-vi-da-da de ti su-ma her-mo-

da de ti su-ma her-mo-su-ra, her-mo-

la, y pues en dar-te e-no-jos se des-ve-

la, y pues en dar-te e-no-jos se des-ve-

la, y pues en dar-te e-no-jos se des-ve-

la, y pues en dar-te e-no-jos se des-ve-

la, ti-ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

la, ti-ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

la, ti-ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

la, ti-ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

ti-ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

ti-ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

ti-ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

ti-ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la,

ra-le u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la, que le due-

u-na sa-e-ta que le due-

que le due-la, u-na sa-e-ta que le due-la.

\*Do not regard, O God, how this soul diverts himself among vain pleasures of such kind that despite Thy redemption he hugs destruction: forgetful of Thee, the highest good. Since Thou art vexed by the provocation offered Thee, cast an arrow at this soul that will pain it.

\*\*The secular original, *No ves amor*, is anonymous in former Biblioteca Medinaceli MS 13230 at fols. 136<sup>v</sup>-137<sup>r</sup>, but as a villanesca a quatro entitled *No ves amor* is accredited to Navarro at fol. 89 of Esteban Daza's *El Parnasso* (Valladolid: 1576). Tipples 1 and 2 are interchanged in the secular and sacred versions. Our suggested accidentals duplicate Daza's required accidentals in his intabulation (fols. 89-90<sup>v</sup>).



. . . lacks nothing that the most erudite musician might desire, but that at the same time Navarro knows how to transport the hearer with the incredible sweetness of his music. . . . Therefore, notwithstanding the pressure of innumerable other duties from every side, I most willingly undertook the task of seeing these works through the press at the earliest possible moment; for not only am I certain that those who are expert in the art, as well as that larger general public which shall in future have an opportunity of hearing these works sung, will be grateful to me for having completed this editorial task; but more especially do I know that this collection ought to be published for the honor and glory of God and of Our Lady.

The contemporary scholar who has endorsed every word of Soto's praise and who bore testimony to his admiration of Navarro by publishing his scored version of the *Psalmi, Hymni, ac Magnificat* in 1978 was Samuel Rubio (d. March 15, 1986), founding father of the Sociedad Española de Musicología. According to Rubio, Navarro was a genius worthy of enshrinement in the company of Morales, Guerrero, and Victoria.

So far as actual contents are concerned, Navarro's 1590 posthumous publication closely parallels Guerrero's *Liber vesperarum* published at Rome six years earlier. Both books begin with vesper psalms, continue with vesper hymns (arranged in church-year sequence), proceed next to magnificats in each of the eight tones, and conclude with settings of four Marian antiphons. Apart from the similarity of liturgical types—psalms, hymns, magnificats, and Marian antiphons—the two collections deserve comparison because: (1) the same seven psalms with which Guerrero commences his *Liber vesperarum* (nos. 109–113, 116, 147) are to be found among Navarro's dozen psalms; (2) every one of the twenty-four hymn texts set in Guerrero's second section occurs among Navarro's twenty-eight, and always in connection with the same feasts; (3) in both Guerrero's set of ten and in Navarro's of nine magnificats is to be found a series of alternate-verse settings in all eight tones; (4) both composers chose to conclude their collections with the same four Marian antiphons, namely, *Alma Redemptoris*, *Ave Regina coelorum*, *Regina coeli*, and *Salve Regina* (Vita, ad te suspiramus, Et Jesum through ventris tui, O clemens through the end, in polyphony). Actual performance of almost every item in both the Guerrero and Navarro books presupposes the alternation of verses in plainsong with those in polyphony *a 4*.

Navarro's psalms bear these numbers (Vulgate

## Laudate pueri (Psalm 112 [=113])

Quarti toni

Psalmi, Hymni ac Magnificat (Rome: 1590), fols. 8<sup>v</sup>.9.

Verse 2 (plainsong formula in cantus)\*

Sit no-men Do-mi-ni be-ne-di-ctum,

Sit no-men Do-mi-ni be-ne-di-ctum,

Sit no-men Do-mi-ni be-ne-di-ctum,

ex hoc nunc, et us-que in sae-cu-lum.

ex hoc nunc, et us-que in sae-cu-lum.

ex hoc nunc, et us-que in sae-cu-lum.

Verse 4 (plainsong formula in tenor)†

Ex-cel-sus su-per o-mnes gen-tes Do-mi-nus,

Ex-cel-sus su-per o-mnes gen-tes Do-mi-nus,

Ex-cel-sus su-per o-mnes gen-tes Do-mi-nus,

et su-per coe-los glo-ri-a e-jus.

et su-per coe-los glo-ri-a e-jus.

et su-per coe-los glo-ri-a e-jus.

et su-per coe-los glo-ri-a e-jus.

et su-per coe-los glo-ri-a e-jus.

et su-per coe-los glo-ri-a e-jus.

\* Blessed be the name of the Lord, both now and for evermore.  
† High above all nations is the Lord, His glory is above the heavens.

numbering): 109–113, 115–116, 121, 126, 131, 138, 147. In Psalms 109–112, 115–116, 121, 126, and 147 he sets the even verses polyphonically (*Liber usualis* numbering). On the other hand, in Psalms 113, 131, and 138—each of which extends to more than twenty verses—he sets only every third verse polyphonically:<sup>82</sup> beginning with verse 2 (*Liber usualis* numbering). Since he commits himself to the use of the same psalm tone in every polyphonic verse during a given psalm, a rather severe test is imposed upon his artistry. He avoids monotony by shifting the

<sup>82</sup>By contrast, Guerrero in his Tone VIII setting of Psalm 131, *Memento Domine David*, composed all ten even verses polyphonically. Navarro's three psalms, 113, 131, 138 (and these only), are prefixed by the rubric *Cum tribus choris*: which means that the choral forces were divided into three groups—the first singing plainsong, the second polyphony, and the third again plainsong. *Cum tribus choris* does not in these instances mean "three polyphonic choirs."



L T V S  
Iohannis Navarro

Donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum.

Ecum principum in die virtutis tuae in splendoribus sanctorum es vtero ante luciferum genuisti.

D A S S V S

Donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum.

Ecum principum in die virtutis tuae in splendoribus sanctorum es vtero ante luciferum genuisti.

Dixit Dominus, Primi toni, fols. 0<sup>v</sup>-1. Samuel Rubio in his transcription of Donec ponam and Tecum principum verses suggests these ficta: 6 f<sup>#</sup>'s, 2 c<sup>#</sup>'s, 4 e<sup>b</sup>'s.

psalm-tone formula from one voice to another; by reducing (verses 8 of Ps. 109 and 9 of Ps. 138) or augmenting the number of voice parts (Gloria Patri in Pss. 121, 147); by changing the vocal combination from a mixed quartet to four equal voices (verses 21 of Ps. 113, 8 of Ps. 115, 6 of Ps. 121, 4 of Ps. 126, 14 of Ps. 131, 6 of Ps. 147); and occasionally by culminating in a canon (tenor with altus II at the fifth in Ps. 147). As for the order in which they are printed, the first eight (109, 110, 111, 112, 116, 121, 147, 126) adhere respectively to the eight psalm tones. The remaining four (138, 115, 131, 113) follow no such predetermined tonal scheme (Tones II, V, III, and III, respectively).

Navarro contrives canons of one sort or another in ten of the twenty-eight hymns (*Ad caenam Agni providi*, *Jesu nostra redemptio*, *Ave maris stella*, *Ut queant laxis*, *Lauda mater ecclesia*, *Christe Redemptor omnium*, *Tristes erant Apostoli*, *Deus tuorum militum*, *Urbs beata Jerusalem*, and *Te Deum lauda-*

*mus*). The second of these boasts an enigma canon, as does also the solmization hymn. In that only notes of designated time value in the dux are to be sung by the comes, the *Jesu nostra redemptio* canon foreshadows feats of like kind in Alonso Lobo's *Prudentes virgines* Mass (Osanna I) and in Vivanco's first magnificat (Gloria Patri a 8).<sup>83</sup>

The most "Spanish" hymns are the Passion Sunday *Vexilla Regis prodeunt* and the Corpus Christi *Pange lingua gloriosi*. In each, Navarro has polyphonically dressed "more hispano" melodies. The *Vexilla Regis prodeunt* at folio 46<sup>v</sup> opens with a plainsong intonation (the first three words) succeeded by polyphony during the rest of the strophe. Either because the Spanish plainsong would not have been known elsewhere, or because this is the only hymn in which Navarro breaks into polyphony in

<sup>83</sup>Sebastián de Vivanco, *Liber Magnificarum* (Salamanca: Artus Taberniel, 1607), pp. 15-16.



*Sicut erat*, closing *Dixit Dominus*, Primi toni, fols. 2<sup>v</sup>-3 (mensuration  $\Phi 3$ ). Rubio transcribes this verse 10 in 6/8. Not clearly visible in the facsimile are the sharp before the 22nd note in the altus and the flat before the 6th note from the end in the bassus.

the middle of a strophe, this one hymn alone of the twenty-eight is headed by its appropriate plainsong intonation printed in black semibreves. Such an exception stands out all the more boldly because Navarro provides another polyphonic setting of two strophes from Venantius Fortunatus's identical hymn at folios 70<sup>v</sup>-72. The second *Vexilla Regis* (In festo S. Crucis) differs musically from the first (Dominica in Passione) because: (1) no allusion is made to the "more hispano" melody; (2) Navarro breaks into polyphony not in the middle of the strophe, but at the beginning of a stanza; (3) no printed intonation stands at the head of the superius. Venantius Fortunatus's is the only hymn set twice in Navarro's collection. He provides polyphony for strophes 1, 4, 6, and 8 in the Passion Sunday version; for strophes 3 and 7 in the Holy Cross version.

The second specifically Spanish hymn tune that he chooses for polyphonic treatment is the *Pange lingua gloriosi* at folios 60<sup>v</sup>-65. Here he assigns the bor-

rowed melody—which he quotes with scrupulous exactness—to his superius throughout all three strophes (2, 4, and 6). Since Guerrero uses the same "more hispano" melody when setting the same hymn text by St. Thomas Aquinas (*Liber vespertinum*, folios 45<sup>v</sup>-48), a comparison of Navarro's with Guerrero's setting is in order. Instead of confining the borrowed melody to the superius, Guerrero allots the first, second, third, and sixth incises of the borrowed melody to his cantus, but the fourth and fifth incises to his tenor in the *Nobis datus nobis natus* strophe; all incises to the lowest of four equal voices in the *Verbum caro* strophe; the first pair of incises to the cantus, and the last four to the tenor, in the *Tantum ergo* strophe. Guerrero, in addition to shifting his vocal combination from mixed voices in the outer strophes to equal in the middle strophe, veers from the triple meter in which the Spanish plainsong was traditionally sung to unconventional duple during his final *Tantum ergo* strophe; and



does not hesitate to embellish the borrowed melody with passing notes, especially at final cadences. Navarro, by reason of his literal quotation, rigid placement in the superius, and unvarying meter, achieves the elegant stiffness of finely embroidered brocade. Guerrero, because of his willingness to paraphrase, his shifting of borrowed material from one voice to another, his unexpected abandonment in the last strophe of triple for duple meter, and his preference for motet rather than strict cantus firmus treatment, weaves a more pliable silken fabric that shines with different-hued iridescence at every stirring of the atmosphere. Both settings are works of high art. Navarro, by virtue of the more straightforward design in this as in other of his hymns, seems to have provided a setting that chapelmasters in the smaller Spanish cathedrals could perform with greater assurance of success.<sup>84</sup>

Although only a third of Navarro's twenty-eight hymns vaunt canons, every final Gloria Patri of his first eight magnificats (found at folios 109<sup>v</sup>–157) contains them. Interestingly enough, the canonic interval corresponds with the number of the tone. The first Gloria Patri (Magnificat in Tone I) exhibits a canon at the unison, second (Tone II) at the second, third (Tone III) at the third, and so forth, through the eighth (Tone VIII) with its canon at the octave. This highly schematic arrangement—so typically Spanish, in that the learned device (1) answers to the beck and call of an exterior authority and (2) is applied to a series of magnificats (rather than to movements of a *Missa Prolationum* or *Repleatur os meum*)—caught the fancy of the slightly later peninsular composer, Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia. But instead of a canon at the number of the tone in only the Gloria Patri of each five-voice magnificat (*Canticum Beatissimae Virginis Deiparae Mariae octo modis, seu tonis compositum* [Saragossa: Pedro Cabart, 1608], folios 1<sup>v</sup>–49), Aguilera propounded

canons at the respective interval in all six polyphonic movements of each magnificat.<sup>85</sup> Navarro's canons appear always in odd-verse (*Anima mea*) magnificats; so do Aguilera's. In all eight of his *Anima mea* magnificats, Navarro reduces to three voices in the Et misericordia movement (SSA, ATB, SAT, SAB, SAA, AAT, SSA, STB in Tone I through Tone VIII, respectively). Aguilera similarly reduces to four voices in every Et misericordia movement of his canonic magnificats. The basic number of voices in Navarro's magnificats (like his psalms and hymns) is, on the other hand, always a quartet; whereas Aguilera's canonic exemplars are all composed *a 5*.

For a postscript to his series of eight odd-verse magnificats, Navarro's 1590 publication includes a ninth even-verse magnificat (Tone I). Just as in the Gloria Patri of each *Anima mea* magnificat, so also in the Sicut erat of this *Et exultavit* magnificat he augments to five voices. However, in the Sicut erat of this ninth magnificat he refuses to extend his scheme by constructing a canon at the ninth.

The four Marian antiphons—*Alma Redemptoris (a 5)*, *Ave Regina coelorum (a 5)*, *Regina coeli (a 6)*, and *Salve Regina (a 4)*—are designated respectively for use in the following seasons: (1) Advent until Septuagesima; (2) Septuagesima until Easter; (3) Easter until Trinity; (4) Trinity until Advent. The highly wrought scheme visible in both the parts and the whole of Navarro's 1590 *Psalmi, Hymni, ac Magnificat* strongly suggests that before his death he had planned the publication of his "works" in just such a collected form. In this one volume he supplied choristers with a complete body of polyphony for the most important of the office hours—vespers: it alone among the hours being a service at which polyphonic singing has ever enjoyed general encouragement. Indeed, nothing in the book, except the last two hymns—*Te lucis ante terminum* being the compline hymn sung indiscriminately throughout every season of the church year and *Te Deum* being the thanksgiving hymn admitted at matins of the greater feasts and on other occasions for celebration—belongs in any service other than that of vespers.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>84</sup> In Samuel Rubio's edition of Navarro's *Psalmi, Hymni, ac Magnificat* (Madrid: Gráficas Agenjo, S.A., 1978), the *Nobis datus nobis natus* strophe occupies pages 132–134. Throughout the *Verbum caro* and *Genitori* strophes transcribed at pages 135–140, Navarro exactly repeats the same distinctively Spanish plainchant melody (always in the top voice) that was sung in the *Nobis datus* strophe. In Victoria's *Pange lingua (more hispano)* published in his *Hymni totius anni* (Rome: Domenico Basa, 1581), he sets the same even-numbered strophes polyphonically and avails himself of the same Spanish plainchant, but paraphrases it.

<sup>85</sup> Another composer who acted on Navarro's cue was the Portuguese, Filipe de Magalhães. In each of his eight even-verse *Cantica Beatissimae Virginis* (Lisbon: Laurens Craesbeck, 1636) he also devised canons at the interval of the tone-number.

<sup>86</sup> Psalm 131, *Memento Domine David*, fols. 28<sup>v</sup>–30, is assigned *In secundis Vesperis*.



Navarro's vespers music enjoyed a remarkably widespread vogue. Manuscript copies made long after the exhaustion of the printed book are still to be encountered today in such unfrequented and widely separated places as Puebla, Mexico, and Vila Viçosa, Portugal. Whatever the other reasons for the wide popularity of his vespers music, these excellencies should be mentioned: (1) his succinctness, (2) his ability to capture a mood immediately, (3) his fidelity to the plainchant source, (4) his presentation of the source melody in as conspicuous a way as possible, and (5) his preference for rational rather than esoteric devices.

In Spain itself the continued vogue can be adduced from the survival in both east (Murcia) and West (Plasencia) Spain of manuscript copies made as late as the eighteenth century.<sup>87</sup> Such continued popularity after 1632, when radically revised texts for fourteen of the twenty-eight hymns included in Navarro's printed collection were approved by Pope Urban VIII (in an effort to improve the Latinity of medieval hymnology), meant that Navarro's 1590 texts had to be changed. One such revised text is to be found in a 1933 reprint of his Low Sunday hymn *Ad caenam Agni providi* (*Psalmi, Hymni, ac Magnificat* [1590], folios 50<sup>v</sup>-54). Elústiza and Castrillo Hernández, when they republished this hymn in their *Antología musical*, took for their source a late Burgos Cathedral manuscript rather than Navarro's 1590 printed version.<sup>88</sup> In consequence, they adhered to the revised text of this hymn, which begins *Ad regias Agni dapes*. This title alone would warn any informed hymnist that the rest of the Ambrosian text has been made to conform with the more "classically correct" version approved by the last humanist pope.

In this particular hymn, although not quite so faithfully as in the Spanish *Pange lingua* already alluded to, Navarro adheres to the plainsong in every polyphonic strophe—those polyphonically set being strophes 2, 4, 6, and 8. In strophes 2 and 4 he places

the plainsong in the top voice of the mixed quartet. In strophe 6, for SAB trio, the plainsong still travels in the top part. In the concluding strophe *a 5* (SSATB) he devises a canon at the unison between superius I and II: meanwhile confiding the plainsong to the tenor. Whether in the top voice or in the tenor, the plainsong shades off into a *chiaroscuro*, by reason of an added note or two, only at cadences. Because of his tendency to quote plainsong literally and to pace the plainsong-bearing voice slower than those surrounding it in the polyphonic complex, Navarro more nearly approaches his teacher Morales—at least so far as the treatment of plainchant is concerned—than does his fellow pupil Guerrero.

Navarro, unlike most sixteenth-century Spanish masters, seems to have avoided composing masses. However, twelve motets not classifiable as vespers music are preserved in the Santiago codex at Valladolid. One of these, his *Ave Virgo sanctissima*, immediately calls to mind Guerrero's more famous motet of the same title. Two others from the same codex were reprinted in the 1933 Elústiza-Castrillo anthology that contains the Low Sunday hymn described in the two previous paragraphs. Though neither is edited satisfactorily—wrong notes cropping up in both—the edition does not so belie the originals as wholly to obscure Navarro's great expressive powers. The study of both is of value because they prove that Navarro's motet style departed radically from his vespers style. The phrases in both are expansively drawn. If not the proleptic master of tonic-dominant harmony that Guerrero proves to have been, Navarro does use the shifts of harmony implied by new obligatory accidentals to underline sharp turns of thought in the motet texts. For instance, in his Maundy Thursday *In passione positus*, a fourth-tone motet in two *partes a 6*,<sup>89</sup> he reserves the use of B $\flat$ 's for the dramatic moment when Jesus begins to cry out in agony, "My soul is

<sup>87</sup> *MME*, VIII, 29; *AM*, V, 153, 155-156.

<sup>88</sup> Elústiza-Castrillo, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-129. As happens often in this anthology, wrong notes abound. See mm. 19<sub>3</sub>, 41<sub>2</sub>, 63<sub>4</sub>, and 75-76 for obvious errors. Even if Navarro uses the "consonant" fourth at cadences he does not treat the unprepared fourth or seventh on other occasions as a consonance. Nor does he write consecutive octaves and fifths. He does make occasional use of both escaped- and changing-notes.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 108-115. Again in this example, a number of wrong notes mar the composer's intentions. See mm. 9<sub>2</sub>, 22<sub>1</sub>, 35<sub>3</sub>, 41<sub>3</sub>, 44<sub>3</sub>, 72<sub>1</sub>, 87<sub>2</sub>, 89<sub>2</sub>. At meas. 92 the rhythm of cantus II must be corrected; and in meas. 94 the impossible leap of an augmented second in tenor II. Cf. *In passione positus*, no. 14 of the five-part motets in Guerrero's *Sacrae cantiones* (1555). In *pars 1* Guerrero sets the whole of the text divided by Navarro between *partes 1* and 2. For *partes 2*, Guerrero selects Jesus's words on the cross, *Deus meus*.



sorrowful even unto death." Flats, which would be of such commonplace occurrence in all other modes as not to deserve notice, make a strange and telling effect at this juncture: especially since only when Jesus begins to speak do they adorn either treble or bass lines in this motet of 96 breves duration. In *Laboravi in gemitu*, a single-pars motet *a 5*, he sets verses 7–9 from Psalm 6.<sup>90</sup> But Navarro makes no allusion to a psalm tone, does not divide the verses for alternate polyphonic and plainsong rendition, and instead constructs his music as a series of imitative points. His lines are extremely poignant. The drooping thirds at mm. 1–13, aptly evoke the sigh of the psalmist, "I am weary with my moaning." When the psalmist rouses himself and suddenly shouts, "Depart from me, all you workers of iniquity," Navarro responds musically with swift upward leaps to an accented octave, followed by downward thirds, in a point of imitation at mm. 50–54. Not only by the contour of his lines but also by harmonic juxtapositions he finds ways to reinforce the text. When the psalmist complains, "Every night I flood my bed with tears," Navarro at the word "tears" (meas. 23) moves directly from a D-major chord (obligatory  $f\sharp$ ) to an F-major chord (obligatory  $F\flat$ ). He again repeats this shift at mm. 63–64. The cross relations are by no means Navarro's only harmonic expedients. At mm. 40–41 he moves from A minor to B $\flat$  Major and thence to E $\flat$  Major chords in quick succession when setting the words "troubled with indignation."

#### ALONSO [= ALFONSO] LOBO (ca. 1555–1617)

After mid-century it became the custom at Toledo to require that a biographical sketch of each important new cathedral appointee be filed in the cathedral archives. These sketches do not always reveal date of birth, but they do state the names of the parents and the place of birth. Alonso Lobo, who became chapelmaster at Toledo in 1593, is known from his *expediente de limpieza de sangre* to have been born in Osuna (50 miles east of Seville). His father's name was Alonso Lobo, and his mother's, Jerónima

<sup>90</sup> Wrong notes intrude at mm. 18<sub>2</sub>, 21<sub>1</sub>, and 52 of *Laboravi in gemitu* (pp. 119–123). Necessary ficta accidentals have been omitted at mm. 12<sub>4</sub>, 13<sub>2-4</sub>, 14<sub>1</sub>, 18<sub>4</sub>, 19<sub>1-2</sub>, and 61<sub>3</sub>. In the bass part at meas. 5, D (breve) must be supplied.

de Borja.<sup>91</sup> It would be tempting to suppose that Alonso Lobo the father of the composer was the same *alonso lovo moço de coro del qual le hazian e hizieron merçed e limosna porque sirue vien el coro* in Seville Cathedral on February 18, 1538.<sup>92</sup> (The composer himself can hardly have been the choirboy commended in the Sevillian capitular acts for his outstanding service, because he would have turned seventy when named chapelmaster at Seville in succession to Cotes—a superannuate's age.)

Not only does the Toledo *expediente* reveal the name of the composer's father, but also that of his paternal grandfather, which was Alonso Lobo as well; it further certifies that each of the four grandparents was a native of Osuna. If the composer was born in 1555, as Eslava suggested, he rose to a canonry in the collegiate church at Osuna before he was thirty-five. Whatever his exact age, it is certain that the surroundings in which Lobo came to maturity were culturally as stimulating as any to be found in Spain during the reign of Philip II. The collegiate church—endowed by Juan Téllez Girón, fourth count of Ureña, the amateur composer who was a patron of Morales<sup>93</sup>—had been erected on a sumptuous scale in 1531–1535. Situated near the peak of

<sup>91</sup> The "Borja" which appears as the seventh word on the title page of his 1602 Masses (*Liber primus missarum Alphonsi Lobo de Borja*) is his mother's name, not a place name. He was born at Osuna. Nor were there two composers named Alfonso [Alonso] Lobo. Both José Subirá, in his *Historia de la música española e hispanoamericana* (Barcelona: Salvat editores, 1953), pages 258, 433 (see *índice onomástico*, p. 989, for double listing), and Higinio Anglés in his *Historia de la música española* (3d ed.; Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1949), pages 376 and 403, leave such an impression. That Anglés in 1949 still thought there had been two Alonso Lobo's—one of whom served at Toledo, the other at Seville—is proved by his dating of the Toledo chapelmaster's death at 1601 and the Seville chapelmaster's death at 1617. The 1617 date was extracted from Simón de la Rosa y López, *Los seises de la Catedral de Sevilla* (1904), page 145. On page 144 of the same book, however, Rosa y López stated that Lobo returned to Seville after serving at Toledo.

Lobo enjoyed the esteem of Lope de Vega, who eulogized him in *El peregrino en su patria* (published 1604; approbation 1603). See Lope de Vega, *Colección de las obras sueltas*, V (Madrid: Imp. de D. Antonio de Sancha, 1776), p. 346, lines 4–5.

<sup>92</sup> Seville Cathedral, *Autos capitulares de 1538–1539*, fol. 20.

<sup>93</sup> Gerónimo Gudiel, *Compendio de algunas historias de España* (Alcalá de Henares: I. Iñiguez de Lequerica, 1577), fol. 115 (musical ability of the Count of Ureña = Uruena).