



He became a priest, served Jorge de Almeida, the archbishop of Lisbon (1570–1585) who espoused the cause of Philip II, and after Almeida's death he became a personal chaplain to the Dowager Empress María at Madrid.<sup>17</sup> From at least 1599 (and probably much earlier) until 1603 the composer and his elder brother were thus in daily contact.<sup>18</sup> The doctor's honorific titles included *abad de Toro*—Toro being an ancient town 20 miles east of Zamora. María de la Cruz left him a silver image of the fifth sorrow of Our Lady in her will of 1610.

The composer—next in the family line after Agustín—was followed by a brother, Juan Luis de Victoria, who died as an infant. The following child was given the same name. Juan Luis II can therefore not have been born before 1550. As was mentioned above, he became a businessman, and in 1575 opened a bank in partnership with his elder brother Antonio at Medina del Campo. He spent most of his time in Madrid, however, after 1590. The composer became godfather to his daughter Isabel de Victoria Figueroa y Loaysa at a baptismal ceremony in San Ginés Church, Madrid, on March 4, 1591.<sup>19</sup> The parents were listed as parishioners of the same church. On February 17, 1596, Juan Luis (acting as agent for his brother the composer) signed an authorization to collect the large sum of 315,000 maravedís, due his brother from various benefices.<sup>20</sup> Juan Luis executed his will at Madrid on August 4, 1599. He died soon thereafter. In it he called himself an inhabitant of the small village of Sanchidrián, 15 miles north-northeast of Ávila, but a resident of Madrid.<sup>21</sup> Sanchidrián, though certainly not the birthplace of the composer, nor of any of his brothers and sisters, seems to have been the village in which their youngest aunt, María Andresa, settled with her husband Gerónimo Suárez: or at least Doña Francisca Nuñez Suárez, the composer's cousin, was living there in 1610 when María de la Cruz, the composer's sister, made her will.<sup>22</sup> Juan Luis at his death in 1599 was survived not only by his eight-year-old daughter, of whom the composer had become godfather in 1591; but also by a son, Diego Antonio, who was soon thereafter to take the Augustinian habit. María de la Cruz excluded this son from her will "because he was a man, and it was not needful." She remembered the daughter, Isabel de Victoria Figueroa y Loaysa; because without a dowry doubtless it would have

been difficult for Isabel even to enter a convent. María de la Cruz's memory of her own father's untimely death in 1577 (and the hardships resulting thereby) probably excited her sympathy for Isabel, orphaned at an even earlier age.

Gregorio Suárez de Victoria, the composer's cadet brother, cannot have been older than five when their father died in August, 1557. He spent his career in the service of the "Ilustre Señor Secretario, Saganta" (Crown secretary).<sup>23</sup>

## BEGINNINGS AT ÁVILA

Born *ca.* 1548, the seventh child of Francisco Luis de Victoria and Francisca Suárez de la Concha, the composer was nine when his father died on August 29, 1557. His uncle Juan Luis thenceforth served as guardian. Because his elder brother financially assisted their widowed mother with the fruits of an inheritance from their paternal grandfather, the lot of the younger brothers and sisters was made more bearable in the years immediately following their father's death. In 1556 or thereabouts the composer became a choirboy in Ávila Cathedral. The proof of his having been thus reared in Ávila Cathedral is to be found in a capitular act dated January 9, 1577.<sup>24</sup> On that day his uncle Juan Luis presented to the cathedral chapter Victoria's *Liber Primus* published in Venice in 1576, simultaneously reminding them that the composer had been reared in Ávila Cathedral.

The young choirboy—composer-to-be—would have found the aging Gerónimo de Espinar chapelmaster, if he began to sing in 1556. Espinar's activities from 1550 until 1558 (in which latter year he died) can be exemplified in the following notations from the Ávila capitular acts. On March 3, 1550, Espinar was admonished to give daily lessons in counterpoint and harmony.<sup>25</sup> On March 26, 1550, he was authorized to pay three ducats for Morales's "six-

<sup>23</sup> See V. Fernández Asís, *Epistolario de Felipe II* (Madrid: Ed. Nacional, 1943), p. 435 (line 10).

<sup>24</sup> See above, note 6.

<sup>25</sup> *A.C., 1550–1551*, fol. 25<sup>v</sup>: *Iten quel maestro de capilla de cada dia que tuuiere seruicio su hora de lection de canto de organo y que procure que aprouechan en el contrapunto*. Among the rules to be found in the *Statutos Capitulares de Avila* (*ca.* 1546) is one requiring that the *maestro* teach from noon until two every day except Fridays and feast days (fol. 28<sup>v</sup>). The number of choirboys was set at twelve, of whom four served regularly at the altar, and the remainder in the *coro* (fol. 148).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169 (Apéndice 10).

<sup>18</sup> Dr. Agustín did not succeed in one of the three convent chaplaincies endowed at her death in 1603 by the Empress María. His brother the composer did so succeed. See Pedrell, *op. cit.*, p. 172 (Apéndice 27).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192 (Apéndice 39).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167 (Apéndices 3, 4, 5).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168 (Apéndice 9).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198 (lines 14–15).





teen" magnificats.<sup>26</sup> Again on August 4, 1550, he was urged to exert himself to the utmost in teaching the choirboys *canto de órgano* (polyphony) and *contrapunto*.<sup>27</sup> On November 24, 1553, he was admonished not to start teaching any prospective choirboy until surety had been posted that the new boy would serve out his full time, in return for his free board, lodging, and lessons.<sup>28</sup> On September 12, 1554, he was ordered not to receive any new boy who did not furnish his own surplices and other necessary vestments.<sup>29</sup> On January 3, 1558, the chapter decreed that each seise be paid a ducat every four months, but only at the expiry of each fourth month.<sup>30</sup> Toward the close of the summer—certainly before October 21, 1558—Espinár died. The first choice for a successor fell on Chacón, then chapelmaster at Sigüenza.<sup>31</sup> Chacón proved unavailable, however. On February 6, 1559, *edictos* were published offering the post of chapelmaster for 100,000 maravedís annually.<sup>32</sup> But not until June 2, 1559, was a successor to Espinár finally named—Bernardino de Ribera. On June 17, the chapter agreed to name Ribera to a whole- instead of a half-prebend.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>26</sup> A.C., 1550-1551, fol. 28<sup>v</sup>: *Que se libren al maestro de capilla tres ducados para un libro de musica de xvi magnificas de Morales.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 44: *Que los señores dean y maestrescuela vean el orden que se puede y debe tener en el mostrar los moços de coro canto de organo y contrapunto y lo traten con el maestro de capilla y den dello relacion en cabildo.*

<sup>28</sup> A.C., 1551-1552-1553, fol. 97: *Quel maestro de capilla antes que muestre canto de organo a ningun moço de coro si primero no diere fianças de servir el tiempo que es obligado.*

<sup>29</sup> A.C., 1554-1555-1556, fol. 46: *Mandaron que de aqui adelante no se reçiban moços de choro sin traxeren competentes sobrepelizes y ropillas.*

<sup>30</sup> A.C., 1556-1557-1558-1559, fol. 50: *Yten mandaron que de aqui adelante no se pague el ducado que a cada moço de coro llamado seise se daua en cada terçio si no que acabado este cesse ya este salario.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 74<sup>v</sup>: *Viernes 4 de nouiembre 1558. / Resoluieron que Peñalosa (Ávila Cathedral contralto, 1551-1565) vaya por Chacon el maestro de capilla questa en Syguenza y se libran ocho ducados y que se le dara la media racion que vaco por Spinár y mas lo que se apreçiare que valiere.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 84: *Proveyeron y mandaron se pongan editos para la racion del maestro de capilla publicando bale cien mill maravedis y se provehera para quinze de abril verna.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 93: *Y luego de boto de la mayor parte proveyeron al dicho Ribera de la racion entera, media questa baca por Espinár y media que se le ha de dar de la fabrica sacados los diez myll maravedis segund esta dicho.*

See López-Calo, *Catálogo del Archivo de Música de la*

Ribera who stayed at Ávila until 1563, in which year he transferred to Toledo, was truly an *hombre preñcipal en su profesion*. His masterworks remain unedited. But his obvious preëminence makes Victoria's precocious achievements in 1572 and 1576 the more easily understandable. What is more, even if as choirboy Victoria did not reside in the cathedral house provided Ribera by the chapter, he lived always within earshot of the master. The Victoria family dwellings stood only a tenth of a mile (= .16 km) west of the cathedral on Caballeros Street. Ribera was succeeded by Juan Navarro—who was installed February 26, 1564, without the necessity of competing against other candidates.

Previously (from September 28, 1562, to his being granted a ten-day leave of absence beginning February 17, 1564), Navarro had been maestro de capilla of the collegiate church at Valladolid (which in 1595 became Valladolid Cathedral). During his biennium at Ávila—where he remained until departing for Salamanca Cathedral November 7, 1566—Navarro so pleased the chapter and especially music-loving Bishop Álvaro de Mendoza that on January 7, 1566, he was rewarded with 300 reales for the excellence of the 1565 Christmas music and for a book of hymns composed by him. (Ávila Cathedral Choirbook 3 inventoried by José López-Calo [*Catálogo del archivo de música de la Catedral de Ávila*, 1978, 6-8] contains 21 of Navarro's settings for 33 hymns, four of which are unica.)

Navarro's successor was Hernando de Yssasi, inducted on January 7, 1567. Yssasi held office for twenty years.<sup>34</sup>

*Catedral de Avila*, pp. 273-275, for further biographical data. On February 5, 1560, doubt still persisted concerning Ribera's advancement *a primera corona* and two days later the chapter insisted that he supply before Easter *verificación de la dispensa apostolica que dice que tiene para su titulo de corona*. He supplied the requested *recaudo* June 28, 1560, but not until September 20 did the commission appointed by the chapter to study his *recaudo* agree that his papal dispensation was valid.

On July 17, 1560, the chapter decided to present him and his choirboys a gift for their *representación del auto del día del Sacramento*. On September 25, 1560, the canons obligated him to give daily lessons in *canto y música* mornings from 7 to 8 in winter and 6 to 7 in summer. On October 10, 1562, the chapter awarded him a twelve-day leave of absence, but stipulated that he not be paid for it if he accepted a position elsewhere. He did accept the proffered chapelmastership at Toledo, whereupon Ávila formally dismissed him November 18, 1562.

<sup>34</sup> According to Collet, *Le mysticisme musical espagnol*, page 289, a certain "Hernando Isassi" served as chapelmaster at Valenica Cathedral from 1564 to 1568, and again from 1576 to



Victoria's later accomplishments as organist suggest that he may first have begun keyboard study in his early youth with one of the masters of this instrument hired at Ávila. Damián de Bolea served as cathedral organist until October 22, 1556, on which date the post was declared vacant: Bolea having

1578. However, since Collet merely copied a list of Valencian chapelmasters already drawn up by José Sanchis y Sivera (*La catedral de Valencia* [Valencia: Imp. de Fr. Vives Mora, 1909]), he could not personally vouch for its accuracy. The data supplied below were gathered during firsthand examination of the cathedral acts at Ávila. Entries are summarized in English, rather than translated.

A.C., 1565-1566-1567-1568, fol. 78: *Martes 7 de henero 1567. / Auiendo sido llamados para ello trataron y resoluieron de reçibir por maestro de capilla a Hernando de Yssasi y resoluieron se le de la raçion que esta baca que tubo nabarro. / Yten se le de de salario de fabrica treinta mill maravedis al año y para ayuda de costa veinte ducados al año diez por nabidad y diez al corpus christi por el trabaxo a de tener en hazer lo que conbiene para solenizar las dichas fiestas como esta iglesia acostunbra.* (Yssasi's salary shall be the same amount formerly paid Navarro: 30,000 maravedis annually, plus 20 ducats for extra services at Christmas and Corpus Christi.)

A.C., 1569-1570-1571, fol 26: *Jueves 3 de março 1569. / Mandaron que maestro de capilla Hernando de Yssasi haga de su parte lo que esta ordenado y deue hazer el maestro de capilla de esta santa yglesia y que de no mas de las dos liciones mañana y tarde en lo que es de su profession de canto y musica.* (Yssasi must stick to his duties and teach only what he is supposed to teach, morning and afternoon.)

Fol. 95: *Viernes 15 de junio de 1571. / Reprechendieron al maestro de capilla Hernando de Yssasi [sic] que no aprovechan en su poder los moços de coro en el contrapunto ni en el canto de organo y no auer tenido para la fiesta del corpus cosas de lustre si no baxas y comunes.* (Yssasi is to be reprimanded because the choirboys make no gains either in counterpoint or in polyphony. The music performed at the Corpus festival was trivial and commonplace.)

A.C., 1572-1573-1574-1575, fol. 13: *Lunes 1 de diciembre 1572. / Mandaron que yo diga al maestro de capilla tenga quenta con mostrar los moços de manera que aprovechen y se parezca y que los musicos y ellos se exerçiten en su profission. Yten que se canten sin amor ni odio las obras buenas sean de quien se fueren y que salgan de cosas ordinarias y que los señores hernando diaz y francisco sanchez vean lo que se deve cantar a la nabidad y aquello se cante.* (Yssasi must improve his teaching, and the choirboys must show results. The musicians must practice much more assiduously. Excellent music by renowned masters is being sung so listlessly that it sounds completely ordinary. Hernando Díaz and Francisco Sánchez [cathedral bass since 1551] shall decide what is to be sung at Christmas.)

Fol. 25<sup>v</sup>: *Jueves 5 de Março 1573. / Auiendo sido para ello llamados attento quel señor racionero yssasi maestro de capilla a sido amonestado se recoja en hazer su ofiçio de sus lecciones a los moços de coro por que no luzen ni dan muestra que saben*

*nada y se quexan algunas personas de su tracto y que no ay razon ni quenta en los libros de canto de organo si no que se rompen cantando en ellos los muchachos auyendose de guardar y que canta cosas muy ordinarias y façiles y que no admite a cantarse obras de otros auctores y que no reside en la yglesia como deve y que anda en platica y tracto de minas siendo como es burla y perdiçion todo y el tiempo y dineros que gasta por lo qual siendo como es beneficiado en esta sancta yglesia pierde de su oppinion y honor / que las fiestas que tiene obligacion de hazer como nabidad y corpus las compone tarde y escasas y a tiempo que ya no ay lugar de consejo ni remedio para escoger lo que mas conviene / que a tenido poca quenta y tiene en lo que le a sido encargado en lo tocante a su officio / mandaronle quitar ocho mill maravedis de su prebenda y salario por el tiempo que fuera la voluntad del cabildo / lo qual yo le intime en su persona y respondio palabras de toda obediencia y comediimiento y que el se esforçara de servir a la yglesia y a sus mercedes con todas su fuerças.* (Yssasi has already been admonished. The choirboys continue ignoramuses. The choirbooks are in utter confusion and are constantly maltreated by the very boys who are supposed to guard them. Extremely commonplace and easy things are sung. Works by good composers are excluded. He does not spend the time at church which his office requires. Instead he goes about chattering of mines and indulging in other tomfoolery. He spends lavishly. He does not respect the dignity of his office. Whatever he composes to discharge his duties at such festivals as Christmas and Corpus is always late and little. He never leaves time for choice of anything better. His salary shall therefore be reduced by 8,000 maravedis. He must promise to obey and to improve.)

Fol. 111<sup>v</sup>: *Viernes 29 de octubre 1574. / Leyose una carta de su señora Illma. del señor obispo en respuesta de otra que se le auia escripto acerca del officio dela semana santa que a compuesto en canto el maestro de capilla hernando de ysasi. Su señoria encargase de licencia al dicho maestro para que vaya a madrid a procurar licencia para imprimir el dicho officio. / Sus mercedes se la dieron sin que oviese termino limitado y que se baya passada la fiesta de todos sanctos y dia de los difunctos.* (A reply from His Excellency, Álvaro de Mendoza [bishop of Ávila, 1565-1577], concerning the Holy Week Office composed by the chapelmaster Hernando de Yssasi was read. The bishop recommends that Yssasi be given leave of absence to go to Madrid for the printing license. The chapter allows Yssasi such leave after November 2.)

A.C., 1576-1577, fol. 34: *27 de abril 1576. / Que los señores chantre y canonigo angulo supliquen a su señoria por el maestro de capilla y sochantre, que los tiene presos, tenga por bien de removerles la carçeleria. / Quel señor maestro maldonado protector del clero pida y suplique a su señoria mande que la carçel eclesiastica se adereçe y repare porque esta muy maltratada.* (The precentor and Canon Ángulo shall request His Excellency the bishop to order the release of the chapelmaster and succentor, both of whom are at present imprisoned. Canon Maldonado, guardian of clergy, will ask His Excellency to approve repairs of the ecclesiastical jail, which is at present in miserable shape.)

A.C., 1578-1579, fol. 64: *Viernes 18 de julio 1578. / Ordenaron y mandaron quel maestro de capilla haga cantar a los musicos cosas diferentes assi en las misas de canto de organo como*





en las bisperas so pena de seis reales por cada vez que faltare en esto lo qual pena executen los contadores del coro sin ninguna remision. / Yten y porque los musicos no se escusen con dezir que por falta de exerciçio no las pueden cantar mandaron quel maestro de capilla representandose en el coro a la prima y pidiendo liçençia a los contadores para que le cuenten assiista en la cantoria para que los musicos acudan a hazer exerciçio y aprovar lo que han de cantar los quales assimesmo presentandose en el coro a la prima se la cuenten acudiendo al dicho exerciçio y assimesmo ordenaron que se les cuente la nona si acudieren a la cantoria a exercitarse. / Fol. 64<sup>v</sup>: / Yten ordenaron y mandaron que de aqui adelante qualquiera musico que cantando al facistol o echando contrapunto herare haziendo falta notable los contadores del coro por cada vez le echen media real de falta. / Yten encargaron y mandaron al maestro de capilla que de aqui adelante haga que en las fiestas principales aya todas las diferencias de musica que pudiere haziendo cantar a los niños por que se exerciten. / Yten ordenaron y mandaron que pidiendo el maestro liçençia a los contadores del coro para componer entre semana alguna obra que se aya de cantar la fiesta siguiente los contadores le cuenten y si no la compusiere le tornen a descontar lo que le ouieran contado y le echen de falta dos reales la qual liçençia se entiende no haziendo falta en lo arriba dicho. (Yssasi must vary his repertory of polyphonic masses and vespers, on pain of six reales each time that he repeats stale items. The singers are at present declining to perform new works because they claim they are not allowed sufficient time to rehearse novelties. He shall therefore be permitted, after having registered his presence at prime, to withdraw with them to a practice parlor. They shall also be permitted to rehearse during none. From now on, any singer who makes a serious blunder during the singing of a polyphonic composition, or when improvising counterpoint, shall be fined half a real each time. From now on, Yssasi's choirboys must shine at all principal festivals. To prove that they have practiced they must sing all the known kinds of variation on a given melody. Whenever Yssasi applies for special leave to compose something during the week before an approaching festival, he shall be granted such leave. But if he fails to produce the promised new work, then he shall be charged for all the time lost during the said week and fined two reales.)

A.C., 1587-1588-1589, fol. 46<sup>v</sup>: 8 de Julio 1587. / El chan-tre propuso y dixo quel officio y ministerio del maestro de capilla desta santa iglesia tiene gran neçessidad de remedio porque Hernando de Ysasi que al presente le haze esta ya viejo y cansado y no atiende a lo que es neçessario y conviene para el uso y exerciçio de su officio y que al presente esta en esta cibdad Sebastian de Bibanco maestro de capilla que ha sido de la santa iglesia de Segovia . . . (The precentor declared the great need for a new chapelmaster. Yssasi is old and tired. He does not attend even to the most vital details. At present Sebastián de Vivanco, former chapelmaster at Segovia, is here in Ávila . . .)

Fol. 57: Viernes 31 de julio 1587. / Quel maestro de capilla Hernando Yssassi no se entremeta en hazer cosa que toque al officio de maestro de capilla sino que atienda a su descanso y quietud y quel arcediano de Olmedo de parte del cabildo se lo diga ante mi el secretario. (Yssasi, retired chapelmaster, is not to meddle in anything touching the office that he formerly held. He is to rest, and to keep quiet. The archdeacon of Olmedo shall

elected to transfer elsewhere (to Saragossa).<sup>35</sup> His successor, Bernabé del Águila, an Ávila clergyman, was appointed on November 27, 1556.<sup>36</sup> But a greater organist than these played in the cathedral at least twice during Victoria's boyish years. Antonio de Cabezón, glory of the age, appeared during November, 1552,<sup>37</sup> and again during June, 1556.<sup>38</sup> On

tell him the chapter's will. I, the secretary, am to be present as witness.)

<sup>35</sup> Bolea occupied the organ prebend as early as September 17, 1551. In 1553 and again in 1555 he was reproved by the chapter for various bits of negligence. He was always acknowledged to be a fine player, however. On April 5, 1553, the chapter ordered that he arise in time to play the organ at matins, on pain of a salary deduction amounting to twelve ducats. On June 7, 1555, the chapter requested that he use las diferencias de organo que se tañe porque no se dañen (change the stops on the organ he was playing so that they would not be damaged). On October 22, 1556, the chapter ruled que racionero que fue Damian de Bolea sea descontado desde cinco de septiembre que partio pues se quedo en Çaragoza (that the salary of Damián de Bolea, former prebendary, cease as of the previous September 5, his date of departure from Ávila for Saragossa, it being now apparent that he intends to remain there).

<sup>36</sup> Águila continued as organ prebendary until at least January 4, 1574. Alonso Gómez, aged twenty-one, succeeded to the organ prebend on October 21, 1587. The organ was by no means the only instrument heard in Ávila Cathedral during Victoria's youth. At Ávila, as in other large Spanish cathedrals, a corps of some half-dozen woodwind players constituted a part of the regularly employed music staff. Their instruments included *chirimías*, *sacabuches*, and probably *flautas*. Victoria cannot have been exposed to much a *cappella* singing at Ávila—if, indeed, any. For notices concerning instrumentalists at Ávila, see capitular acts for January 8, 1557 (salary schedule); July 5, 1559 (pay increases); July 9, 1568 (cathedral instrumentalists must give free lessons to all those desirous of learning how to play); May 4, 1573 (penalties for not performing on San Segundo's Day); August 2, 1574 (while playing at the canonical hours, the instrumentalists must remove their hats; this act of respect to the *officio divino* has sometimes been omitted). When describing the musical environment in which Victoria was reared, one ought also to mention the sacred dances that were the rule at Corpus and Assumption in Ávila, just as at Toledo, Seville, and elsewhere. A typical notice occurs in the Ávila *Actas capitulares*, 1578-1579, at fol. 34: *Miercoles 23 de abril de 1578. / Que para el dia de corpus se hagan dose danças.*

<sup>37</sup> A.C., 1551-1552-1553, fol. 43: *Miercoles Segundo dia de nouiembre 1552. / Primeramente que se llame para el viernes para hazer un regalo a ant<sup>o</sup> de Cabeçon. / Viernes quatro de Nouiembre MDLij. / Auiendo oydo para ello llamados mandaron quel señor dean haga a ant<sup>o</sup> de cabeçon un Regalo como le Pareçiere y sele libre.*

<sup>38</sup> A.C., 1554-1555-1556, fol. 89: *Viernes cinco de junio 1556. / Que se haga a ant<sup>o</sup> de cabeçon un Regalo como le Pareçera al señor dean.*





each occasion the Ávila cathedral chapter voted him a cash reward. His wife, Luisa Núñez, came of a prominent local family. They maintained a home within easy walking distance of Victoria's birthplace from ca. 1538 to 1560.<sup>39</sup>

If the presence in Ávila of Ribera, of Navarro, and of Cabezón do not sufficiently account for the musical advantages that Victoria enjoyed at home long before he left for Italy, then mention should be made of Pedrell's conjecture that Bartolomé de Escobedo influenced him. After completing eighteen years of service in the papal choir, Escobedo departed from Rome in the autumn of 1554. Upon his return to Spain he enjoyed a Segovian non-residential benefice.

To date, Segovia Cathedral capitular acts have not yielded proof that Escobedo—who was a native of Zamora diocese and a singer in Salamanca Cathedral before going to Rome—actually spent any time in Segovia between 1554 and his death in 1563. But it is certainly true that Victoria's mother did come from Segovia. Among the composer's maternal cousins born at Segovia were three brothers who acquired international renown—Cristóbal, Hernando, and Baltasar Suárez de la Concha (see Juan López Ossorio's ca. 1600 essay, "Principio, grandezas y caída," published in Ildefonso Rodríguez, *Historia de Medina del Campo*, Madrid, 1903-1904; especially pages 180-181, 312-313, 875). Cristóbal won fame as a naval commander (*La Ciudad de Dios*, El Escorial, 174/4, October-December 1961, page 695). Hernando was a pioneer Jesuit in Mexico where he died at the age of 72 (*Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, Rome, vols. 77 [1956], pages 222.6, 552, and 84 [1959], pages 622.3, 744.10; Francisco Javier Alegre, *Memorias*, México, 1940, I, 203). Baltasar became a prominent merchant at Florence, where he married the elder sister of Camilla de' Martelli (second wife of Cosimo de' Medici), was thereupon ennobled, and gained other recognitions (Edgcumb Staley, *Tragedies of the Medici*, New York, Brentano, pages 213, 216).

Whether or not the youthful Victoria even met Escobedo during any visits to his mother's Segovia relatives, much less studied with him, as Pedrell suggested,<sup>40</sup> seems most unlikely. (Pedrell never ascertained the names of any Ávila chapelmasters, and

remained always completely unaware of Cabezón's Ávila sojourns.<sup>41</sup>) However, what is more important for Victoria's biography than Pedrell's conjectures are the assured accomplishments of his Segovia relatives. On both father's and mother's sides, he was related to achievers.

In 1554 the newly organized Society of Jesus established a boy's school at Ávila, St. Giles's.<sup>42</sup> As with many early ventures of the Society, the Colegio de San Gil enjoyed immediate success. Numerous contemporary testimonials survive. Julián de Ávila, chaplain of the first house subscribing to the Theresan reform (St. Joseph's at Ávila), praised their impartial treatment of students.<sup>43</sup> Luis Muñoz, a Jesuit with many years experience as a teacher at St. Giles's, declared to the general of the society in 1573 that peace and harmony had always reigned in the school and that the townspeople had never wavered in their support.<sup>44</sup> St. Theresa, who from the first moment of her contact with the *compañía* extolled its educational system, lauded this school

*Renaissance* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976), p. 314, flatly asserted that "Victoria received his early education at Segovia under Escobedo." Brown also states that Victoria was born "near Ávila." Not so; he was born at Ávila. According to Brown, whose section on Victoria teems with error, *O magnum mysterium* is a Christmas motet (p. 315); Victoria himself designated it a Circumcision motet (*In Circumcisione Domini*). In the first printing, Brown claimed that the text of it includes the salutation "I beata Virgine," whereas Victoria's text reads "O beata Virgo." In first and second printings, Brown asserts that *O vos omnes* contains text translatable as "for he was founded upon a sure rock" (page 317, line 14), whereas the Latin contains nothing remotely approaching these words. In Brown's transcription of *O vos omnes* (p. 318), the tenor leaps a fourth downward to a dissonant Middle C (measure 22<sup>2</sup>); instead Victoria wrote a passing note E.

Brown's mistreatment of Victoria conforms with the trend in most textbooks to treat Spanish composers with less care than Flemish, French, and Italian composers.

<sup>41</sup>Pedrell, *op. cit.*, p. 158. The salvos that he fired at all previous and contemporary Victoria scholars effectively diverted attention from his own thin line. His appendices do not represent his own research. Even the date of Victoria's death was ascertained not by Pedrell, but by Mitjana.

<sup>42</sup>Sta. Teresa de Jesús, *Obras*, ed. by P. Silverio de Santa Teresa (Burgos: Tip. de "El Monte Carmelo," 1915-1924), I, 176 (n. 1).

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*: "God has given these fathers a singular gift: that is, of treating each student as an all-important individual but without the slightest show of favoritism. As a result unity and truth prevail, in conformity with Christ's true teachings."

<sup>44</sup>Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España* (Madrid: Sucs. de Rivadeneyra, 1902-1925), III, 202.

<sup>39</sup>Santiago Kastner, "Antonio de Cabezón," *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (5th ed.), II, 3-4.

<sup>40</sup>Pedrell, *op. cit.*, p. 21. Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the*



highly. Not only did she insist that her nephews attend this school and none other, but also she expressly wrote her brother Don Lorenzo de Cepeda while he was still in South America (at Quito)—recommending it in these terms: “The Jesuits have an academy [at Ávila] in which they teach grammar, send the boys to confession every week, and make them so virtuous that Our Lord is to be praised for it; the boys also read philosophy.”<sup>45</sup> Because of such schools as St. Giles’s, she said, the city was an academy of virtue. “People who come from elsewhere are always edified by the spectacle at Ávila,” she maintained. It was this school in which with all probability Victoria began his classical studies.

#### ROMAN PERIOD

After his voice broke, Victoria was sent (perhaps on the recommendation of his masters at St. Giles’s) to the Jesuit *collegium* founded at Rome in 1552 by Loyola for the express purpose of training missionaries to win back Germany—the Collegium Germanicum. The young Victoria, only sixteen or seventeen when he enrolled in 1565 at Rome,<sup>46</sup> found among his fellow freshman classmates two English enrollees—Thomas Evans and Thomas Cottam.<sup>47</sup> Cottam, born in 1549, came of Lancashire stock. He returned to England and proceeded B. A. of Brasenose College at Oxford on March 23, 1569.<sup>48</sup> After various further sojourns on the continent he again landed in England, this time to share with Edmund Campion the rigors of execution at Tyburn (May 13, 1582) for priestly activities. His brother John taught grammar school at Stratford in Shakespeare’s youth. At the very least, Shakespeare knew who Thomas Cottam was—even if Victoria’s old classmate reached neither Stratford nor Shottery during his last missionary journey.<sup>49</sup>

Victoria’s English classmates deserve mention.

<sup>45</sup> *Obras*, VII, 53 (letter dated January 17, 1570).

<sup>46</sup> Andreas Cardinal Steinhuber, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rom* (2d ed.; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1906), I, 130, said that Victoria remained in the college twelve years—whence Haberl deduced that he entered in 1566. See Casimiri, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>47</sup> Casimiri, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

<sup>48</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1908), IV, 1214.

<sup>49</sup> See R. Stevenson, “Shakespeare’s Interest in Harsnet’s Declaration,” *PMLA*, Sept., 1952, pp. 898–902.

Only he among prominent Spanish composers of his century was thrust into so cosmopolitan an environment: not to mention the fact that he was still an impressionable sixteen or seventeen when he enrolled. The constitutions of the Collegium Germanicum (August 31, 1552) specified that only youths between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one could be admitted. Thus, all those entering in 1565 would necessarily have been born not earlier than 1544 nor later than 1550. The total number of students in the collegium in 1565 reached approximately 200. They lived and studied at the Cesi-Mellini (= Vitelli) palace in the Corso—this fifteenth-century edifice (enlarged and renovated in 1537) having become Jesuit property in 1563.<sup>50</sup> Two kinds of student lived side by side in the Collegium Germanicum during Victoria’s three years of enrollment—a small minority of Germans in training for the missionary priesthood; and a much larger group of paying boarders. The latter included English, Spanish, and Italian students, some of whom had declared their priestly vocations. Victoria belonged to the paying-boarder group (*convittori*).

The two principal benefactors of the Collegium Germanicum from its start had been Philip II of Spain and the cardinal-archbishop of Augsburg, Otto von Truchsess von Waldburg.<sup>51</sup> Cardinal Truchsess early signaled youthful Victoria for his protection. Although the precise year in which the cardinal first took an interest in Victoria must be conjectured, it is worth noting that Truchsess visited Spain in March, 1564, only a year before Victoria entered the Collegium Germanicum.<sup>52</sup> An interview at Barcelona between March 17–28 would not have been impossible (even if it is ruled unlikely). Whatever the background of their first meeting, Victoria acknowledged his indebtedness to Truchsess for everything that he had become or done when in 1572 he dedicated to the cardinal his first publication—the *Motecta* printed by Antonio Gardano at Venice.

Casimiri, who must be thanked for having clarified the circumstances of Victoria’s career at Rome, suggested that Tomás Luis while still a student at the German College may simultaneously have profited from contacts with Palestrina at the nearby Roman Seminary (founded by Pius V in 1564, and entrusted

<sup>50</sup> Ignacio Iparraguirre, *Historia de los ejercicios de San Ignacio* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S. I., 1955), pp. 7–8.

<sup>51</sup> Steinhuber, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>52</sup> Otto Ursprung, *Jacobus de Kerle (1531/32–1591): Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Munich: Hans Beck, 1913), pp. 36–38.