



XVIII, and Agnus Dei XVII, respectively, for each of its four movements." This Lady Mass lacks a Credo. The most virtuosic movement is the *Osanna a 8* (pages 79–84 of *Three Masses*). In the *Osanna Vivanco* contrives a "four-in-one canon, where three voices are derived from one" (page 183 in the Taberniel 1608 print shows the Bassus part from which the canonic voices derive).

At the outset it was said that Vivanco, like Victoria, was a native of Ávila. Even if Vivanco died eleven years later, he cannot have been much younger (in view of the fact that he was old enough to be in major orders and a chaplain at Lérida in 1576). Indeed, the best informed estimate would have it that not five years separate their dates of birth. Both grew up, therefore, in the same musical environment. They may even have shared the same teachers. So far as career is concerned, Vivanco made a record as distinguished as any achieved solely in Spain during his lifetime. The best chaplainships were offered him. Guerrero wanted him for a colleague. He published extensively. His ambition even led him into some completely new and untried paths so far as magnificat composition was concerned. In such motets as his *Stabat Mater* he used plangent, new harmonies. Anyone who has ever taken time to examine their works cannot in conscience hail Victoria as so vastly superior that he should be called the greatest of all Spanish composers while Vivanco's name begs admittance to any but the most exhaustive reference works.<sup>135</sup>

Some months before the tercentenary of St. Theresa of Ávila (1515–1582), the townspeople of Ávila decided to erect a statue in her memory. Around its pedestal were to be inscribed the names

<sup>135</sup>Mrs. Walter Carr does recite Vivanco's name in the table of contents she gives for Hilarión Eslava's *Lira sacro-hispana*. See *Grove's Dictionary*, 5th ed., Vol. II, p. 970, col. 1 (17th cent., i, 1). Unfortunately, she did not take time to collate her "table" with the actual contents of Eslava's Tomo I, serie 1a, siglo XVII. In Eslava's own table of contents (at page 111 of his volume) he itemizes a motet, *O Domine*, as Vivanco's: giving 121 as its page number. But upon turning to page 121 the reader discovers not the promised motet, *O Domine*, by Vivanco; but rather the *Vivo ego* by Lobo which has already been printed at pages 37–39 in the same volume. Of course, it is extremely disillusioning to find that Eslava could have been so lax as to send forth a volume in which on pages 37–39 he printed *Vivo ego* as by Lobo and at pages 121–124 as by Vivanco. (The *Vivo ego* motet is indeed Lobo's, on evidence of the 1602 imprint.)

of those various other natives who were in 1882 thought most worthy to have represented Ávila in letters and the arts. To avoid all partiality, the citizens' committee appealed to the Royal Academy of History for a panel of names.<sup>136</sup> Vivanco was the only musician chosen. Victoria's name—whatever its worldwide implications—was in 1882 considered of less moment in his own country by a national historical commission. At the very least, it can be said in his behalf that Vivanco was the more *echt Spanier* of the two: for only he made his career in Spain. Whatever elements of strength can be found in his music—like those to be discovered in the music of Francisco Guerrero, Juan Navarro, and Alonso Lobo—all the more truly redound therefore to the glory of peninsular art.

#### JUAN ESQUIVEL (ca. 1562–ca. 1625)

Esquivel, a native of Ciudad Rodrigo, published three important folios at nearby Salamanca: the first two in 1608 (printed by Artus Taberniel) and the third in 1613 (Francisco de Cea Tesa). A pupil of Juan Navarro during the latter's incumbency in the mid-1570's, Esquivel was brought up in a cathedral with a long and illustrious musical tradition. As summarized in Mateo Hernández Vegas's two-volume *Ciudad Rodrigo: la Catedral y la ciudad* (Salamanca: Imprenta Comercial Salmantina, 1935), I, 291–294, its musical history from 1494 to Esquivel's appointment as chaplain in 1591 included the following events:

On June 27, 1494, the Ciudad Rodrigo cathedral chapter elected a native of Gascony chaplain—Giraldin Bucher, whose last name is corrupted variously to Buxer, Buxel, and Bujel. His artistic eminence was such that the chapter converted his prebend into a cash salary when he married. His son and pupil, Diego Bujel (who began as a choirboy), succeeded Altamirano as chaplain on November 30, 1522. On January 13, 1528, the chapter loaned Diego Bujel 20 ducats to relieve his financial need, and on February 26, 1532, 50 ducats. To assure his never leaving Ciudad Rodrigo cathedral, the chapter on that latter date promised him free lifetime occupancy of the house in which he lived. Like his father, Diego Bujel married a lady belonging to local aristocracy, whereupon his

<sup>136</sup>Pedrell, *Tomás Luis de Victoria* (Valencia: 1919), pp. 153–155.



prebend was similarly converted to cash. On her decease, Rodrigo cathedral chapter hired him without convoking a competition.

During the time of Diego Bujel = Bucher, instrumentalists gained increasing prominence. The chapter commissioned him and someone named Robles to solicit four trumpets to play at cathedral festivals. On October 21, 1565, the Town Council budgeted a yearly 2,000 maravedís toward the salaries of loud instrumentalists [*ministriles altos*]. About this time Montoya received 14 or 16 ducats [to buy a] sackbut, and money was appropriated to buy cornemuses, a soprano shawm, and to add a dulzaina stop to one of the cathedral organs. Shawmers [*cheremías = chirimías*] admitted on bond, as well as other instrumentalists, were expected to ornament their parts with variants solicited from as far as London where a native of Ciudad Rodrigo, Diego Guzmán y Silva, was the Spanish ambassador [1574-1578].

Diego Bujel's most eminent pupil was Juan Cepa, a native of Descargamaria. First mentioned in the capitular act of August 16, 1532, as a choirboy in Ciudad Rodrigo cathedral, Cepa followed Pedro de Pastrana as chapelmaster at the court of Don Fernando de Aragón, Duke of Calabria. In 1547 Cepa returned home for the godfather ceremony at Robledillo. On December 24, 1554, he was awarded the chapelmastership at Málaga—a post that he held until his death shortly before October 3, 1576 [*AM*, XVI (1961), 119, 138].

The succession of Ciudad Rodrigo chapelmasters after Bujel included Zuñeda, a native of Ávila; Juan Navarro; a native of Marchena or Seville; Alonso de Velasco, previously chapelmaster at Santiago; and Alonso de Texeda [= Tejada] (who transferred to León Cathedral in February 1591, to Salamanca in November 1593, Zamora in November 1601, Toledo in May 1605, Burgos in April 1618, and Zamora anew in February 1623).

But the most published musician ever to serve Ciudad Rodrigo cathedral was the native-born Juan Esquivel who started as a cathedral choirboy and a pupil of Juan Navarro [at Ciudad Rodrigo 1574-1578]. Successful in all the competitions that he entered, Esquivel began his career as chapelmaster at Oviedo in 1581. Thence he transferred to Calahorra, then Ávila, and finally in 1591 to Ciudad Rodrigo. Local patriotism held him at Ciudad Rodrigo the rest of his life.

Notable sixteenth-century cathedral organists included: the Valderas father-and-son pair; Hernán Ruiz de Segura, who later held the contralto prebend at Toledo; Alonso Gómez who had previously been organist at Ávila, Palencia, and Plasencia (both he and his like-named father who was a famous tenor were natives of Ciudad Rodrigo); and lastly Pedro de Argüello, a pupil of Gómez who like him was a native of Ciudad Rodrigo. So great was Argüello's fame gained at his posts in Zamora, Burgo de Osma, and Palencia, that the Ciudad

Esquivel's precocity was such that—aged not yet twenty—he was on November 15, 1581, named chapelmaster of Oviedo Cathedral. His being so named did not come about easily. Alonso Puro (from Zamora) had been awarded the post May 11, 1581. A lawsuit to decide which one should have the post was in November 1581 decided in Esquivel's favor by higher ecclesiastical authority at León. In 1583 he was ordained priest (singing his first Mass at his home town in July of that year).

His maecenas at Ciudad Rodrigo was Pedro Ponce de León, son of the same Duke of Arcos who engaged Morales as chapelmaster from 1548 until 1551 and upon Morales's death befriended Guerrero. After studying at Salamanca University and rising to become rector of the university, the son took the Dominican habit. Consecrated in 1605 for the diocese of Ciudad Rodrigo, he administered that cathedral from 1605 until his translation to the see of Zamora in 1609. Esquivel in his 1613 dedication explicitly cites this eminent Dominican bishop as the protector who after 1605 underwrote the cost of his publications.

The first of these contained six masses preceded by an *Asperges me*. In his article for the Sandberger *Festschrift* (Munich: 1918), "Juan Esquivel: Ein unbekannter spanische Meister des 16. Jahrhunderts," Albert Geiger reproduced the title in full: *Missarum Ioannis Esquivelis in alma ecclesia Civitatensi portionarii, et cantorum praefecti, liber primus*.<sup>137</sup> At the bottom of Esquivel's title page appears this legend: *Superiorum permissu, Salmanticae, ex officina typografica Arti Taberniel Antverpiani, anno a Christo nato MDCVIII*. The title reveals, of course, that this was Esquivel's first book of masses; and that he was prebendary and chapelmaster in the cathedral of Ciudad Rodrigo—*Civitatensis* being the adjectival form of the Latin place-name. As for the legend at the bottom, the printer discloses himself as the same Taberniel—originally from Antwerp—who had published Vivanco's *Liber Magnificarum* at Salamanca in the previous year. Between the title and the legend is an engraving that closely resembles that on the title page of Vivanco's 1607 magnificats. Esquivel, like Vivanco, kneels in

<sup>137</sup> *Festschrift zum 50. Geburtstag* (Munich: Ferdinand Zierfuss, 1918), p. 138.



an attitude of prayer. Like Vivanco he wears full clericals; but instead of the two head-coverings on the floor in the Vivanco engraving, Esquivel possesses only one head-covering (the biretta). Vivanco knelt before a crucifix. Esquivel, a man in his youthful prime, kneels before a painting of the Virgin with Child. At the bottom of her picture is engraved St. Jerome's well-known response, *Sancta et immaculata*.

In the *Asperges a 4* heading the Esquivel volume, the plainsong (*Liber usualis*, p. 11) travels in the soprano voice. As a precedent for thus opening a volume of masses with a polyphonic *Asperges*, Esquivel could have looked to Morales's volume of masses published by Moderne at Lyons in 1551 or the du Chemin miscellaneous collection, *Missarum musicalium*, published at Paris in 1568. Esquivel went far beyond either of these imprints, however, in the number of obligatory accidentals called for at cadences. The six masses that make up the main body of Esquivel's *Missarum . . . liber primus* lean so heavily upon Guerrero for their parody sources that he, like Lobo, would seem to have admired the Sevillian chapelmaster above all other composers. The *Hexachord a 8* and the *Requiem a 5* do not parody Guerrero. Neither does the *Missa Batalla, a 6*. All the rest do. Even the *Batalla* recalls Guerrero's five-voice *Della batalla escoutez* (1582)—not to mention Victoria's nine-voice *Missa pro victoria* (1600). For all three masses Clément Janequin's *La bataille de Marignan* (1529) served as the parody source. In addition to knowing the chanson, Esquivel must be presumed to have been acquainted with Janequin's parody of his own chanson, the *Missa La bataille* (Lyons: Jacques Moderne, 1532). Both composers develop a head motive in *Kyrie II* which is not to be found in the chanson itself. In comparison with Janequin's loose and discursive treatment of motives in his own parody *a 4* of 1532, Esquivel in 1608 compresses motives, works them in double harness, and subjects them to much more intensive development. The *Agnus Dei* of the Esquivel shows some originality in the disposition of voice parts. Opening *a 3*, the number of parts increases successively to 8 and 9, and finally to 12 (SSSSAAATTTBB).

If position in a series means anything, then the facts that in their first books of masses (1544, 1566, 1576, 1602, 1608) Morales's first parody chose Gombert; Guerrero's first parody chose Morales; and

Victoria's, Lobo's, and Esquivel's chose Guerrero for their source; should prove how high was the esteem in which the seniors were held by the juniors. Such priority is all the more worthy of notice because in all five collections the composers themselves had the right to dictate the order in which their masses would be printed. In Esquivel's volume, the order deserves even closer attention because, unlike other collections, his does not group masses according to the number of voice parts. The opening *Ave Virgo sanctissima* calls for 5, the *Batalla* for 6, the *Hexachord* for 8, the *Ductus est Jesus* for 4,<sup>138</sup> the *Gloriose confessor Domini* for 4, and the *Requiem* for 5.

Taking his cue from the source motet, Esquivel makes his *Ave Virgo sanctissima* a canonic mass: spinning unison canons between cantus I and II in every movement except the three-voice *Crucifixus* and *Benedictus*. Throughout, he tirelessly works Guerrero's motives. The excerpts printed by Geiger can be associated with passages in the source thus: the *Christe* develops the melodic incise associated with the words "margarita pretiosa" (mm. 40–42); at *Qui tollis peccata mundi*, Esquivel utilizes Guerrero's melodic incise, "Dei mater piissima" (mm. 9–13); the concluding *Amen* of the *Gloria* recalls "nitens olens, velut rosa" (mm. 67–69). Tenor and bass open the *Patrem omnipotentem* with the same imitation to be found at mm. 1–3 in the source motet. Esquivel's homophony at *Et ex Patre natum* recalls Guerrero's "salve" (mm. 24–26); his *lumen de lumine*, Guerrero's "Ave Virgo" (mm. 1–2); his *descendit de coelis*, Guerrero's "margarita pretiosa" (mm. 40–42); his *et conglorificatur*, Guerrero's "Dei

<sup>138</sup>The Valdés Codex at Mexico City contains this mass at folios 27<sup>v</sup>–36. Above the cantus at folio 27<sup>v</sup> one reads *Missa. Ductus est Iesus. Quatuor vocibus.* and above the altus at folio 28 *Ioannis Exquivel.* Immediately preceding the *Ductus est* Mass come Palestrina's *Quem dicunt homines* and *Già fu chi m'ebbe cara* Masses (fols. 5<sup>v</sup>–18, 18<sup>v</sup>–27). Following the *Ductus est* are copied Alfonso Lobo's *Petre ego pro te rogavi* (fols. 36<sup>v</sup>–46) and *O Rex gloriae* (fols. 46<sup>v</sup>–56). Then at folios 56<sup>v</sup>–65 intervenes Palestrina's *Aeterna Christi munera* followed by *Ave Regina coelorum* (fols. 86<sup>v</sup>–101). The Valdés Codex also contains the only two surviving part songs with Nahuatl texts (fols. 121<sup>v</sup>–123). Nahuatl was the language spoken by the Aztecs. The transfusion of so much sixteenth-century art-music into Aztec veins cannot but seem startling. Whatever the origin of the codex, the presence of these two Nahuatl hymns assures us that at one time the manuscript was used by singers whose native language was Nahuatl.



mater piissima" (mm. 9–12); his Osanna in excelsis, Guerrero's "maris stella" (mm. 17–20). In *Agnus Dei* II, Esquivel augments to six voices and becomes polytextual: Guerrero's opening incise (mm. 3–8) here being quoted not only literally as regards melody in the top voice, but also Guerrero's very text being set beneath this particular incise.

In closing his collection with a Requiem, Esquivel followed precedents already set in Morales's *Liber II* as well as in both of Guerrero's books (1566 and 1582). The penultimate mass in Esquivel's collection is a parody of another Guerrero motet, *Gloriose confessor Domini*, which was probably composed after 1605. The reason for this opinion has nothing to do with its style. Indeed, from a stylistic standpoint the *Gloriose confessor Domini* contains cadential tags that were in vogue when *Nunca fue pena mayor* was composed. What seems to make *Gloriose confessor* not only the last parody but also the latest mass of the six in Esquivel's 1608 collection is the subject of the source motet. In the version published by Guerrero in 1570 (*Motteta*, pp. 22–23), the source motet carried the inscription *De sancto Dominico*; and the name of St. Dominic (the Castilian founder of the Dominican order) recurs frequently in the motet text. Pedro Ponce de León, consecrated bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo in 1605, was a Dominican. He had in all probability known Guerrero's motet *Gloriose confessor Domini* from childhood, since (in an earlier version) it had appeared at folios 8<sup>v</sup>–9 of the *Sacrae cantiones* dedicated by Guerrero to his father in 1555. Since it was he who made possible the publication of the 1608 book, what more gracious or fitting a compliment to a patron? Especially to one who was so ardently a Dominican that he insisted on being consecrated in a house of the order (St. Stephen's at Salamanca) rather than in a cathedral.

Of this last parody, Geiger wrote as follows.<sup>139</sup> "The head-motive [*Thema*] is carried through all parts of the mass with great mastery. Most of the movements begin imitatively. Since various stylistic turns belong more properly to the previous century, certain passages may perhaps seem austere. But neither Morales nor Victoria in any of their compositions more intimately penetrated the inner sanctum of Beauty than Esquivel in this mass." Geiger then illustrated with an excerpt: "the splendid Osanna."

The motet text travels in top voice while altus II follows in canon at the lower fourth and simultaneously the tenor follows the bass in canon at the fifth. Geiger found the "soul-stirring ending" of this Osanna particularly affecting. He also admired Esquivel's gift for individualizing each voice part. Altus I, for instance, moves exclusively in syncopated semibreves (= minims).

A copy of Esquivel's next publication, *Motecta festorum et dominicarum cum communi sanctorum 4, 5, 6, et 8 vocibus concinnanda*, has fortunately found its way to The Hispanic Society in New York City. Another copy, according to Anglés, has been preserved at Burgo de Osma. Both Trend and Anglés unite in declaring this motet collection to have been published at Salamanca by Taberniel in 1612.<sup>140</sup> On the other hand, the colophon of the copy in The Hispanic Society reads: *Salmanticae excudebat Artus Tabernelius Antverpianus quinto kalendarum Julii M.DC.IX*. That IX here means "8" rather than "12" can under no circumstances be doubted: the reason being that Taberniel died in 1610. Henceforth books were published by the "Viuda [widow] de Artus Taberniel." Indeed, such a book appeared in the year of his death.<sup>141</sup>

The 1608 motet collection reaches 272 pages. Twelve staves are always printed on each page, even though the bottom half-dozen or so often go empty. The Hispanic Society copy begins at page 12; the first eleven having been lost from it—as have also pages 107–110, 225–228, 255–256, and 263–266. Since the total loss amounts to 24 pages, the following remarks concerning the collection cannot pretend to finality. It is sufficiently obvious, however, that Esquivel intended to divide his collection into three parts: (1) specific feasts, (2) commons of saints, (3) Sundays from Advent I through Lent. At page 12 comes the Easter motet *a 5, Surrexit Dominus*. In the next 130 pages he runs through a cycle of 38 motets for 37 church feasts, arranged in chronological sequence. The last in this first cycle is an *Ecce ancilla, a 5*, for the Feast of the Annunciation (March 25). No motets specifically honoring Spanish saints are to be found except *O Ildephonsus* (pp. 128–129). A motet in St. Lawrence's honor is included (pp. 66–69), perhaps because of the special favors Philip II ascribed to this saint (prompting him

<sup>139</sup> *Festschrift* (Sandberger), p. 164.

<sup>140</sup> *DML*, 1, 843 (col. 1). *Grove's Dictionary* (5th ed.), II, 973.

<sup>141</sup> See above, note 133.

174 BEATAE MARIAE IN SABBATHO.

SUPERIUS

Vb tu um pra fi di um, ij.

con fu gi mus, sub tu um pra fi di-

um con fu gi mus, ij. sancta De i Ge ni tris, ij.

TENORUS

Vb tu um pra fi di um, ij.

con fu gi mus, con fu gi-

mus, con fu gi mus, sancta De i Ge ni tris, ij.

175 IOANNIS ESQVIVEL.

ALTISS

Vb tu um pra fi di um, ij.

sub tu um pra fi di um, ij.

con fu gi mus, con fu gi mus, sancta De i Ge ni tris, Genitrix, Caetera,

TENORUS

Vb tu um pra fi di um, ij.

tuum pra fi di um con fu gi mus, sancta De i

Ge ni tris, ij.

BASSUS

Vb tu um pra fi di um, ij.

pra fi di um con fu gi mus, sancta De i Ge ni tris, sancta De-

Ge ni tris, ij.

Sub tuum praesidium, a 5 (*Motecta fectorum et dominicarum* [Salamanca: Artus Taberniel, 1608]), pp. 174–175.

to build El Escorial). By way of exception, two motets are provided for October 4 (St. Francis): but only one each for the other feasts. At page 142 Esquivel begins a second cycle of a dozen motets, for commons of saints. Then at page 182 he starts a third cycle of thirteen motets: for Sundays from Advent I through Palm Sunday. Extras are provided for Ash Wednesday (*Emendemus in melius*, pp. 216–219) and at the end for Maundy Thursday (*Christus factus est*, pp. 254–255). Three other motets bring the collection to a close—one “for any necessity” and two for burial services. The *In paradisum*, a 6, at pages 266–271 duplicates the *In paradisum* with which the Requiem in his *Missarum . . . liber primus* ended.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Superius II sings a mensuralized version of the plainsong versicle that belongs to the Office of the Dead, *Requiescant in*

Esquivel, like both Lobo and Vivanco, frequently writes imitative points in which the lower pair either proceed in opposite direction to the upper pair; or two different head motives are imitated simultaneously—one in upper voices, another quite different head motive in lower voices. Examples of either the first or second procedures can be seen at the beginnings of his *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, a 4 (pp. 116–117), *Suscipiens Simon*, a 5 (pp. 134–135), *Sancti angeli*, a 6 (pp. 136–139), and *Vox clamantis*, a 4 (pp. 192–195). Whenever his motets open with such words as “Salve” or “Ave”—as, for instance, in the *Salve*

*pace*. This is repeated six times—three times beginning on a, another three on d<sup>1</sup> (half-step instead of whole step between first two notes of the mensuralized chant). Such an ostinato at once reminds of us Morales. Moreover, the motet harks back a century because of its polytextuality.



*sancte pater*, a 4 (pp. 88–91), the *Salve crux*, a 5 (pp. 102–105), and the *Ave Maria*, a 5 (pp. 106–109)—he appropriately constructs his imitative point upon a head motive recalling the *Salve Regina* or *Ave Maria* plainsong incipits. In still other motets he threads plainsong in notes of greater value through an inner voice, thus paying his respects to the most time-honored of techniques. *Tria sunt munera*, a 5 (pp. 122–123), for Epiphany; *Ecce ancilla*, a 5 (pp. 141–142), for Annunciation; *Ecce sacerdos*, a 4 (pp. 156–157), for Commons of a Confessor Bishop; *Sacerdos et pontifex*, a 4 (pp. 158–159), for the same; and *In paradisum*, a 6 (pp. 266–271), for the Commemoration of the Faithful Departed; are only five among a total of seventy motets in the collection. Not even all of these can be classed strictly as cantus firmus motets—there being a free admixture of other unifying devices in the last three. But even if only *Tria sunt munera* and *Ecce ancilla* are accepted as pure specimens, their presence in the collection deserves remark.

Another motet harks after precedent: *Veni Domine et noli tardare*, a 5 (pp. 186–191). In this Advent II motet the second soprano repeats the following phrase six times. After each statement he interposes rests, the value of which alternates between two breves (unreduced) and three semibreves.



Even-numbered statements of the melodic ostinato are pitched a fourth higher than odd-numbered statements. Esquivel's constructivism in this particular motet recalls Morales's procedure in *Gaude et laetare, Ferrariensis civitas*. But an even more obvious predecessor is at hand: Guerrero's Advent motet of the same name occurring as item 11 in his *Sacrae cantiones* (Seville: 1555). Identical voices carry the ostinato in the Guerrero and in the Esquivel—namely, superius II; and both motets are in the same mode. Even the melodic contours in the Guerrero and Esquivel are strikingly similar. The Guerrero ostinato (four times repeated with three breves rest intervening between each statement) reads thus:



Since mode, melody, and method are so alike, Esquivel may well have trodden familiar ground to pay Guerrero a funerary tribute in 1599.

*Veni Domine et noli tardare*, along with four other motets in Esquivel's 1608 motet collection, has been given modern dress—in Samuel Rubio's *Antología polifónica sacra*, I (Madrid: 1954). What the reprint does not reveal, however, is the chromaticism specified in the 1608 edition as early as the first incide of the altus: d–e♭–d–c♯–d. Rubio used a manuscript copy rather than the printed source.<sup>143</sup> Whether or not he suppressed the chromaticism—thinking such a progression to have been a scribal

<sup>143</sup>In *AM*, Vol. v (1950), pp. 149–151, Rubio first announced discovery at Plasencia Cathedral of the manuscript source—a paper volume of 128 leaves, copied in 1776. Only two of the sixty-four motets in this MS 1 at Plasencia Cathedral are by composers other than Esquivel. At folios 9<sup>v</sup>–11 will be found Fray Manuel de León's *Domine, Jesu Christe*, a 4; at 39<sup>v</sup>–41, Victoria's *Vere languores*. Fray Manuel de León, born at Segovia toward the end of the sixteenth century, took the Jeronymite habit at El Escorial on December 4, 1623. He died in the same monastery on August 23, 1632. See *La Ciudad de Dios*, Vol. CLXIII, no. 1, pp. 92–93. With the exception of the two motets in the 1608 Esquivel imprint which these replace, and some seven others, the manuscript collection closely adheres to the printed book. The few differences can be enumerated. His nos. 7 and 8 reverse Esquivel's order. Between his nos. 8 and 9, 36 and 37, 40 and 41, 42 and 43, and 63 and 64, he has omitted motets to be found in Esquivel's printed collection. He has also excluded the last two motets ("for the dead") found in the printed collection and otherwise the correspondence between MS 1 at Plasencia and the 1608 imprint is exact; even the feast to which each motet is assigned concords. However, in one instance the copyist has forgotten to copy the title of the feast. His no. 12 should have been headed with "In f. visitationis B. M. V." The 1776 copyist at Plasencia excluded or replaced all six- and eight-part motets (items 8a, 19, 36a, 64b), besides alternate motets for the same feast (items 40a, 42a).

Since the contents of MS 1 at Plasencia and of the 1608 imprint match so well, all that is needed here by way of a bibliographical addendum is a list of those motets in the imprint that are excluded from the manuscript. The numbers in parentheses in this list indicate the place in the table of contents for the manuscript (*AM*, V, 149–151) where an insertion or replacement should be made. (5) "In f. S. Crucis": *O crux benedicta*, a 4; (8a) "In f. SS. Trinitatis": *Duo seraphim*, a 6; (19) "In nativitate B.M.V.": *Sancta Maria*, a 8; (36a) "In f. angeli custodis": *Sancti angeli*, a 6; (40a) "In f. plurimorum martyrum": *Istorum est*, a 4; (42a) "Commune confess. pontif.": *Sacerdos et pontifex*, a 4; (63a) "In coena Domini": *Christus factus est*, a 4; (64a) "Pro defunctis": *Delicta iuventutis*, a 4; (64b) "Pro defunctis": *In paradisum*, a 6. The total number of items in Esquivel's 1608 imprint can be presumed to have been seventy-one.



blunder—need not perhaps be asked here. But what can be asserted dogmatically is that the imprint shows the chromaticism. As such “daring” at the very onset ought to suggest, Esquivel was no mere epigone. Even in this one motet, palpably modeled on the 1555 motet of like name, he set about competing with his model rather than merely copying it.

Esquivel seems deliberately to have entered the lists with previous Spanish masters on still other occasions. Unlike Vivanco, he chose texts already set with outstanding success. In each of the following, for instance: *O quam gloriosum* (pp. 92–95), *Ecce sacerdos* (pp. 156–157), *Emendemus in melius* (pp. 216–219), and *O vos omnes* (pp. 250–253); he chose a text that Victoria or Morales had already set to perfection. His later settings were not to be dismissed as altogether inferior, either in Spain or abroad. Long after printed copies of his 1608 collection were exhausted, handwritten copies of his motets continued to be made. Choirbook 1 at Plasencia contains both Esquivel’s *Emendemus in melius* and *O vos omnes* (folios 106<sup>v</sup>–108 and 123<sup>v</sup>–125); but none of the Plasencia books contains Morales’s or Victoria’s settings of these texts.<sup>144</sup> The *Officium majoris hebdomadae*, a choirbook copied at Lisbon in 1735 and today preserved at Vila Viçosa, contains Esquivel’s *O vos omnes* at folios 18<sup>v</sup>–19. Victoria is heavily represented in the same manuscript, but not with his far more famous setting of the same antiphon.<sup>145</sup>

Five years after his first book of masses and motets, Esquivel returned to print with the largest book of polyphony published in Spain before 1700. Robert Joseph Snow described Esquivel’s behemoth final publication in *The 1613 Print of Juan Esquivel Barahona* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1978 [Detroit Monographs in Musicology, 7]). However, Snow was by no means the first scholar to take notice of the “1613 print.”

Without himself having ever seen the 597-page *Ioannis, Esquivel, Civitatis, et eiusdem sanctae ecclesiae*

<sup>144</sup>MS 2 at Plasencia (dated 1784) contains at fols. 106<sup>v</sup>–109 two motets by Victoria: *Resplenduit facies eius*, a 5 (canon at unison between cantus I and II); and *Doctor bonus*, a 4. Nothing by Morales seems to have been preserved, despite his term as chapelmaster. Guerrero is heavily represented: in manuscript and also by virtue of his 1582 printed Masses and 1584 *Liber vesperarum*. See *AM*, V, 149–168.

<sup>145</sup>Compositions by Victoria in choirbooks 10, 12, 15, and 16 at Vila Viçosa.

IOANNIS, ESQVIVEL, CIVITATENSIS.

ET EIVSDEM SANCTAE ECCLESIAE PORTIONARIUM  
PSALMORVM, HYMNORVM, MAGNIFICARVM, ET  
MARIAE QVATVOR ANTI-PHONARVM DE  
TEMPORE, NECNON ET MISSARVM

TOMVS SECVNDVS

Omnis ad vltim Breuiarii Romani per Clementem Pontificem  
Maximum reformati.

AD PRÆSTANTISSIMVM, ET REVERENDISSIMVM  
DOMINVM FRATREM D. PETRVM PONTIUM DE LEON  
CAMORENSEM EPISCOPVM, REGIVMQUE  
CONSILIARIVM



SVPERIORVM PERMISSV.

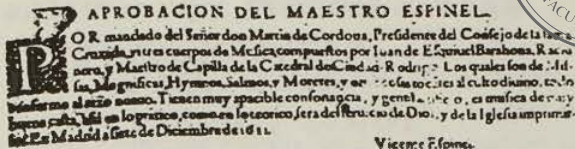
SALMANTICÆ

Excudebat FRANCISCVS DE CEA TESA Cordubensis  
Anno M. DC. XIII

Title page.

*portionarii, psalmorum, hymnorum, magnificarum, et Mariae quatuor antiphonarum de tempore, necnon et missarum Tomus Secundus*<sup>146</sup> (Salamanca: Francisco de Cea Tesa, 1613), Felipe Pedrell recorded its contents at pages 594–596 in the first volume of his aborted *Diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico de músicos españoles* (Barcelona: Victor Berdós y Feliu, 1894). In addition to the title page and dedication translated into Spanish, he included in his dictionary article on Esquivel such preliminaries to this fat volume of 1613 as Vicente Espinel’s approbation dated at Madrid December 7, 1611, the printing licence dated at Madrid March 9, 1612, and the table of contents. As source for these details, Pedrell credited an unnamed friend. Either this friend or, more

<sup>146</sup>Snow, who deserves highest credit for having brought this bulky volume to light, also made extremely important contributions to bibliography in his articles “Toledo Cathedral MS Reservado 23: A Lost Manuscript Rediscovered,” *Journal of Musicology*, II (1983), 246–277, and “Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala,” *Nassarre Revista Aragonesa de Musicología*, III (1987), 153–202. The Santiago Kastner Festschrift, not yet circulated when this note was written, contains Snow’s study of revisions in hymns by Guerrero, Navarro, and Durán y la Cueva, prompted by liturgical reform.



Vicente Espinel's approbation, signed at Madrid December 7, 1611.

probably, Pedrell himself was too chary to state where the copy existed.<sup>147</sup>

From 1894 until Snow's happy discovery, summer of 1973, of a near-perfect copy in the sacristy of the church of Santa María de la Encarnación at Vicente Espinel's hometown of Ronda (75 km west of Málaga), nothing more was known of the 1613 imprint than what could be deduced from Pedrell's Esquivel article.<sup>148</sup> Why preservation at Ronda, where it is the lone survivor from what must once have been a sizable polyphonic collection in this quondam collegiate church? Because of the *aprobación del Maestro Espinel*, suggests Snow: "It is precisely Espinel's approbation which gives the volume its importance in the eyes of the present-day personnel of Santa María de la Encarnación. . . . This volume . . . escaped destruction [in the 1930's] only because the present sacristan, then an altar boy, succeeded in hiding it before the church was looted."

In footnote 1 to his *Diccionario* article (p. 594) Pedrell cited the following Latin phrase, incorrectly transcribed from Esquivel's title: *necnon T missarum*. Obviously he had the Latin title before him at the time he compiled his dictionary. He himself was baffled by the *T*. He rightly remarked that it could not stand for Trium (= three)—the reason being that Esquivel's 1613 publication contains more than three masses. Now that a copy of the volume known to Pedrell from an unidentified friend's report has finally come to light, and facsimiles of the title page and introductory matter have been published at pages 11 and 13–15 in Snow's *The 1613 Print of Juan Esquivel Barahona*, the letter *T* in the title can

<sup>147</sup> Francisco Asenjo Barbieri seems not to have gathered any information concerning Juan de Esquivel. Or, at any rate, none appears in his *Biografías y documentos sobre música y músicos españoles* (Madrid: Fundación Banco Exterior, 1986), Vol. 1. Pedrell may have wished to protect his own hard-won information better than Barbieri protected his.

<sup>148</sup> The articles in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, III (1954), columns 1538–1542, and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980), VI, 251–252, pay high tribute to Esquivel's genius. But the authors show no better acquaintance with Esquivel's 1613 print than Pedrell gave them.

be dismissed as a misreading of the word *et*. Translated from Latin, the title reads: "Second volume of psalms, hymns, magnificats, and the four antiphons of Our Lady appropriate to the season; and in addition of masses. By Juan Esquivel, a native of Ciudad Rodrigo and prebendary in the cathedral of the same. The entire contents conformable with the revised Breviary of Pope Clement [VIII]. Dedicated to the most illustrious and most reverend Fray don Pedro Ponce de León, bishop of Zamora and member of the royal council." Pedrell was correctly informed that below the title came a large engraving of the bishop's coat of arms, after which at the bottom was added this legend: "With approval of higher authorities, printed at Salamanca by Francisco de Cea Tesa, native of Cordova, in the year 1613."

Vicente Espinel, whose approbation was dated at Madrid December 7, 1611, was of course one of the most highly regarded poets and novelists of his day, and also so consummate a musician that Lope de Vega wished to nominate him "father of music." *Diversas rimas* (Madrid: 1591) included Espinel's well-known poem "The House of Memory," which because of its allusions to contemporary musicians has been as often quoted as Martin le Franc's earlier poem "The Champion of Women" (ca. 1441). From 1599 until his death February 4, 1624, Espinel was a chapelmaster himself (at Madrid, *Capilla del Obispo de Plasencia*). Espinel's "approbation" can be thus paraphrased:

By order of Don Martín de Córdoba [inspector of liturgical books] . . . I have examined three gatherings of music composed by Juan Esquivel Barahona, prebendary and chapelmaster at Ciudad Rodrigo Cathedral: the which comprise (1) masses (2) magnificats (3) hymns, psalms, motets, and other miscellaneous sacred items—all of which conform with the new liturgy. This deliciously sweet and gracefully made music everywhere proclaims its fine breeding, not only in its sound but also by reason of its correct theoretical foundations. The printing will redound to the glory of God and of the Church.

The censor whose license follows Espinel's approbation, Don Martín de Córdoba, first lists his various offices (the most important of which for Esquivel's purpose would have been his right to inspect new liturgical books); and then decrees:

For the present we allow Joan de Esquivel Barahona . . . the privilege of printing three books of music composed





by him (1) Masses (2) Magnificats (3) Hymns and Psalms; in any printery of the realm. . . . Likewise we stipulate that after printing the said books he shall give two copies to the Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo [El Escorial] in return for our benevolence. Given at Madrid, March 9, 1612. This license shall be printed at the beginning of said books.

The approbation and the printing license mention the *rezo nuevo* (literally, new prayer) or *nuevo rezado* (new divine service). On May 10, 1602, Pope Clement VIII sent forth a newly revised breviary; and on July 7, 1604, a newly revised missa. It was doubtless to these revisions, especially the first, that Espinel and the inspector general of new books were referring when they spoke of *rezo nuevo* or *nuevo rezado*.

In his dedication (which, as noted above, reads to Pedro Ponce de León) Esquivel begins by lauding the deeds of earlier Dukes of Arcos. In so doing, Esquivel follows the course sailed by Guerrero who in 1555 inscribed his *Sacrae cantiones* to Luis Cristóbal Ponce de León, father of Esquivel's patron. The 1613 dedication then tries this new tack: "But lest these prior glories should in time be dimmed, your family's fame has in more recent years been illumined by the valiant deeds of your illustrious brother, Duke Roderick. For while the other Andalusian nobility cowered beneath the onslaughts of the perfidious English, he led a courageous cohort of his own retainers during the sack of Cádiz [1596], and by his heroic exertions succeeded in exacting a measure of vengeance for their desecration of shrines and dedicated virgins." Next, Esquivel praises his patron for having chosen the demanding life of a Dominican friar in St. Stephen's house at Salamanca. Finally, he promises that his present publication contains his most conscientiously elaborated compositions; he hopes that it will be found an improvement over anything that he has published previously.

So far as the contents of the 1613 publication are concerned, Robert Snow summarized them thus:

The discovery of a copy of the 1613 print approximately doubles the quantity of music by Esquivel that has been preserved and makes possible a definitive list of the works he is presently known to have published. Thus, his settings of official texts of the Mass liturgy include one *Asperges me* [the 1608 and 1613 settings are identical] and one *Vidi aquam*, eleven mass ordinaries (not thirteen

[*Surge propera*, a 3, and *Deo gratias*, a 4, listed in the 1613 *Missarvm Index* are a motet and a response, not masses]) and one *Deo gratias* response to *Ite, missa est*. For the liturgy of the dead there are two masses, a setting of part of the *Dies irae*, a *Requiescant in pace-Amen*, one setting of the ceremonial antiphon *In paradisum* (not two [the last motet in the 1608 collection of motets and the six-voiced *In paradisum* accompanying Esquivel's five-voiced 1608 Requiem are the same work]), the lesson *Responde mihi* and the responsory *Ne recorderis*. Items for Vespers include eight psalms, thirty hymns (not twenty-nine [Pedrell or his unnamed correspondent conflated the 1613 hymns beginning at pages 136 and 138]), sixteen Magnificat settings, a *Benedicamus Domino* and a setting of each of the four Marian antiphons. For Matins there is *Te Deum laudamus*, for Lauds a setting of the canticle *Benedictus*, and for the Compline a setting of the canticle *Nunc dimittis* and of the hymn *Te lucis ante terminum*. Finally, there are seventy-one motets for optional use in the Mass.

Snow's liturgical expertise, revealed in his Illinois 1968 dissertation on "The Manuscript Strahov D.G.IV.47" and elsewhere, enables him to explain Esquivel's apparently "very complete" collection of psalms; to specify why Esquivel chose precisely the thirty Vespers hymns included in his omnigatherum; to defend Esquivel for having lavished a higher "degree of musical elaborateness" on the eight odd-tone Magnificats than on the eight even-tone; to give the reason for Esquivel's "simple treatment" of Zachary's canticle in Tone VIII; to elucidate such differences between Esquivel's masses published in 1608 and the masses in the present *Tomvs Secvndvs* as the shorter 1613 Sanctus settings; and to explain why lesson and responsory in the 1613 Requiem Mass a 4 replace the "ceremonial antiphon," *In paradisum*, attached to the 1608 Requiem a 5.

Snow's numerous insights into the masses that take up the 1613 imprint from page 374 to the end include identification of sources. The two parodies, both a 4, that immediately precede the *Missa pro defunctis*, are based respectively on Francisco Guerrero's bipartite August 15 motet, *Quasi cedrus*, a 4, found in his maiden publication, *Sacrae cantiones* (Seville: Montedoca, 1555) and on Rodrigo de Ceballos's bipartite motet that circulated widely in manuscript, *Hortus conclusus*. The first Mass in the 1613 volume, *Tu es Petrus*, a 5, pays tribute to the dedicatee who defrayed publication costs, Fray Pedro Ponce de León. However, the *Missa Tu*



*es Petrus* also “pays tribute” to Cristóbal de Morales, in a musical sense. As Snow observes (page 17, note 22):

Esquivel’s *Missa Tu es Petrus* has so many features in common with Morales’s *Missa Tu es vas electionis* that it is difficult to escape the conclusion that he used the earlier composer’s mass as a model. Morales’s mass also was dedicatory in nature—and opened his *Missarum liber secundus*, which was published at Rome in 1544 and dedicated to Pope Paul III. The pre-existent material on which Morales based his mass also consisted of but a single phrase of music sung to a text containing the name of the dedicatee—*Tu es vas electionis, Sanctissime Paule*—and was utilized in the same manner as the opening phrase of the antiphon *Tu es Petrus* in Esquivel’s mass: sometimes as a cantus firmus or as an ostinato sung with its original text, and sometimes as a source of motival material which could be treated imitatively when the composer so desired.

To illustrate the contents of the 1613 imprint, Snow allots pages 39–88 to 29 musical examples. In the opinion of Iain Fenlon, who reviewed Snow’s present opus in *The Musical Times*, cxx/1641 (November, 1979), 917–919, these excerpts are the core of the book. Despite their lacking initia in original clefs or page-cuing, Fenlon especially appreciated Snow’s including these whole excerpts: *Dixit Dominus Sexti toni*, pages 39–42; *Veni Creator Spiritus*, 43–45; *Pater superni luminis*, 46–48, verses 2, 4 (both in triple meter); verses 1, 7, and 11 [Superius 1: “Altus secundus in subdiatessaron retro canit”; Altus 1: “Tenor secundus in subdiatessaron”] of *Magnificat Secundi toni*, 49–55; Sanctus of *Missa Tu es Petrus*, 57–60; Kyrie I of *Missa Quarti toni*, 61–62; Kyrie of *Missa de Beata Virgine in Sabbato*, 65–66; Kyrie, Et incarnatus, Agnus II of *Missa Hoc est praeceptum meum*, 69–70, 72, 73–74; Kyrie I of *Missa Quasi cedrus*, 76; Kyrie I and Sanctus-Pleni of *Missa Hortus conclusus*, 83, 84–85; Sanctus of *Missa pro defunctis*, 87.

G. Edward Bruner’s “Editions and Analysis of Five *Missa [de] Beata Virgine Maria* by the Spanish composers: Morales, Guerrero, Victoria, Vivanco, and Esquivel,” University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Ph.D. dissertation, 1980, contains at pages 71–80 an analysis and concludes at 308–325 with a transcription of Esquivel’s votive *Missa de Beata Virgine in Sabbato*, a 4. The shortest Mass in the 1613 volume, this Mass lacks Credo, Pleni sunt and Osanna movements. The mensuration remains

throughout; only Agnus II expands to five voices and vaunts a canon: “Bassus supra cantus, Qui se humiliar exaltabitur, Duodecim” (bass part inverts Soprano II at the interval of a twelfth). Successive movements debouch on chords built over DAD; DG; C; FF. Kyrie and Gloria movements cite Mass IX material, Sanctus and Agnus movements use ornamented material from Mass XVII. The lowest note in the bass part is B<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup>, the highest in the soprano is g<sup>2</sup>. Even when not citing chant Esquivel much prefers scale steps to even small skips.

Summarizing Esquivel’s style, Snow writes:

His technical skills were considerable, as can be seen from his handling of the great variety of canonic devices utilized in the final verses of his Magnificat settings containing odd-numbered verses and in his reworking of the borrowed material on which he based his parody masses. His sensitivity to the Latin of his texts, although not that of a Guerrero or a Ceballos, usually enabled him to write highly distinctive and expressive melodic lines for the beginnings of the various phrases of a text, particularly in his motets, but it must be added that his extensions of these lines into accompanying “countersubjects” occasionally are somewhat less felicitous in their relationship to the text.

#### SACRED POLYPHONY IN REVIEW (1550–1611)

The still limited amount of sacred music in print,<sup>149</sup> not to mention the still incomplete documentation in the hands of musical historians, warns us against offering any set of generalizations without insisting upon their provisional character. However, for what such a set of a dozen may be worth, the following are submitted.

I Sacred vocal polyphony was sung at court by a Flemish choir led by Flemish masters. But the presence of such a choir, which was more the result of a political accident than of any derogation from Spanish talent, did not for a moment preclude the

<sup>149</sup> Still lacking in 1992 were the *opera omnia* of Rodrigo de Ceballos, Alonso Lobo de Borja, Bernardino de Ribera; a concluding volume of Cristóbal de Morales’s works; and another several volumes of Francisco Guerrero’s works. Sebastián de Vivanco’s compositions need to be edited in a reliable edition. Juan Esquivel’s *opera omnia* cannot be published until the 1608 printed volume known to Albert Geiger is again found.