

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."⁸⁶ 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. o 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*,⁸⁷ 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.⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹ 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-

⁸⁶For a list of her music books, see "Inventarios de la Infanta D.^a 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.

⁸⁹José 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."

⁸⁶Casimiri, "Il Vittoria," p. 148 (*prima redazione*).

⁸⁷Fr. 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).



forth paid each chaplain and 800 to the *capellán mayor*. Polyphony was henceforward to be sung at every major festival. Passions on Palm Sunday and Good Friday as well as *Tenebrae* were to be sung polyphonically. The secretly elected chapelmaster was to hold office for life (article 37). His duties were to include instruction of four youths during an hour each day. For teaching the choirboys he was to receive an extra 10,000 maravedís annually. Henceforth the convent organist, not necessarily a chaplain, was to be paid 40,000 maravedís. These rules remained in force until 1601, in which year they were superseded by a new *reglamento* issued by Philip III. The new rules reduced the number of chaplains from twelve to nine, but added to the convent staff two clergy "with excellent voices" whose primary duty was to sing. They were to be chosen for their *buenas voces para que puedan servir y sirvan los días de música*. The "musical days" on which polyphony was to be sung were left to the discretion of the *convento y abadesa* (convent and abbess). The two extra singing clergy were each to receive 200 ducats annually. The new articles allowed for the importation of additional clergy on solemn festivals, and especially during Holy Week. The 1601 *reglamento* also increased the number of choirboys to six. These were to be taught plainsong, polyphony, and counterpoint by the chapelmaster; and were to rehearse daily. The pay of each boy was set at fifty ducats. Last, the 1601 rules provided for the regular employment of a *bajón* [fagottist] "who shall serve in the said chapel every day music is performed and assist the choir with his instrument." His pay was to be 40,000 maravedís annually. Before appointment, the *bajón*-player was to be examined by both chapelmaster and *músicos*.

The Dowager Empress María (1528–1603), whose personal chaplain Victoria became during 1586–1603, enjoyed the triple distinction of being daughter of an emperor—Charles V—wife of an emperor—Maximilian II (d. October 12, 1576)—and the mother of two emperors—Rudolph II and Matthias. Choosing not to remain at Prague after her husband's death, but to return to her homeland, she and the most devout of her fifteen children—the Princess Margaret—set out from Prague on August 1, 1581; sojourned at Genoa from October 16 to November 8; and reached Madrid on March 6, 1582.⁹⁰ After a

short visit with Philip II, who was in Portugal at the time, both mother and daughter took up residence at the Descalzas Reales convent in Madrid, which was to remain the home of both until death. On March 25, 1584, Margaret professed solemn vows; henceforth being protected by the laws of cloister.

When Victoria at thirty-eight became personal chaplain to the fifty-eight-year-old dowager empress, he took up residence adjacent to the premier convent in Spain. In vain he was sought in 1587 by such cathedrals as those at Saragossa and Seville. Doctor Pascual de Mandura, canon of the Seo at Saragossa and historian of events from 1579 to 1601 at the Seo—older of the two cathedrals at Saragossa—mentions the futile attempt in 1587 to lure Victoria to the Aragonese capital (see his *Libro de Memorias*, copy at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 14047). According to Doctor Pascual, the Saragossa chapter sat on December 23, 1587, with the intent of electing a chapelmaster to succeed José Gay. Melchor Robledo had died in the preceding spring. A successor had been found on June 26 in Gay, native of Valencia. Within three months of taking office, however, Gay died. To avoid the expense of another formal competition so soon after the election of Gay, the Seo canons at the chapter meeting of December 23 sought to agree upon a "name" personality. A sufficiently renowned individual could perhaps be elected by the chapter, simply on the strength of his former achievements. Victoria's name was mentioned immediately. "But they knew that he could not be obtained, and that when approached prior to the previous election [in June] he had written that he had been invited to Seville to share company with Guerrero; but did not want to go because he did not care for Andalusia and was accustomed to the manners of Castile; and wished to end his days in Castile."⁹¹

⁹¹ Pascual de Mandura, "Libro de Memorias": *En 23 de Diciembre miércoles [1587] se trato de elegir maestro de capilla por la muerte de Josepe Gay y se representaron algunos y fueron Garro maestro de capilla de Siguença Monente natural de la villa de Erla que estaua en la capilla de Su Magd Vitoria aunque se sabia no podia venir como el escriuio en la election passada [26 de junio] que hauia sido llamado para Sebilla y para en compañía de Guerrero y no quiso yr por no agradarle la tierra y estar acostumbrado a los ayres de la suya y que queria acabar en ella.*

Interestingly enough, both Victoria and St. Theresa of Ávila were of one mind, so far as Seville was concerned. She considered that "the injustices rampant in these parts [Seville] are amazing, and also the untruthfulness and double-dealing; this place certainly deserves its bad reputation" (Letter 93 dated

⁹⁰ March, *op. cit.*, II, 440–441.

In addition to the advantages of: (1) personal association with the devout and highly cultivated dowager empress, (2) luxurious and fastidious surroundings at the royal convent, (3) daily contact with his elder brother Dr. Agustín (another of the empress's chaplains), (4) at least occasional visits with his younger brother Juan Luis (who came to reside in Madrid before 1591), and (5) living in the newly selected (1560) capital, Victoria enjoyed many other advantages. Among these was greater freedom of movement than could have been allowed at either Saragossa or Seville. For instance, in 1591 he resided at Madrid—on March 4 becoming godfather of his infant niece Isabel de Victoria Figueroa in a baptis-

April 29, 1576, from Seville [*Obras de Sta. Teresa de Jesús*, ed. by P. Silverio de Santa Teresa, VII, 227]; "not much sincerity is encountered in those parts [Seville]" (Letter 108, dated September 9, 1576 [*Obras*, VII, 282]); "here [Seville] one sees nowadays the deplorable condition of spiritually minded people" (Letter 140, dated November, 1576 [*Obras*, VII, 374]). The fact that Victoria should have inveighed against Seville gives one the right to believe that on some journey to or from Italy he had visited the New York of sixteenth-century Spain.

Since Canon Pascual de Mandura's "Libro de Memorias de las cosas que . . . se han ofrecido . . . desde el Agosto del año 1579 hasta el año 1601 inclusive" provides prime data concerning competitions for the Saragossa Seo position (after Victoria declined it), the section beginning at folio 184 in Biblioteca Nacional MS 14047 has been summarized in the following seven paragraphs.

After the death of Melchor Robledo, whose fame covered all Spain and Italy, the chapter anxiously began searching for a worthy successor. At first, some other already famous chapelmaster was sought. The choice fell on Juan Arnal of Tarazona. But he very courteously declined. Then the chapter decided to stage an open competition for the post. Announcement of the impending competition was distributed on April 15, 1587, with a three-month time limit for entering candidacies. The three who entered their names were José Gay, native of Valencia and chapelmaster at Gandía; Martín Pérez, chapelmaster of Badajoz; and Cristóbal Téllez, chapelmaster at Berlanga. Upon arrival Téllez declared, however, that the other candidates were so inferior it would demean him to compete against them. He also offered certain other captious objections.

Juan Arnal of Tarazona (who had been invited to succeed Robledo, but had declined) was requested to judge the examination. While in Saragossa, he stayed with Mosén Pedro Ojo, interim chapelmaster since Robledo's death. The battery of tests began on Monday, June 15, with counterpoint above a given Alleluia. On Tuesday, Pérez and Gay were each invited to add a third voice to a duo from a Josquin mass or a fifth voice to a movement *a 4*. Pérez demurred, claiming that his opponent had seen the duo in advance. Another duo was then selected at random to which he sang a third part. Afterward he returned to the first duo (the one to which he had objected) and sang a third

part. He refused to write a third or fifth part, however; because, he said, ability to write such an added part was not a necessary accomplishment for a chapelmaster.

Arnal then assigned each a plainsong upon which to compose a motet for Wednesday afternoon, and a villancico for Thursday afternoon. On Wednesday morning Pérez conducted a Josquin mass. In the afternoon Gay first solfaed his motet with other singers and then sang it through with text. Pérez followed suit, doing exactly the same. For this particular event the choir enclosure was so crowded with musicians (and others) from far and near that guards had to be posted at the entrances.

On Thursday, June 18, during vespers, Pedro Ojo (interim chapelmaster since Robledo's death) asked that Pérez be allowed to sing his villancico first. This request was denied. Both villancicos were well received. Just as on Wednesday afternoon, an immense crowd was again on hand to hear both contestants' music. On Friday afternoon each was asked to add a third voice to a duo composed especially for the occasion by Arnal himself; and also a third part to a duo from another Josquin mass. Neither candidate, however, succeeded with the Josquin duo, and the session ended with much argument over purely musical questions.

On Saturday, Arnal attended a chapter meeting at which he said that neither candidate exceeded the other: and that indeed both were too poor to endorse for so distinguished a chapelmastership as that of the Seo. The chapter therefore told each candidate to return to his home and there await further word. The chapter allowed Gay and Pérez twenty ducats each for travel expenses. But Téllez from Berlanga was dismissed with nothing—since he had refused to compete and had impugned the good faith of the chapter. At last on Friday, June 26, almost a week later, a chapter vote was taken. Gay was named by a 4-3 decision. He died, however, on September 10, thus throwing the post open a second time within the same year. To avoid the delay and expense of still another competition, names of possible candidates were discussed in a chapter meeting held on December 23 [1587]. Garro, chapelmaster of Sigüenza, Monente, a member of the royal chapel, and Victoria were mentioned at that meeting. [Here follows the passage that is quoted at the head of this note in Spanish.]

In the meantime, good reports had been received concerning

mal ceremony at the parochial church of San Ginés. The next year (1592), however, he was at Rome—on November 13 signing the dedication of his *Mis-sae quatuor, quinque, sex, et octo vocibus concinendae* to the Empress María's son, Cardinal Albert (1559-1621), archbishop of Toledo (1584), and after 1599 ruler of the Spanish Netherlands. However, he returned soon thereafter to Madrid and in 1593 busied himself not only with Descalzas convent duties but also the distribution of his 1592 volume.

As an example: on July 20, 1593, he wrote the Jaén Cathedral chapter a short cover letter to accompany dispatch of a copy of his 1592 Masses. Found in the Jaén diocesan archive by Luis Coronas Tejada

Such freedom to come and go could hardly have been allowed Victoria had he been a chaplain whose income derived from the original foundation at Descalzas Reales. He seems not to have been one of the twelve chaplains appointed on the 1577/1578 foundation; but, instead, the Empress María's private appointee. As such, he could have come and gone at her individual pleasure, rather than merely during the annual thirty-day vacation allowed the convent foundation chaplains. As clear-cut a reference as any to his personal circumstances from 1587 until the Empress María's death is perhaps to be found in his memorial, quoted in a royal cedula dated July 2, 1611.⁹⁶ Victoria, describing his career at Descalzas Reales, says in 1611 that "he had served 24 years as the empress's chaplain." These twenty-four years had been divided into two periods—the first lasting seventeen years (within her lifetime). During the seven since her death (February 26, 1603) he had "served in one of the three [endowed] chaplaincies that she left in the said convent." What is more, Victoria had "served 17 years as *maestro de capilla*, these 17 without any extra pay whatsoever." After her death he had resigned the chapelmastership "and for seven years henceforward had satisfactorily served as convent organist."

Among Victoria's other blessings while at the Descalzas Reales was an annual income from absentee benefices throughout the whole period, 1587-1611, which was considerably greater than the aggregate amount he could have realized from a mere cathedral chapelmastership anywhere in Spain—even at such opulent cathedrals as Toledo and Seville. The aggregate value of the position open at Seville Cathedral in 1587, for instance, was only 900 ducats annually. So testified Sebastián de Vivanco in a confidential report to the Ávila Cathedral chapter on October 30, 1587.⁹⁷ The value of the Ávila chapelmaster was even less: Vivanco made this fact plain when he said he would prefer to be in Ávila with less income than at Seville with more; simply because Ávila was his home town. Victoria—under consideration at both Saragossa and Seville in 1587—seems

not even to have been thought of at Ávila when in the same year decision was taken to replace the ailing and corrupt Hernando de Issasi (who in 1573 and again in 1577 had contumeliously categorized Victoria's 1572 *Motecta* and 1576 Masses as unfit for use in Ávila Cathedral).⁹⁸ In 1579 Victoria already enjoyed benefices yielding 307 ducats annually. His list of rents grew steadily thereafter. During 1605 and 1606 he was enjoying an additional annual income of 920 ducats from the dioceses of Cordova, Segovia, Sigüenza, Toledo, and Zamora.⁹⁹ With a 1,227-ducats annual income simply from "pensions" collectable in these various dioceses, he was too affluent for any provincial chapelmastership to lure him away from Madrid.

It has hitherto been the custom to deplore the "poverty" that Victoria "endured" during his last years. Pedrell, for instance, closed his biographical summary with an indignant paragraph (quoted from *Para música vamos!*) in which Victoria was said to have ended his days in a mean post, poorly paid, and ungratefully and despitely used by the very nation that should have honored him.¹⁰⁰ Actually, the very documents that Pedrell collected should have stilled any such outcry against the Spanish nation. To take only the matter of his benefices: all were in Spain, and were therefore collated by Spanish bishops. All were simple (without cure of souls) and all were non-residential. Don Francisco Reinoso (d. 1601), the bishop who collated him in the 150-ducats benefice at Cordova, visited Rome in 1581 or 1582.¹⁰¹ He it was who while still canon at Palencia Cathedral (with the title of *abad de Husillos*) secured Soto de Langa for an editor of Juan Navarro's *Psalmi, Hymni ac Magnificat Totius Anni*; and it was to him that Soto dedicated the collection when it was published at Rome in 1590. Reinoso was so ardent a music lover that it was at his own expense (*auctoritate, et sumptibus tuis*), testified Soto, that Navarro's music was published a decade after the composer's death.¹⁰² Reinoso may quite well have met Victoria at Rome as early as 1581. Saint Theresa, writing to Reinoso's brother on May 20, 1582, alluded to Rei-

⁹⁶ Rafael Mitjana, *Estudios sobre algunos músicos españoles* (Madrid: Sucs. de Hernando, 1918), pp. 234-236.

⁹⁷ Ávila, *A.C., 1587-1588-1589*, fol. 60 [second foliation]: *Viernes 30 de octubre 1587. / Que la iglesia de sevilla llamava ofreçienda media Raçion y doçientos ducados y cinquenta fanegas de trigo de salario cada año que todo llegaría a novecientos ducados . . .*

⁹⁸ See above, notes 6, 34.

⁹⁹ Pedrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-173 (items 27, 29-30).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹⁰¹ Teresa de Jesús, *Obras*, IX (1924), 185 (n. 2).

¹⁰² Introduction reprinted in Manuel Joaquim, *Vinte livros de música polifónica* (Lisbon: Ramos, Afonso & Moita, 1953), pp. 2-3.



noso's visit in Rome and to his having there met the new general of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Aquaviva (elected 1581). In 1582 Victoria was no longer chapelmaster at either of the Jesuit colleges at Rome. But he can scarcely have missed meeting so distinguished a Spanish visitor at S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli—in which national church he still officiated as late as 1583—and more especially one who was so ardent a devotee of sacred music. Reinoso was, of course, but one of several bishops who honored him with a benefice. But if the biographies of the other Spanish bishops who collated him in ecclesiastical livings could be studied, each might be revealed a musically cultured diocesan, and one who knew his obligations to genius.

The Empress María paid him 120 ducats annually until her death in 1603. At her death she endowed three chaplaincies in Descalzas Reales convent. Victoria inherited one of these.¹⁰³ The pay continued at the rate of 120 ducats annually. On January 1, 1605, he needed a large sum of ready money—perhaps to pay the costs of printing his last work, the *Officium Defunctorum* dedicated to the empress's memory. He therefore sold his interest in the lifetime chaplaincy bequeathed him by the empress to a certain Doña Isabel Díaz y Poe for the sum of 720 ducats.¹⁰⁴ To guarantee her against loss should he die before the expiry of six years (120 ducats annually, times six), he mortgaged five benefices and his convent salary. Had he died the first year, she would have collected in the amount of her advance, 720 ducats. Each subsequent year she would have collected 120 ducats less. The five benefices whose incomes he pledged to Doña Isabel Díaz on January 1, 1605, did not include a 150-ducat benefice in Toledo archdiocese.¹⁰⁵

During the empress's lifetime, Victoria, on his

own word, received no extra pay for his services as convent chapelmaster.¹⁰⁶ After her death, he retired to the less strenuous duties of convent organist. For playing the organ, however, he did consent to draw a stipend over and above his chaplain's salary. During 1604–1605 he was each year paid 40,000 maravedís for playing the organ. Then in 1606, Philip III "as patron of the said convent" issued a cedula raising his annual salary to 75,000 maravedís.¹⁰⁷ In the same year the king raised the salary of Alonso del Cerro—the convent *bajón*-player—to the same amount.¹⁰⁸ It can by no means be doubted that Victoria was well treated at the convent and that it was of his own free will that he retired to the organ loft. On August 19, 1604, he witnessed the signing of a contract for a new convent organ, to be built by the Flemish organ builder in royal employ, Hans Brevos.¹⁰⁹ Added to the advantage of having a new instrument available during his last years was that of being able to call frequently upon a competent and eager substitute, Bernardo Pérez de Medrano. Because of the "great care and punctuality" with which Pérez de Medrano acted as substitute whenever called upon, and because he was "very competent and efficient," Victoria in 1611 used his influence with the king to have him named successor in the post when he should die. On July 2 (1611), Philip III formally confirmed Pérez de Medrano's right of succession.¹¹⁰ On Saturday, August 27, only eight weeks later, Victoria (who perhaps foresaw his imminent decease) died; and was buried at Descalzas Reales.¹¹¹

So far as his other musical associations go: the maestro de capilla at Descalzas Reales convent during Victoria's final quadrennium was Francisco Páez de Ávila. As such Páez himself becomes a relevant figure in Victoria's biography and merits attention heretofore denied him. In 1596 he resided at Jaén.

¹⁰³ Pedrell, *op. cit.*, p. 172 (lines 26–27). Also, Mitjana, *op. cit.*, p. 235 (lines 3–6).

¹⁰⁴ Pedrell, *op. cit.*, p. 172 (item 27). Also, Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña: parte tercera* (Madrid: Tip. de "Rev. de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos," 1907), p. 520 (item 27). Every word at pages 166–175 in Pedrell's *Tomás Luis de Victoria* (Valencia: Manuel Villar, 1918)—as well, of course, as the same material at pages lxxxiv–xc in Volume VIII of his *Opera omnia* edition—was copied from Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, III, 518–521. In his *Opera omnia*, Volume VIII, he even allowed Pérez Pastor's text to be translated into French and German.

¹⁰⁵ Pedrell, *op. cit.*, p. 173 (item 30); Pérez Pastor, *op. cit.*, III, 521 (item 30).

¹⁰⁶ Mitjana, *op. cit.*, p. 235, lines 6–8 (. . . *sirvio en la Capilla del diez y siete años, de Mro. de Capilla, sin ynteres ninguno* . . .).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 232, line 26.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

¹⁰⁹ Pedrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 171–172 (item 24); Pérez Pastor *op. cit.*, III, 520 (item 24). The empress bequeathed the funds for the new organ and remodeled choir enclosure. See León Pinelo, *Anales de Madrid: Reinado de Felipe III*, ed. by R. M. Téllez-Girón (Madrid: Estanislao Maestre, 1931), p. 213 (item 80). She left 4,000 ducats *para hacer el coro del Monasterio de las Descalzas*.

¹¹⁰ Mitjana, *op. cit.*, pp. 235–236.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 239; Pedrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 201–202.

During the first week of February, Páez competed for the position of maestro de capilla in the collegiate church at Antequera (Andrés Llordén, "Notas históricas de los maestros de capilla en la Colegiata de Antequera," *Anuario musical*, xxxi–xxxii (1976–1977), 123. When the winner Juan de Vargas refused the post Francisco Páez de Ávila was elected July 12, 1596.

Two years later Páez abandoned Antequera. On July 1, 1598, the Antequera actas announced his departure for Guadix. On November 11, 1600, he was reelected to occupy the Antequera post a second time, but five years later was again dismissed July 14, 1605, for failure to teach polyphony, absence from his other duties at prescribed hours, and other negligences. Nonetheless, his natural talents must have been considerable. In 1607 he competed for the post of maestro de capilla in the Descalzas Reales convent at Madrid and won appointment dated November 16, 1607. As chapelmaster he directed from the choirbook stand while Victoria (or Victoria's deputy Pérez de Medrano) officiated at the organ.

In March of 1615 the Empress María's body was transferred from the cloister to the altar of Descalzas Reales. Páez's Requiem Mass *a 8*, published in Sebastián López de Velasco's *Libro de Misas Motetes Salmos Magnificas y otras cosas* (Madrid: Ex Typographia Regia, 1628) may have been composed for the solemn Mass celebrated March 12, 1615 (Rafael Mota Murillo, *Sebastian López de Velasco* [1584–1659], "Libro de missas . . ." [Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1980, p. 53]).

To return again to the matter of Victoria's emoluments in the years 1600 to 1611: his largest source in Spain came from benefices—some 1,200 ducats annually.¹¹² As personal chaplain to the empress, he enjoyed not only before her death, but afterward also, an added 120 ducats annually; together with the coveted right of residence until his death in the chaplains' house (Arenal Street) next to the convent. Furthermore, he collected 40,000 maravedís annually in 1604–1605 and 75,000 maravedís (200 ducats) each year from 1606 to 1611 for his services as

¹¹² However, even an annual income of 1,200 ducats would not have sufficed to allow him any luxuries. For a *descansada vida* (comfortable life), 3,000 ducats was considered a minimum. Second-rate bishops such as those of Coria and Lugo received 30,000 and 35,000 ducats. See León Pinelo, *op. cit.*, pp. 214–215.

convent organist. He enjoyed still another type of income during his last years. The amounts are somewhat more difficult to gauge accurately, since they came from the "sale" of his publications to various princes and cathedral foundations. But he is known to have empowered his agents to collect on March 12, 1598, the sum of 900 reales (approximately 82 ducats) due from Lima; on January 26, 1602, 50 ducats from Málaga Cathedral; on November 23, 1604, 100 ducats "given me by the most serene Archduke Albert of Flanders [dedicatee of his 1592 Masses] for some books of music"; on December 19, 1606, 150 reales (about 14 ducats) from Albaracín Cathedral.¹¹³ These are the merest samplings. He undoubtedly received such "payments" by the score. In 1598, for instance, he placed an order for 200 sets of printed partbooks.¹¹⁴ In 1600, when these were ready, he distributed them. Two letters to recipients outside Spain show that he did not hesitate to pursue overdue payments. On April 16, 1602, he wrote Archduke Ferdinand at Graz, Austria, a letter that still survives in the Graz Registry of the Court Chamber (Hofkammer-Registratur) in file 1602-VIII-6. Published in Hellmut Federhofer's "Graz Court Musicians and their contributions to the Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus (1615)," *Musica Disciplina*, IX (1955), page 243, the document was reproduced in facsimile in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, XIII (1966), 1589–1590. Its tenor is as follows:

By way of one of Her Majesty's servants I sent Your Highness ten books of music containing among other things a Battle Mass very much liked by the king [Philip III]. I entreat of Your Highness a reward to help defray publication costs and also to succor a brother of mine imprisoned for a year. Your Highness's reward will make me your lifelong debtor. Madrid, April 16, 1602. Your Highness can send the reward via the Spanish ambassador at your court or at Rome, who will deliver it to Francisco de Soto, His Holiness's singer and chaplain.

The original reads:

HK 1602-VIII-6

Tomás Luis de Victoria to Archduke Ferdinand.

Con vn Criado de la Reyna n[uest]ra s[eñor]a embie a v[uestra] Alteza diez lihros de musica y entre otras cosas

¹¹³ Pedrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 167–168 (item 7), 169 (item 12), 172 (item 26), 174 (item 33); also Pérez Pastor *op. cit.*, III, 518–521 (items 7, 12, 26, 33).

¹¹⁴ Pedrell, *op. cit.*, p. 168 (item 8).

q[ue] en ellos havia era vna misa de la batalla de que el Rey n[uest]ro s[eñ]or gusto mucho. Supp[lico] a v[uestra] Alteza se sirua hacerme alguna m[erced], Para aiuda el gasto de la impresion y Para socorrer a un hermano q[ue] a un año q[ue] esta en la carzel Preso, q[ue] la m[erced] q[ue] v[uestra] Alteza me hiciere seruire yo toda mi uida, a v[uestra] Alteza se la Prospere n[uest]ro s[eñ]or. Por muchos años madrid y abril 16 de 1602. *Thome de Victoria*, capellan de la enperatriz.

[*Postscript*]: La m[erced] q[ue] v[uestra] Alt[ez]a me hiciere podra venir por orden del embax[ad]or de esp[añ]a de v[uestra] Alt[ez]a o por el de Roma dandola a *francisco de Soto* capellan y cantor de su S[an]ctidad].

After Ferdinand's Hofkapellmeister Pietro Antonio Bianco recommended liberal payment, Victoria was sent a hundred crowns August 10, 1602.

Another letter attesting Victoria's successful solicitation of payment for his 1600 partbooks is dated June 10, 1603. Victoria writing from Madrid asks the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria II della Rovere) if a set of the 1600 books had been received at Urbino.¹¹⁵ The letter is of much the same tenor as his letter dated April 16, 1602, to Archduke Ferdinand at Graz (except that he now does not mention his brother's imprisonment).

Most Serene Sir: Last year [1602] I sent Your Highness ten partbooks containing a musical miscellany. Among other things this collection contained a Battle Mass that gave my lord the king [Philip III] great pleasure. Since I have not been advised concerning their receipt, I have decided to send Your Highness another set of partbooks in their place, and to ask that they be accepted with my most distinguished compliments. And if it should please Your Highness to bestow a reward to help defray part of the printing expenses, You will deeply obligate me to Yourself all of my life; and I shall beseech Our Lord for Your Highness's health and prosperity.

Madrid, June 10, 1603

The reward which Your Highness may be pleased to bestow can be given at Rome to Francisco de Soto, His Holiness's chaplain and singer.

Thome de Victoria

His Majesty's Chaplain

Victoria's total printing expenses for the 1600 partbooks reached 2,500 reales (227 ducats). Even if on average he received only 150 reales for each set—this being the amount sent from Albarracín, a poor cathedral¹¹⁶—and even if he collected from only half

the princes and foundations to whom he remitted sets of partbooks, he still realized a clear profit of 12,500 reales (1,133 ducats) for his labors (or the equivalent of approximately one year's income from benefices). He probably realized still greater amounts from his 1592 Masses published at Rome, and from his 1605 *Officium Defunctorum* published at Madrid—both these having been printed in a luxury format and therefore commanding higher rewards.

Dedications, 1592, 1600, 1605

After returning to Spain ca. 1587 Victoria published three times: in 1592, 1600, and 1605. The dedications in each instance—*Missae quatuor, quinque, sex, et octo vocibus concinendae. . . . Liber secundus* (Rome: 1592), *Missae, Magnificat, Motecta, Psalmi* (Madrid: 1600), *Officium Defunctorum* (Madrid: 1605)—offer a certain number of biographical clues. In the 1592 dedication to Cardinal Albert, son of the Empress María, he lists his several reasons for having dedicated his “recently composed” masses: (1) the favors shown by the cardinal's mother, the dowager empress: especially her having named him one of her private chaplains; (2) the cardinal's known predilection for polyphony; (3) letters from the cardinal indicating his willingness to accept a dedication. Elaborating the last reason, Victoria says: “An important consideration [moving me to dedicate these masses to you] has been Your letters, in which You have signified to me that You would be pleased were this work to appear bearing Your name, thus taking its place alongside the other works published with Your patronage and now already for a long time circulating everywhere.” Victoria does not say that he himself had dedicated any previous works to the cardinal-archduke. He merely refers to *caetera opera*. These “other works” must doubtless be understood to have been such publications as the *Avisos para soldados y gente de guerra*¹¹⁷ and *Catechismus*,¹¹⁸ already published at Madrid in 1590 and 1592, with dedications to the cardinal-archduke. Victoria, after listing his reasons for dedicating his masses to Cardinal Albert, adds that

See P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum* (Regensburg: G. J. Manz, 1873), p. 4, col. 2: “el obispado era muy pobre, y la Diocesis.”

¹¹⁷ Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, I (1891), 162.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 192.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹¹⁶ The poverty of Albarracín Cathedral can be documented.

“many persons had urged him to finish composing the present group of masses.” He had used what time remained amidst numerous other pressing duties. In his present collection would be found masses suitable for *omnes dies festos, qui per totum annum incidunt* (“all feasts throughout the entire year”). Moreover, he had included a Requiem Mass as well. Since the arrangement of masses in the 192-page volume follows the order of the church year, Victoria’s scheme can be proved (from his explicit avowal in the dedication) to have been worked out deliberately; and not merely stumbled upon. The first is for Christmastide (*O magnum mysterium*), then (in order of appearance) one for use during pre-Lent and Lent (*Quarti toni*), one for Eastertide (*Trahe me post te*), one for Ascensiontide (*Ascendens Christus*), one for Assumption (*Vidi speciosam*), and, last, one for general use throughout the long stretch from Trinity until the end of the year (*Salve Regina*). As a postscript to these church-year masses, he adds a *Missa pro defunctis*. While carrying out this “chronological” plan, Victoria seems to have been aware of the fact that he was breaking new ground. Certainly none of Palestrina’s collections of masses adheres to such a “chronological” scheme.

Victoria’s 1600 dedication, late though it comes in his career, is his first to contain classical allusions. He cites Achilles and Alexander as lovers of music and praises Philip III, the dedicatee, for following in their footsteps. The resolution of diverse sounds in a polyphonic composition mirrors the harmony of that happy kingdom in which all wills are attuned to the will of the Almighty. He wishes no other reward than the satisfaction of having provided music suitable for those many occasions when the king assists at sacred functions in the convent founded by Joanna, his royal aunt.

These polite sentiments obviously befitted a dedication to Philip III. Nonetheless—as the already cited letters to Graz and Urbino have shown—Victoria did undoubtedly hope for still other “rewards and satisfactions.” Not only did he send his 1600 partbooks abroad, but also to various cathedrals in Spain. But how were cathedrals with only limited resources to perform the works *a 8* and *a 12*?

One of the five polychoral masses in the 1600 collection had already been published, the *Salve, a 8* (1592). All six vespers psalms *a 8* had been published. So had all four Marian antiphons *a 8*, the

Corpus Christi sequence *a 8*, the *Ave Maria a 8*, and the *Litaniae* of the Blessed Virgin *a 8*. To accommodate cathedrals “with only limited resources” what was new in 1600 was the organ partbook. In it, the four voice parts of Chorus I in all of the 1600 polychoral works were now for the first time vertically lined up (and occasionally somewhat simplified) so that they could be played by an organist who either substituted for all four voices of Chorus I or accompanied any single solo voice of Chorus I that happened to be present.

According to Victoria, the organ part—capable of either substituting for Chorus I or accompanying a single voice part of Chorus I—was an absolute novelty. Never before had such been seen in Italy or Spain. His letter to Jaén Cathedral chapter dated at Madrid February 10, 1601, says so. A facsimile of this letter was published by Samuel Rubio in the *Revista de Musicología*, IV/2 (July–December 1981), page 336. As will be seen in the transcription of his autograph letter below, Victoria moreover advises that his *Missa Laetatus sum, a 12*, and the *Magnificat Sexti toni, a 12*, can be performed with organ substituting for Chorus I and instrumentalists substituting for one or the other of the choruses.

Yo he hecho ymprimir esos libros de misas magnificas Salmos salues y otras cossas a dos y a tres Choros Para con el organo dequesta libro Particular que a gloria de dios nro s.^r no a salido en españa ni en ytalia libro part.^{ar} Como esto Para los organistas Porque con el donde no hubiere aparejo de quatro Voces Vna sola que cante con el organo ara Coro de Por ssi —Tambien ba misa y magnifica Para uoces organo y ministriles. e traído a españa la ympresion y echo algun gast^o supp^{co} a v.s. Receuir mi boluntad . . . en m^d a 10 de hebr^o 1601/ Thome de Victoria.

On all counts, Victoria’s miscellany published at Madrid in 1600 must therefore rate as a forward looking anthology—and his final publication issued at Madrid five years later regarded as less adventurous. But his last publication did have every right to adopt a less progressive stance, because it paid a final tribute to his deceased patroness.

Final publication, 1605

The *Officium Defunctorum* published at Madrid in 1605 memorializes the Dowager Empress María who died two years earlier at the age of seventy-four. Her daughter Margaret remained at her side until the end



on February 26, 1603.¹¹⁹ On March 1, Philip III sent instructions for her burial from Valladolid. Attired in the habit of St. Clara, her body was laid to rest in the convent cloister (the bishop of Zamora, Fray Plácido de Todos los Santos, preaching the funerary sermon).¹²⁰ On March 19 a vigil in her behalf was sung at the convent: four extra singers being brought from Toledo Cathedral for the occasion.¹²¹ Diego de Urbina, *regidor* of Madrid, published later in the year an account of the vigil, which he said lasted from half-past two until five in the afternoon. Although his account bears every mark of being painstakingly complete, he says nothing of Victoria's *Officium Defunctorum*: nor indeed does he so much as mention Victoria. Perhaps then we need not believe that Victoria composed so lengthy a work for performance only three weeks after her death. A much more imposing occasion for the first performance would have been the *solemnísimas y grandiosas honras* conducted on April 21-22 at SS. Peter and Paul,¹²² the Jesuit church completed in 1567 on the present site of the Madrid Cathedral (of San Isidro). The *compañía*—magnificently endowed by the dowager empress¹²³—determined beforehand to outdistance every previous attempt at honoring her memory, say the *Anales de Madrid* contemporaneously compiled by León Pinelo.¹²⁴ Don Tomás de Borja—newly elected archbishop of Saragossa (1603-1610), brother of the third Jesuit general, and uncle of the empress's major-domo¹²⁵—sang the office. At the close of vespers, Padre Luis de la Cerda delivered a Latin oration. Next day, the address after Mass was delivered by Padre Jerónimo de Florencia, perhaps the most renowned preacher of the day. "From the moment that it was decided to conduct these

ceremonies, the superiors of the society enjoined every father with talent to write poetry and compositions of all sorts in praise of Her Majesty."¹²⁶ Victoria, whose intimate associations with the society dated from 1565 if not earlier, cannot have been overlooked when the Jesuit superiors combed Madrid for the finest talent in the capital. Moreover, the supremely beautiful *Officium Defunctorum*, published at Madrid in 1605, and hitherto always considered the pearl of his works, would still have been hastily composed, even if it waited until so late as April 21-22 for its first performance.

In his lengthy dedication to the Princess Margaret (professed in religion at the age of seventeen [1584] under the name of Sor Margarita de la Cruz; died 1633), Victoria expressly states that he had composed his *Officium Defunctorum* "for the obsequies of your most serene mother." As in his 1600 dedication, he frequently intrudes classical allusions. Victoria lauds the whole house of Austria, beginning with Charles V who was the first to adopt *plus ultra* for his device. He praises the princess's choice of religion. He calls his present work a *Cygneam cantionem*—a "swan song." But doubtless he means "swan song" in an illative sense. The *Officium Defunctorum* would be a swan song for the empress, Victoria's benefactress. At the close, he voices the hope that he may in future, if Providence grants him length of days, present still better works to the princess. The dedication bears June 13, 1605, for its date.

Martín Pescenio, a fellow chaplain at Descalzas Reales (probably from Segovia diocese¹²⁷ and holder of one of the three convent chaplaincies endowed by the empress at her decease) contributes a Latin poem of thirty-three hexameters in postscript to the dedication. Pedrell, who was the first to translate the poem, decries its artificiality. Actually, the poem throws further light on such a phrase as *Cygneam cantionem* in the dedication. Pescenio closes thus: "Victoria, you lament our common benefactress in such exquisitely sad song as to bring to mind Orpheus lamenting Eurydice, or the cry of the expiring swan, or of Philomela grievously sobbing. Proceed then, for a long time adding artistic laurel to laurel. Be-

¹¹⁹ León Pinelo, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹²¹ Pedrell, *op. cit.*, p. 142. He quotes from Diego de Urbina's *Las honras y obsequias Reales . . . martes diez y ocho y miércoles diecinueve de Marzo, año de 1603*.

¹²² León Pinelo, pp. 62, 222. Concerning the Jesuit church, see Elías Tormo, *Las iglesias del antiguo Madrid* (Madrid: A. Marzo, 1927), p. 150.

¹²³ Tormo, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

¹²⁴ León Pinelo, p. 62. Within eight weeks of her death 35,000 Masses were offered in her behalf by members of the *compañía* in Spain and in Germany.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* Flecha the Younger dedicated his 1581 *ensaladas* to Don Juan de Borja, the empress's major-domo. Cerone (p. 151) praised Borja for being the only one in Madrid to organize musical academies along Italian lines.

¹²⁶ León Pinelo, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

¹²⁷ Pedrell, *op. cit.*, p. 171 (item 22); also Pérez Pastor, *op. cit.*, III, 520 (item 22). As transcribed by the latter, *Pescenio* was made to read *Perserio*. Pescenio's third name, according to the 1605 imprint, was Hasdale—a most unusual metronymic.

come another Timotheus of Miletus. Mount up like a swan on wings supplied by Apollo until your appropriate name, Victoria, fulfills its happy augury."

The references to *cygnus* in lines 28 and 32 of the poem should forever silence those critics who, because of Victoria's own reference to *Cygneam cantionem*, would see him spelling out his intention to retire henceforth from artistic labors. Much has been made by Pedrell, and others, of Victoria's putative "announcements" that he wished to retire from composing—first in the 1583,¹²⁸ and then again in the 1605 dedication. However, if read dispassionately, neither dedication gives one the right to picture Victoria as a Prospero ready to bury his art "certain fathoms in the earth" after having "required some heavenly music—which even now I do—to work mine end upon their senses." Victoria's artistic integrity is belied when his intent is reduced merely to that of an "airy charm" to be abjured, a "staff" to be broken, and a talent to be thenceforth buried "deeper than did ever plummet sound."

True, Victoria did not publish again before his death on August 27, 1611. But the time intervals between his 1585, 1592, and 1600 publications extended to seven and eight years, respectively. As J. Niles Saxton has observed, the number of his masses ought to have been rounded out with a *Regina coeli*. Who therefore can say that he would not have bequeathed a later volume containing such a mass (and perhaps still other works) had he lived beyond the age of sixty-three?

As the years closed in, Victoria drew ever closer to his own immediate family. His devotion to his elder sister, María de la Cruz, appears to have been especially tender and sympathetic. She it was who remembered one of the composer's domestics in her will of September 1, 1610. Victoria's bestirring himself to assure his pupil and substitute, Bernardo Pérez de Medrano, the right of succession in the organ loft at Descalzas Reales (royal cedula dated July 2, 1611) speaks well for the composer's innate kindness to subordinates as well as to personal servants.

Victoria died on Saturday, August 27, 1611, in the chaplain's house adjacent to the convent. He made his will before Juan de Trujillo, the notary, who had signed his sister's will on September 1, 1610.¹²⁹ Witnessing Victoria's will were his nephew Gerónimo de

Mirueña and Juan de Trimiño. The date of Victoria's death is attested in the parish register of San Ginés Church (the bounds of which parish included Descalzas Reales). Mitjana itemized the documentary source: *Parroquia de San Ginés, Libro segundo de Difuntos, folios 93^v y 94*.¹³⁰ However, he copied the date of Victoria's death as August 7 and the name of the notary as Juan de Castillo: both of which errors were corrected by Pedrell.

ESTHETIC PHILOSOPHY

Not only do Victoria's Latin prefaces uniformly tend to be lengthier than Palestrina's, but also his dedications differ in containing phrases that, linked together, form something of a coherent esthetic philosophy. The following catena of phrases was forged by Dom David Pujol, *monje de Montserrat*, to whom must be given credit for having been the first to make such a list of phrases in his article "Ideas Estéticas de T. L. de Victoria" (*Ritmo*, Año XI, número 141 [extraordinario], December, 1940). Four dedications were drawn on: (1) *Hymni totius anni* (Rome: Domenico Basa, 1581); (2) *Cantica B. Virginis vulgo Magnificat quatuor vocibus . . . concinuntur* (Rome: Basa, 1581); (3) *Motecta* (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1583); (4) *Missarum Libri Duo* (Rome: Gardano, 1583). The hymns were dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII, the magnificats to Cardinal Bonelli (nephew of Pius V), the motets to Our Lady, and the masses to Philip II.

Of the thirteen excerpts below, the first six touch upon his own artistic development, and the remainder upon the origin and function of music.

Music is an art to which he was "instinctively" drawn (*ad quae naturali quodam feror instinctu* [1]).

Mastery, however, resulted from long years of hard work (*multos iam annos . . . versor, et elaboro* [1]).

Others with critical faculty gave support and encouragement (*ex aliorum iudicio mihi videor intelligere, non infeliciter* [1]).

Recognizing his talent as divinely bestowed, he felt the greater obligation to develop it, to bear fruit, and to return interest on his talent (*Id vero munus ac beneficium cum diuinum agnoscerem, dedi operam, ne penitus in eum, à quo bona cuncta proficiscun-*

¹²⁸See above, note 81.

¹²⁹Pedrell, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

¹³⁰Mitjana, *op. cit.*, p. 239.