

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.

to the Jesuits). From April, 1566, until September 20, 1571, Palestrina's two sons, Angelo and Rodolfo, studied at the latter institution. To pay their expenses Palestrina served as *maestro di cappella* of the seminary. His boys, who were both extremely musical, may well—thought Casimiri—have introduced their Spanish coetaneous to their illustrious father.<sup>53</sup>

What Victoria later said of his own student days in his dedications to Pope Gregory XIII (*Hymni totius anni*, 1581) and to Philip II (*Missarum Libri Duo*, 1583) should prove beyond cavil that he studied subjects other than theology in his early Roman period. In the dedication to Philip II he began by saying: "Since I came to Rome from Spain, besides other most noble studies to which I applied myself several years, I have spent much time and effort in music."<sup>54</sup> Again in the third sentence he harps on the same string: "I worked most sedulously to perfect myself in that study to which as if by some hidden natural instinct I was drawn."

Beginning in January, 1569, Victoria was engaged as *cantor y sonador del órgano* at the Aragonese church of S. Maria di Monserrato in Rome, with a monthly salary of one scudo.<sup>55</sup> (This national church, built about 1495, houses the tombs of the two Spanish popes.) Victoria's duties doubtless included those of chapelmaster as well as "singer and organist." Just as it continued the Spanish custom at Rome to call Palestrina a mere *cantor* of St. Peter's as late as 1575—even though he had already succeeded Animuccia in the chapelmastership on March 1, 1571<sup>56</sup>—so also Victoria's post of *cantor y sonador del órgano* (like Bach's at Leipzig) probably meant not so much that of vocalist as of *director musices*.

Victoria's playing of the organ at S. Maria di Monserrato reminded Casimiri of Palestrina's similar first appointment. On October 28, 1544, Giovanni Pierluigi was named *organista* and *maestro di canto* in the cathedral of his home town. Later in Rome he stopped playing the organ. But Victoria not only made his professional debut as church organist: he also continued active on the organ bench—as will later be shown—until the very eve of his death. Indeed, during his last seven years at Madrid (1604–

1611) he occupied no other musical post but that of convent organist.

But this is to anticipate. From January, 1569, until 1574 Victoria continued to draw his monthly salary of one scudo at S. Maria di Monserrato. In 1573 he began singing, at least occasionally, in the other Spanish church at Rome, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli (= Santiago parish).<sup>57</sup> This church paid him six scudi in April [1573] for the printed partbooks of his maiden publication (the *Motecta* of 1572) and for certain undated services as singer. This same national Church of St. James engaged him every year from 1573 through 1580 (except 1578) to sing at the Corpus Christi celebration. Each year he brought with him additional singers. From 1573 through 1577 the Santiago authorities paid him four scudi, in 1579 six scudi and sixty baiocchi, in 1580 nine scudi and sixty baiocchi. Apparently, these sums were intended for his assisting singers as well as for himself. On November 18, 1582, the Santiago treasurer paid him and an unspecified number of choristers the lump sum of nine scudi for help at the services celebrating the victory gained on July 27 by the Spanish naval forces over those of the Portuguese pretender Antonio, Prior of Crato (battle of Terceira island in the Azores).<sup>58</sup> In addition to sums received from the two Spanish churches in Rome, Victoria also was hired occasionally by other churches in Rome. On May 24, 1573, for instance, he was paid five scudi for music on Trinity Sunday at the Church of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini.<sup>59</sup>

A more regular source of additional income was tapped in 1571—this being the year when he was first hired at his alma mater, the Collegium Germanicum, as an instructor. Besides the provision of quarters and food, he was paid fifteen giulii (a scudo and a half) monthly for his teaching.<sup>60</sup> The rector at the moment was P. Sebastiano Romei. That consent of the Society general, Francisco de Borja, was sought (and obtained) is known from a letter dated October 24, 1571. On the preceding June 30, Borja had left for Madrid with a commission from Pius V. In Spain he was to cement a tripartite league—France, Spain, and Portugal—against the Turk. He was also to iron out difficulties between the papacy and the

<sup>53</sup> Casimiri, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 130.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 124–125.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 171, 173–174.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174 (item 7, n. 4).

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171 (item 5).

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 171–172 (Doc. IV).



Spanish court. During his absence from Rome, P. Jerónimo Nadal was deputized to act as general in his stead. Borja entered Madrid on September 30, 1571. Nadal's letter to Borja, dated October 24, describes various intervening events at Rome. Nadal says: "The German seminary remains very tranquil; there are many students, and new arrivals every day. . . . Without my knowing it, good Sebastian [Romei, the Rector] has engaged the musician Victoria who was formerly in the seminary; for 15 giulii monthly he teaches the boys [seminarians], etc. Your Paternity will decide whether this arrangement is to be continued. In everything else Father Sebastian is very devoted to the work. . . ."

The next year has been called the most momentous in Victoria's life; for it was in 1572 that he published his first book of motets. As any listing of its contents reveals, this collection contains nearly all his motets that still today remain the favorites of choral conductors. Since his fame even now rests so largely on his motets, this one imprint may be described as the bedrock on which his reputation is founded. The preface, addressed to his "most illustrious patron, His Eminence Otto Cardinal von Truchsess," begins thus:<sup>61</sup>

Truly, most renowned Cardinal, since the time that You took me under Your protection I believe that I have so busied myself in creative work that there would be no cause to regret my accomplishment, did my talent but equal my industry. . . . As an earnest of my gratitude to Your Eminence I have dedicated to You certain pious songs, musically elaborated after the fashion commonly known as Motets, which I hope may be found useful by all the well-disposed, and especially by those skilled in musical science.

Next Victoria enumerates his reasons for publishing:

I From the moment of Your taking me under your protection You have omitted absolutely nothing that would conduce to my development and enlargement. It now behooves me who am forever so closely bound to You by the claims of gratitude to acknowledge not only privately but publicly—and in some especially striking manner—my wholehearted appreciation and indebtedness for the favors You have already dispensed and are at present most liberally dispensing.

II As for these compositions—at once works of art and of piety—to whom better might they be dedicated than to You who take such keen delight in pious song, and

have throughout Your whole life so encouraged the divine cult? And to whom would it be more fitting that I should offer these first fruits of my labor than to You who have given me the means whereby to produce them and whose bounty has made possible the acquisition of the greater or lesser knowledge comprehended in them?

Victoria continues in like vein to the end. Although we need not accept too seriously his protestation that he had learned *all* he knew in music since Cardinal Truchsess became his patron, he seems to have wished the world at large to believe that he had acquired most of his musical technique after arriving in Rome. As for the specific terms of his association with Truchsess, both Pedrell and Casimiri agree that just possibly he may have succeeded Jacobus de Kerle as the cardinal's private chapelmaster—Kerle having entered Truchsess's service in 1562, and having accompanied him to Spain in early 1564 and to Dillingen in May of the same year.<sup>62</sup> On August 18, 1568, Kerle became organist of Augsburg Cathedral.<sup>63</sup> Truchsess reached Rome shortly before July 24, 1568.<sup>64</sup> Victoria may well have become private chapelmaster to the cardinal toward the close of 1568: remaining with him until 1572 or thereabouts. Cardinal Truchsess died on April 2, 1573.<sup>65</sup>

In 1573 Victoria occupied posts in both the German College and the Roman Seminary: for the one acting as instructor in plainsong; for the other, as chapelmaster. When initially employed at the Collegium Germanicum in the autumn of 1571 he "taught the boys." He certainly was not chapelmaster of the German College in that year. As yet, the college lacked any regular constituted choir. Loyola's original constitutions of 1552 laid upon the students only the duty of hearing Mass and reciting the Office. But in 1573 new constitutions were drawn up. Students henceforth were to learn *chorale cantum* as well as *omnia quae ad Templum . . . pertinent*.<sup>66</sup> Therefore, when P. Girolamo Nappi (d. 1648) noted in his *Annali del Seminario Romano* [written 1640]<sup>67</sup> that Victoria on June 25, 1573,

<sup>62</sup> Ursprung, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-38, 39.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50, n. 14.

<sup>65</sup> *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1887), XXIV, 640.

<sup>66</sup> Casimiri, *op. cit.*, p. 172 (Doc. V, 2).

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136. Concerning Nappi and his manuscript, see Casimiri, "Disciplina musicae," *Note d'archivio*, XII, i (Jan.-Feb., 1935), 2 (n. 3).

<sup>61</sup> Pedrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.



“came to the German College as *cantore*, some such activity as that of drillmaster in Gregorian Chant is probably to be understood as having been his new office. Nappi also records that Victoria was *maestro di cappella* of the Roman Seminary in the same year. As for the exact date on which Victoria became Roman Seminary maestro, Casimiri thought he may have succeeded Palestrina as early as the autumn of 1571—Palestrina having stopped teaching on September 25, 1571 (at which time his two sons “graduated” from the seminary).<sup>68</sup> Whatever Victoria’s beginning date, Nappi’s annals at least prove that the twenty-five-year-old Spaniard was not accounted unworthy to fill the forty-eight-year-old Italian master’s shoes in 1573.

Late in the same year, the Jesuit superiors (to whom, as has already been shown, control of both German College and Roman Seminary had been entrusted from the beginning) decided that the time had come to separate the German nationals from the Italian *convittori* in the Collegium Germanicum. This was obviously an hour when the Germans, far from home, needed every psychological support. To divert their youthful minds as the moment for their separation drew nigh—seven in the evening of October 17, 1573—the rector and his aides organized a gala farewell party. Nappi describes this gala occasion at great length.<sup>69</sup>

Because the impending separation had kept the students so downhearted the whole year, it was decided to bring it off as smoothly as possible, and with the least show of grief, by making a musical occasion of it. Tomás Luis de Victoria, unsurpassable composer, was instructed to write suitable music, so that the transfer might be made into a solemn and yet a joyous event. Moreover, the whole Papal Choir was invited for Mass in the morning and for a meal. The meal over, the papal singers brightened the afternoon with much chaffing and laughter. At nightfall, as the hour of parting drew nigh, the guests became ever more genial. The separation from the Italian students took place at seven in the evening under the light of numerous torches. During the sounding of the *Ave Maria*, the Germans and Italians took fond farewell in the same large hall where until the hour of leavetaking they had sung (though often mixing lament with song). Then everyone went downstairs to the gate. The Germans departed walking two by two. They made a long procession of over a hundred. P. Michele Lauretano, Rector,

and other fathers from the Collegium Germanicum accompanied them. In the meantime music sounded all the way to the Palazzo della Valle. In the large hall of this palace was prepared an altar. Here Psalm 136 [= 137], *Super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus et flevimus* (“By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down and wept”), was sung. After supper, a very lively party with much music was staged in the same hall to distract the students from the thought of their schoolmates left behind. But even so, the German students remembered the affection shown by the Italians, and for a long time there was imprinted in their thoughts the love that the Italians had shown their nation.

As Victoria’s previous biographers have pointed out, this very psalm, set *a 8*, was printed in his *Liber Primus Qui Missas. Psalmos, Magnificat . . . Aliaque Complectitur* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1576).

In the jubilee year 1575, Gregory XIII (whose liberality to the Society of Jesus exceeded that of every previous pope) gave the Collegium Germanicum new quarters adjacent to the Church of S. Apollinare on condition that this become the college church. Therefore, as *moderator musicae* of the German college, Victoria in 1575 became, simultaneously, chapelmaster of S. Apollinare.<sup>70</sup> The obligation of maintaining the cult in this church made it necessary to train a true *cappella musicale*, which could sing polyphony as well as chant. No longer was it possible for Victoria to carry his teaching duties in the college simultaneously with a Sunday and feastday schedule in the national church of S. Maria di Monserrato—where, indeed, his payments for chapelmastering

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140. This particular appointment, because of Pope Gregory XIII’s donation in 1575, gave rise to the common report in Spain that Victoria was “the pope’s chapelmaster.” On June 15, 1580, an inventory of the music books was ordered in Toledo Cathedral, and this was completed on August 13. Item 8 in this inventory reads: *otro libro grande de canto de organo, enquadernado en tablas con cubiertas de bezerro, con diez bollones y ocho cantoneras y manos de alaton escripto en papel de marca mayor en que ay missas y magnificas. con una Illuminacion al principio. con las armas de don Joan nauarra, capiscol y canonigo desta Sta. Iglesia a la qual lo dio el dicho don Joan. que le truxo de Roma. y le hizo Victoria. Maestro de capilla del Papa.* (another large polyphonic book, bound in leather-covered boards, embossed with ten brass clasps, and brass-tipped at the corners and on the clasps, copied on highest-quality watermarked paper, containing masses and magnificats and with an illumination for a frontispiece. With the arms of Don Juan Navarra, precentor and canon of this cathedral. Given the cathedral by Canon Navarra, who brought it from Rome. Composed by Victoria, chapelmaster to the pope.)

<sup>68</sup> Casimiri, “Il Vittoria,” p. 137.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139–140.

### Super flumina Babylonis

Chorus I

Soprano I  
 Se . per fla . mi . na , re . per flu . mi . na Ba . by .

Soprano II  
 Se . per fla . mi . na , re . per flu . mi . na Ba . by .

Alto I  
 Se . per fla . mi . na Ba . by .

Basso I  
 Se . per fla . mi . na Ba . by .

Chorus II

Alto II  
 (Empty staff)

Tenor  
 (Empty staff)

Basso II  
 (Empty staff)

Organo  
 (Empty staff)

le . nis , il . lic se . di . mus et

le . nis , il . lic se . di . mus et

le . nis , il . lic se . di . mus et

le . nis , il . lic se . di . mus et

il . lic se . di . mus et fla . vi . mus

il . lic se . di . mus et fla . vi . mus

il . lic se . di . mus et fla . vi . mus

il . lic se . di . mus et fla . vi . mus

il . lic se . di . mus et fla . vi . mus

fla . vi . mus dan . re . cor . da . re . mar . ta . i . Si . ca :

fla . vi . mus dan . re . cor . da . re . mar . ta . i . Si . ca :

fla . vi . mus dan . re . cor . da . re . mar . ta . i . Si . ca :

fla . vi . mus dan . re . cor . da . re . mar . ta . i . Si . ca :

In sa . li . ci .

In sa . li . ci .

In sa . li . ci .

su . spes . di . mus , su . spes . di . mus

su . spes . di . mus , su . spes . di . mus

su . spes . di . mus , su . spes . di . mus

su . spes . di . mus , su . spes . di . mus

in . me . di . u . lu , su . spes . di . mus , su . spes . di .

bus in . me . di . o . lus , su . spes . di . mus , su . spes . di .

bus in . me . di . o . lus , su . spes . di . mus , su . spes . di .

bus in . me . di . o . lus , su . spes . di . mus , su . spes . di .





que - mo - do, que - mo - do can - ta -

que - mo - do, que - mo - do can - ta -

que - mo - do, que - mo - do can - ta -

que - mo - do, que - mo - do can - ta -

- ti - cum Do - mi - ni - si, que - mo - do can - ta -

- ti - cum Do - mi - ni - si, que - mo - do can - ta -

- ti - cum Do - mi - ni - si, que - mo - do, que - mo - do can - ta -

- ti - cum Do - mi - ni - si, que - mo - do can - ta -

- bi - mus can - ti - cum Do - mi - ni - si, can - ti - cum Do - mi - ni - si

- bi - mus can - ti - cum Do - mi - ni - si, can - ti - cum Do - mi - ni - si

- bi - mus can - ti - cum Do - mi - ni - si

- bi - mus can - ti - cum Do - mi - ni - si

- bi - mus can - ti - cum Do - mi - ni - si, can - ti - cum Do - mi - ni - si

- bi - mus can - ti - cum Do - mi - ni - si

- bi - mus can - ti - cum Do - mi - ni - si

- bi - mus can - ti - cum Do - mi - ni - si

le ter - ra a - li - e - - - - - na? in ter -

le ter - ra a - li - e - - - - - na? in ter -

le ter - ra a - li - e - - - - - na? in ter -

le ter - ra a - li - e - - - - - na? in ter -

le ter - ra a - li - e - - - - - na? in

le ter - ra a - li - e - - - - - na? in

le ter - ra a - li - e - - - - - na? in

le ter - ra a - li - e - - - - - na? in

ra a - li - e - - - - - na? que - mo - do can - ta -

ra a - li - e - - - - - na? que - mo - do can - ta -

ra a - li - e - - - - - na? que - mo - do can - ta -

ra a - li - e - - - - - na? que - mo - do can - ta -

a - li - e - - - - - na? que - mo - do can - ta -

ter - ra a - li - e - - - - - na?

ter - ra a - li - e - - - - - na?

le ter - ra a - li - e - - - - - na?

ter - ra a - li - e - - - - - na?

bl - mes cas - ti - cum Do - mi - ni

bl - mes cas - ti - cum Do - mi - ni

bl - mes cas - ti - cum Do - mi - ni

bl - mes cas - ti - cum Do - mi - ni

quo - mo - do cas - ta -

quo - mo - do cas - ta -

quo - mo - do cas - ta -

quo - mo - do cas - ta -

in ter - ra a - li - e - na?

in ter - ra a - li - e - na?

in ter - ra a - li - e - na?

in ter - ra a - li - e - na?

bl - mes cas - ti - cum Do - mi - ni in ter -

bl - mes cas - ti - cum Do - mi - ni in ter -

bl - mes cas - ti - cum Do - mi - ni in ter -

bl - mes cas - ti - cum Do - mi - ni in ter -

in ter - ra a -

in ter - ra a - li - e - na?

in ter - ra a -

in ter - ra a - li - e -

- ra a - li - e - na? in ter - ra a - li - e - na?

- ra a - li - e - na? in ter - ra a - li - e - na?

- ra a - li - e - na? in ter - ra a -

- ra a - li - e - na? in ter - ra

- li - e - na?

in ter - ra a - li - e - na?

- li - e - na? a - li - e - na?

na? in ter - ra a - li - e - na?

in ter - ra a - li - e - na?

in ter - ra a - li - e - na?

in ter - ra a - li - e - na?

in ter - ra a - li - e - na?



came to an end in 1574. Fortunately for his success at S. Apollinare, the rector of the German College, P. Michele Lauretano, enthusiastically endorsed sacred musical studies. Himself a former choirboy at Loreto, he ordered students of the college not to wear the gown of an alumnus until they had progressed in music at least sufficiently to sing the psalm-tones from memory.<sup>71</sup> He convoked the entire student body at set intervals, and sat by while Victoria examined individual students. Because he himself reprimanded the slothful and commended the industrious, Victoria was able to develop an outstanding choir.

Not only did Victoria continue *Collegii Germanici in Vrbe Roma Musicae Moderator* throughout 1576 (in which year he published his second collection) but also throughout 1577. Then, on February 2, 1578, a new maestro appears in the roster of college officials—Francesco [Soriano?].<sup>72</sup> From July, 1579, to February, 1590, the Neapolitan composer Annibale Stabile serves as chapelmaster in the college and church.<sup>73</sup> Victoria is willing, however, to revisit his alma mater on special occasions. He returns, for instance, at Epiphany in 1585. According to a college manuscript diary, “A *Benedictus* [sung at Lauds] with organ accompaniment made an extraordinary effort, because Maestro Victoria, the composer of the *Benedictus*, was present.”<sup>74</sup>

On March 6 and 13, 1575, Victoria was admitted to minor orders (lector and exorcist). On August 14, 1575, after examination by Roman diocesan author-

ity to determine his fitness, and after provision with a benefice in León diocese, he was ordered subdeacon; on Thursday, August 25, deacon; on Sunday, August 28, priest. The ordaining bishop on each of these three occasions was Thomas Goldwell, exiled diocesan of St. Asaph.<sup>75</sup> Each of the ceremonies took place in the English church St. Thomas of Canterbury. This church still stands on the Via di Monserrato just across the street from the Aragonese church at which Victoria first began his career as chapelmaster—S. Maria di Monserrato. Bishop Goldwell (*ca.* 1510–1585), an Oxford graduate—B.A., 1528; M.A., 1531; B.D., 1534—lived to be the last surviving member of the pre-Reformation English hierarchy. After holding various responsible posts at Rome he became in 1574 “vicegerent for Cardinal Savelli, the cardinal vicar, an office which involved his acting for the pope as diocesan bishop of Rome.”<sup>76</sup> Victoria was approximately twenty-seven when ordained. He was made priest sooner after being ordered deacon than was usually allowed.

After quitting the Collegium Germanicum, he next joined the newly founded community of secular priests presided over by St. Philip Neri—the Congregation of the Oratory. He was admitted to a chaplaincy at S. Girolamo della Carità on June 8, 1578—retaining it until May 7, 1585 (on which date he was succeeded by Paolo Cornetta).<sup>77</sup> Neri himself dwelt at St. Jerome’s until 1583. Victoria therefore lived on terms of daily intimacy with this remarkable spiritual leader during half a decade. Neri’s community (the rules for which were confirmed in a papal bull dated July 15, 1575) was organized along unique lines. Its members were not allowed to bind themselves with vows. Members might not be transferred from one house to another. The priests in the community did not relinquish their personal property and were indeed expected to maintain themselves.<sup>78</sup> Victoria’s support came from various Spanish benefices, all of which seem to have been conferred by Pope Gregory XIII. On May 1, 1579, this famous reformer of the calendar issued a brief conceding Victoria a simple benefice worth 200 ducats annually in Zamora diocese (S. Miguel at Villalbarba).<sup>79</sup> This same brief mentions four other benefices already

<sup>71</sup> Casimiri, “Il Vittoria,” p. 140, n. 3.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>73</sup> According to Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche* (Rome: Soc. Tipografica, 1828), I, 70 (n. 109), Stabile, served as *maestro di cappella* at St. John Lateran from September, 1575, through May, 1576. In January, 1592, he became chapelmaster at St. Mary Major.

<sup>74</sup> Casimiri, “Il Vittoria,” p. 153. Perhaps the *Benedictus* in question was the same as that *a 4* published during the same year in the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* as item 13 (reprinted in the Pedrell edition of Victoria’s complete works, Vol. V, pp. 143–146). In the latter he alternates odd plainsong verses with even polyphonic verses. For the chant, he avails himself of the *Canticum Zachariae* (Luke 1:68–79) as sung on Maundy Thursday (*Liber usualis* [1947], p. 538). In verses 2 and 4 the paraphrased chant floats above in cantus. In verse 8 it is submerged in the tenor. Victoria’s splendidly virile setting concludes with a triple-meter *Sicut erat* marked “suo tempore.” As sung on Maundy Thursday, the *Benedictus* concludes without any *Gloria Patri* . . . *Sicut erat*. His having printed such an optional concluding *Sicut erat* suggests that he meant his *Officium Benedictus* to be sung on other occasions as well.

<sup>75</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography* [1908], VIII, 97.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 99.

<sup>77</sup> Casimiri, “Il Vittoria,” p. 151.

<sup>78</sup> *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, 272.

<sup>79</sup> Casimiri, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

conceded—San Francisco at Béjar in Plasencia diocese (35 ducats), San Salvador at Béjar (24 ducats), San Andrés at Valdescapa in León diocese (24 ducats), and another rent in Osma diocese (24 ducats). Victoria's total income from these several benefices after 1579 would have been 307 ducats annually. Fortunately, he was to be awarded more lucrative benefices in the course of the next two decades. Indeed, no sixteenth-century Spanish composer can challenge his success in garnering lucrative benefices. Only because of his income from such benefices was he able to devote himself to unremunerated spiritual labors at S. Girolamo della Carità. Without such income he might have been tied to the exacting routine of music-mastering at the Jesuit collegium that was his alma mater.

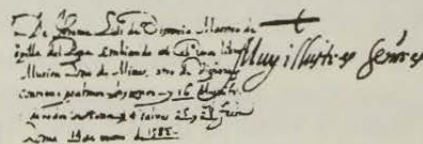
While a resident priest at St. Jerome's, Victoria published four collections: two in 1581<sup>80</sup> and another two in 1583. In 1585 he published two further collections. All of these except the *Motecta* of 1583

<sup>80</sup> Victoria, in a letter to the Sevillian Cathedral chapter dated January 14, 1582 (printed as an appendix in Juan B. de Elústiza's *Estudios musicales*, Tomo I [Seville: Imp. de la "Guía Oficial," 1917]), speaks of the 1581 *Cantica B. Virginis* and the 1581 *Hymni totius anni* as constituting not two volumes but rather a single book of vespers music. He also speaks of this single volume as having been published at his own expense. His letter, printed in 1917, escaped Pedrell's eye. Elústiza discovered the original in the Sevillian Cathedral archive (at the time of finding it, he was cathedral organist at Seville). He rightly pointed out that Guerrero had already interceded for Victoria with the Sevillian chapter in September, 1578. Moreover, Victoria alludes to this intervention in his first sentence. Guerrero was in Rome at the very moment that Victoria dispatched the letter—as can be known from letters that Guerrero wrote to his chapter on November 13, 1581, and April 20, 1582. An English paraphrase of Victoria's January 14, 1582, letter follows below.

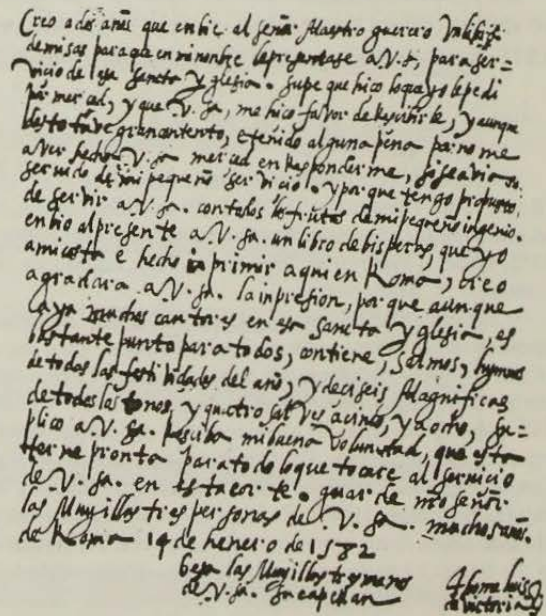
Some two years ago I forwarded your worships through Maestro Guerrero a book of masses for use in your cathedral. Your kind acknowledgment of its receipt fulfilled my best expectations. But although I was delighted with your generous response I have been rather ashamed that I did not in reply inquire whether you had found my modest settings useful. I am now sending a book of vespers, which I have had published at my own expense here in Rome. I believe that you will like the printing, because although there is a large force of singers in your cathedral the print is large enough for all to read. It contains psalms, hymns for all the feasts of the year, sixteen magnificats in every tone, and four Salves, *a 5* and *a 8*. I beg you to accept my compliments, and assure you that I shall gladly perform any service here in Rome that you may require. May Our Lord preserve you throughout many years. Rome, January 14, 1582. Your servant in Christ to command, Tomás Luis de Victoria

(which was but an enlarged reprint of the *Motecta* of 1572) were issued in lavish folio. Such were the beauty and the luxury of these 23- by 16-inch folios (91, 94, 148, 87, and 100 leaves) that Palestrina seems to have grown envious. The five folios—*Cantica B. Virginis*, 1581; *Hymni totius anni*, 1581; *Missarum Libri Duo*, 1583; *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*, 1585; and *Motecta Festorum Totius anni*, 1585—were respectively dedicated to (1) Michele Bonelli, a cardinal who was a nephew of Pope Pius V and who had been Victoria's schoolmate *ca.* 1565 in the Collegium Germanicum, (2) Pope Gregory XIII, (3) Philip II, (4) the Blessed Trinity, and (5) the twenty-three-year-old Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy, who at Saragossa on March 11, 1585 wedded the Princess Catherine, daughter of Philip II by Anne of Austria.

How he distributed these luxurious publications can be best surmised from a letter of his dated at Rome January 14, 1582. Addressed to the Seville Cathedral chapter, the autograph letter shown below



Al Sr. D. Juan de Ovando, Obispo de  
 Sevilla del Rey Católico de España  
 D. Juan de Ovando, Obispo de Sevilla  
 D. Juan de Ovando, Obispo de Sevilla  
 D. Juan de Ovando, Obispo de Sevilla



Creo a los años que en hic al señ. Maestro Guerrero Magnifico  
 de missas para que en su nombre se imprimiese a V. S. para ser  
 inicio de la Geneta y glosa. Supe que hizo lo que yo le pedi  
 por merced, y que a V. S. me hizo favor de devolvirme, y aunque  
 desto fue gran contento, esperaba alguna pena por no me  
 a ver hecho a V. S. merced en las peticiones que se me  
 ser un libro de mis pequeños servicios. Y ya que tengo propo-  
 de servir a V. S. con talos pequeños de mis pequeños ingenios  
 enbio al presente a V. S. un libro de bisperas que yo  
 amica e hecho en primer agni en Roma, creo  
 agradara a V. S. la impresion, por que aunque  
 la ya se ha cantado en su Santa Iglesia, es  
 bastante punto para a todos, contiene Salvas, Hymnos  
 de todos los festos del año, y diez y seis Magnificas  
 de todos los tonos, y quatro set de ainos, y otro, se-  
 plio a V. S. he sido mi buena voluntad, que yo  
 he me pronta para a lo que tocare al servicio  
 de V. S. en esta corte o qual de mis señ.  
 las Magnificas por favor de V. S. muchas veces  
 de Roma a 14 de enero de 1582  
 De las Magnificas y otros  
 de V. S. su capellan

Victoria's autograph letter to the Seville Cathedral chapter, dated at Rome January 14, 1582.

was published (in facsimile) in the *Revista de Musicología*, VI/1-2 (1983), page 148. In this letter, he mentions having previously sent the Seville chapter his 1576 *Liber primus* and having received a suitable reward. Now he sends (presumably bound together as one volume) both of his 1581 publications, the *Cantica B. Virginis* and *Hymni totius anni*. The 1582 letter to the Seville chapter reads as follows (English paraphrase in note 80 on preceding page):

Creo a dos años que enbie al señor Maestro guerrero vn libro de misas para que en mi nonbre le presentase a V. S.<sup>a</sup>, para servicio de esa Sancta Yglesia. supe que hizo lo que yo le pedi por merced, y que V. S.<sup>a</sup>, me hizo favor de Rescibirle, y aunque desto tuve gran contento, e tenido alguna pena por no me aver hecho V. S.<sup>a</sup> merced en Responderme, si se avia seruido de mi pequeño servicio. Y por que tengo propuesto de servir a V. S.<sup>a</sup> un libro de bisperas, que yo a mi costa e hecho imprimir aqui en Roma, creo agradara a V. S.<sup>a</sup> la inpresion, por que aunque aya muchos cantores en esa Santa Yglesia, es bastante punto para todos, contiene, salmos, hymnos de todas las festividades del año, y deçiseis Magnificas de todos los tonos, y quatro Salves a cinco, y a ocho, Suplico a V. S.<sup>a</sup> Resciba mi buena voluntad, que esta terne pronta para todo lo que tocare al seruiçio de V. S.<sup>a</sup> en esta corte. guarde de nño señor las Muy illustre personas de V. S.<sup>a</sup> muchos años. de Roma 14 de henero de 1582 / besa las Muy illustres manos / de V. S.<sup>a</sup> su capellan / Thome Luis / de Victoria

Apart from financial favor that he hoped to receive from cathedrals and chapels where his publications might prove useful, Victoria had every right to expect some recompense from dedicatees. The dedications to Cardinal Bonelli and Pope Gregory XIII bespeak gratitude for favors received; those to Philip II and his son-in-law Charles Emmanuel solicit future favors. In his dedication to Philip II, Victoria declares himself exhausted from continuous musical toil during many years. He proposes now to return home, but hopes not to be coming empty-handed after his lengthy absence in Italy. Henceforth his goal will be a quiet life spent in the discharge of his priestly duties.<sup>81</sup> He trusts that his masses will

<sup>81</sup> Casimiri, "Il Vittoria," p. 186: . . . *volui vt defessus, commentandi finem iam facerem, et aliquando perfunctus laboribus honesto in otio conquiescerem, animumque ad diuinam, vt sacerdotem decet, contemplationem traducerem* . . . Interpreted literally, these phrases would, of course, mean that at the early age of thirty-five Victoria already wished to retire from composing in order to devote himself wholly to contemplation.

not prove unworthy of Philip's chapel. He craves a dignity conferred at Philip's hands. In his dedication to Charles Emmanuel he says that it was Giovanale Ancina, a fellow Oratorian and a Savoyard,<sup>82</sup> who urged him to send his collected motets to Turin; and that he was the more easily persuaded thereto because of the duke's impending union with the Spanish house. He avers that his previously published motets will be found to be printed more accurately in the present edition. Playing upon his own name, *Victoria*, he hopes that his dedication will prove an omen of victory in every enterprise the duke undertakes.

From Ancina's Latin *epigramma* that follows the dedication, some further biographical grain can be gleaned. Ancina asserts that Victoria—now famous throughout Italy, and beloved at Rome—has recently begun to be known even in the Indies.<sup>83</sup> If he is already the cynosure of all the young masters at Rome, what will he not be in times to come when he reaches maturity? asks Ancina rhetorically. (Victoria, precocious when he first published his motets at Venice in 1572, still qualified as a young man when at thirty-seven he republished them for a second time in 1585.) Ancina's twenty-two distichs, like prelude matter in most printed books of the time, laud Victoria to the skies. But, quite unusually, they do not pass the bounds of provable fact. Even if his assertion that Victoria's fame has spread to the Indies cannot be supported with a document dated 1585, it can be supported by one dated March 12, 1598.<sup>84</sup> On that date Victoria empowered two Sevillian deputies to collect 100 pesos (81.6 ducats) transmitted from Lima. Dr. [Alvaro Nuñez de] Solís, an attorney at the Peruvian capital, had sent this sum. As *alcalde* in the Peruvian Casa de la Moneda (an office to which Solís was appointed on August 21, 1589),<sup>85</sup> he perhaps forwarded payments due Victoria from the Lima Cathedral for music books sent out to the capital of the viceroyalty: or sums sent from Cuzco.

Only after ten years spent in annually renewed association with the infant Oratorian community did

<sup>82</sup> Concerning Giovanale Ancina (1545-1604), native of Fossano, see *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, I (1948), 1170a.

<sup>83</sup> Pedrell, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 167-168 (item 7).

<sup>85</sup> *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, XI (1588-1593), transcribed and annotated by John Bromley (Lima: Torres Aguirre, 1942), p. 153.

an associate become a voting member of Neri's group. Victoria did not continue long enough to become a decennial father and therefore a full-fledged Oratorian. Since his period of service lasted only seven years (June 8, 1578–May 7, 1585) it was quite right for Paolo Aringhi, the first historian of the Oratorian community, to say that Neri "intended to receive another musician and celebrated composer named Victoria."<sup>86</sup> Aringhi, whose manuscript history of the community, *Vitae, Sententiae, Gesta et Dicta Patrum Congr. is Oratorii de Urbe a S. Philippo Nerio fundatae hic a Paulo Aringhio Cong. eiusdem Presbit. diligenter collectae*, is preserved at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana at Rome, under signatures O 58.-60, mentions Victoria only in passing (MS O 58.1): his main business at the moment being a life history of Francisco Soto (who did become a full-fledged Oratorian). After alluding to Neri's unfulfilled intention, Aringhi goes on to say that the saint hoped that Victoria would "compose music for the daily exercises at the Oratory." Victoria, however, "went back to his native land in order to put his affairs in order, and did not return [to Rome]."

#### RESETTLEMENT IN SPAIN

The likeliest year for Victoria's resettlement in Spain is 1586. From 1586 until her death in 1603 he was chaplain to the Dowager Empress María living in retirement at the Royal Convent of Barefoot Clarist Nuns (Madrid). During these seventeen years he also served as maestro of the priests' and boys' choir attached to the convent. From 1604 until his death in 1611 he was convent organist. Obviously, any understanding of his career from 1587 to 1611 predicated some knowledge of his surroundings.

This particular convent, the full title of which during Victoria's lifetime was *Monasterio de las Descalzas de Santa Clara de la Villa de Madrid*,<sup>87</sup> was founded in 1564. The first abbess, Sor Juana de la Cruz, enjoyed the highest connections. Her brother, Francisco de Borja, had been Duke of Gandía be-

fore becoming third general of the Society of Jesus. The principal patroness until 1573 was Joanna (b. 1535)—sister of Philip II—who married Prince John of Portugal and after his death (1554) gave birth to Sebastian, last of the house of Aviz. Fortunately for the convent that she endowed so liberally, she was an avid music lover.<sup>88</sup> According to her *escritura fundacional* (1571), the thirty-three rigidly cloistered nuns comprising the convent proper were to hear Mass in a small chapel attended by priests, all of whom (in addition to numerous other requirements) were to be accomplished singers of plainchant and polyphony.<sup>89</sup> Always separated from the nuns by a grille, they were to be over thirty years of age, Latin scholars, and of unexceptionable fame. They were to have no other offices nor duties, and were never to remain overnight outside the chaplains' residency. They were to take their meals separately and each to have his own servant. The *capellán mayor* was to have two servants. One month's vacation was allowed them each year. Their daily duties included the singing of two Masses—one to be votive with deacon and subdeacon. They were to sing vespers of major feasts, and Christmas matins. Instrumentalists were to be hired at Easter, Corpus, and throughout the octave of the latter.

Philip II, not quite content with every detail of his sister's *escritura fundacional* of 1571, issued a new *declaración* in 1577 which Gregory XIII approved in 1578. The number of chaplains was increased to twelve "so that three could sing each part." Their salaries were to be doubled—400 ducats being hence-

<sup>86</sup>For a list of her music books, see "Inventarios de la Infanta D.<sup>a</sup> Juana," in Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Noticias y documentos relativos a la historia y literatura españolas*, II (Madrid: Imp de los succ. de Hernando, 1914), pp. 335-337, 344-348. Her library included volumes devoted wholly to works by Carpentras (item 35), Pierre Colin [fl. 1532] (item 51), Francisco Guerrero (item 188), Josquin des Prez (items 34, 41), Morales (items 52, 178), and Bartolomé de Quebedo (item 168). Her collection also contained several volumes of secular song (items, 41, 174, 175, 180, 181, 182(?), 186, 190, 197); in these were copied chansons in French; madrigals and villanescas in Italian; and canciones, ensaladas, and villancicos in Spanish. For further information on her musical ability, see José M. March, *Niñez y juventud de Felipe II: Documentos inéditos* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1942), II, 447.

<sup>89</sup>José M. Fernández, "Tomás Luis de Victoria," *Tesoros sacro-musical*, XIX, 8 (Aug., 1935), 70. Fernández's monograph forms an invaluable supplement to Casimiri's "Il Vittoria."

<sup>86</sup>Casimiri, "Il Vittoria," p. 148 (*prima redazione*).

<sup>87</sup>Fr. Juan Carrillo, *Relacion historica de la Real Fundacion del Monasterio de las Descalças de Santa Clara de la villa de Madrid, con . . . las Vidas de la Princesa de Portugal doña Juana de Austria su fundadora y de la M. C. de la Emperatriz Maria, su hermana* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1616).