



Spanish Renaissance Polyphonists in International Encyclopedias

“THE RIVALS—Hawkins, Burney, and Boswell,” published in *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXVI/1 (January, 1950), 67–82, documented insofar as was then possible, Burney’s spite against Hawkins. Roger Lonsdale in his biography, *Dr. Charles Burney* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), went much further in digging the skeletons out of Burney’s closet. In his chapter 5 entitled “Burney and Sir John Hawkins” (pages 189–225), Lonsdale adduced much new evidence showing how various were Burney’s schemes to undermine Hawkins—whether by anonymous lampoons, ghost-written attacks, or the clever manipulation of his pliant review-writing friends. As late as his articles commissioned in July, 1801, by Dr. Abraham Rees for *The Cyclopaedia; or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature* (London: Longman, Hurst, Reese, Orme and Brown, 1802–1819 [39 volumes]), Burney’s annoyance at Hawkins continued unabated. However, Spanish Renaissance polyphonists profited from Burney’s pique. Hawkins’s slim coverage of Spain gave Burney his excuse for better articles to show his own superiority.

Burney begins his dense, four-column article on “History of the music of Spain” (*Cyclopaedia*, XXXIII [1819], folio 3K3^v–3K4^v) thus: “It seems as if a late musical historian had placed the Spaniards lower among European musicians, in the 15th and 16th centuries, than in equity they ought to have been, by imagining Morales the first practical musician of eminence in that country, and Salinas the only theorist that was produced there during the 16th century.” After citing Spain as the first with a university chair of music Burney next called the roll of Spanish Renaissance personalities whom Hawkins should not have missed: “Bartolomeo Ramis, the opponent of Franchinus,” located at Bologna, Guiller[m]us de Podio, author of an *Ars musicorum* published at Valencia in 1495, Francisco Tovar, author of the *Libro de Musica Pratica*, Barcelona, 1510; Alfonso de Castilla [to whom was dedicated an *Ars cantus plani*], Salamanca, 1504; Luys Milan, “A nobleman of Valencia” who published there his *El Maestro* for vihuela in 1534; Enríquez de Valderrábano, author of *Silva de Sirenas*, for vihuela, Valladolid, 1547; Melchior de Torres, author of *Arte de Musica*, Alcalá de Henares, 1554; Luys Venegas de Henestrosa, author of *Libro de Cifra Nueva para Tecla, Harpa y Vihuela*, Alcalá de Henares [1557]; and Juan Bermudo, author of the *Declaración de Instrumentos musicales* [Osuna], 1555.” Upon triumphantly concluding this list, Burney remarked: “Many more names of Spanish theorists and practical musicians [preceding Salinas] could be named here.”

In a separate biographical entry on Morales (XXIV, folio S3^v), Burney repeats in Italian and in English translation Adami’s evaluation of Morales’s *Lamentabatur Jacob* motet “annually sung on the first Sunday in Lent” in the papal chapel as *in vero una maraviglia dell’arte* (*Osservazioni*, 1711, page 165). When Burney writes that “several of [Morales’s] productions were published at Venice among those of Costanzo Festa” he unknowingly strikes truer home than he knew. In “Las dos edi-



ciones de las *Lamentaciones*, de Morales, del año 1564, son una *Farsa editorial*," *Tesoro Sacro Musical*, LII/2 (March–April, 1969). Samuel Rubio demonstrated that the *Lamentationi . . . a quatro, a cinque, et a sei voci* (Venice, Rampazetto and Gardano, 1564) mentioned in Burney's encyclopedia article as Morales's last solo [posthumous] publication was actually a shared, not a solo, publication—with the first five of the lamentations credited in the collection to Morales being in reality by Festa.¹

Burney's article on Victoria attests only his acquaintance with the luxurious 1585 volume of *Motecta Festorum totius anni* in the Christ Church, Oxford, collection. He labels this sumptuous choirbook brought to England among Essex's booty after the sacking of Cadiz and the seizing of Bishop Jerónimo Osório's library at Faro in 1596 as "the most pompous publication of motets which we have seen." Discussing retrospective compendiums of musical knowledge published in seventeenth-century Spain, Burney devotes separate articles to both Andrés Lorente and Pablo Nassarre. Of Lorente's 695-page *El porqve de la mvica* (Alcalá de Henares: Nicolás de Xamares, 1672) which he says "defines and explains the whole art of music, as far as it was known at the time it was written," he further adds (XXXVIII, folio 4S2) that Geminiani recommended Lorente's treatise to his pupil John Worgan (1724–1790) as containing the sum total of "all the arcana of the science" of music. As a result, Worgan immediately bought it for twenty guineas. Next Worgan learned the language just to be able to read what Geminiani considered the last word on musical science. (Despite these credentials, Lorente has eluded *Grove's Dictionary*, first through fifth editions.)

In his lengthy article on Salinas (XXXI, folio Y4), Burney extracts several choice anecdotes, among them Salinas's having heard fourths sung in the Greek church at Naples, and Salinas's appeal to Josquin des Prez's *Missa L'Homme Armé sexti toni*, *Et resurrexit* section, for authority to use an unprepared fourth. Burney translates Salinas thus: "The prince of all contrapuntists [would not have used it] naked and unaccompanied by any other interval, if he had regarded it as a discord." Burney next credits Salinas with having pioneered in discovering "the true enharmonic genus of the ancients." As authority for thus crediting Salinas, he invokes Pepusch. Finally, Burney commends Salinas for having found Latin and Spanish verses fitting "dance tunes, such as the pavan and passamezzo," and for having gathered "fragments of old Spanish melody [that] are very graceful and pleasing, particularly those in triple time."

Having paved the way for future encyclopedists, Burney continued being unblushingly plagiarized throughout the nineteenth century. John W. Moore without using quotation marks quoted him verbatim in the first article on Morales to appear in a United States lexicon: "The style of Morales though learned for the time in which he wrote, is somewhat dry, and the harmony, by his frequent use of unaccompanied fourths and ninths, is uncouth and insipid."² Burney passed this untenable judg-

¹Cappella Giulia MS XII-3 dated 1543 correctly divides between Festa and Morales the lamentations later to be published at Venice in 1564 as solely Morales's. Only three works in the 1564 imprint are his, the third Lamentation for Good Friday, second for Holy Saturday, and the Prayer of Jeremy. The music for the 1564 *Oratio Jeremiae* belonged to *Num. Expandit Sion. Sade. Justus est Dominus* (a 3), *Virgines meae* (a 4), *Jerusalem* (a 6) in the 1543 manuscript.

²John W. Moore, *Complete Encyclopaedia of Music* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1880), p. 615. See also his remarks on Spanish music at page 890.



ment after transcribing two three-voice motets which in reality are contrasting middle *partes* extracted from opulent four- or five-voice motets of three *partes*. Divorced from context, *At illi dixerunt* belonging to *Cum natus esset Jesus* and *In die tribulationis* from *Inclina Domine aurem tuam* cannot be fairly chosen as self-sufficient representatives of Morales's style.³

The author of the article on Morales in *Grove's Dictionary*, first and second editions was James Robert Sterndale Bennett (1848-1928)⁴, son of the composer William Sterndale Bennett. His 39 articles in the 1878-1890 edition ranged from Agricola, Arcadelt, Bauldeweyn, Brumel, Crecquillon, Fevin, Gombert, Goudimel, Guerrero, Isaac, Jannequin, Josquin, La Rue, Lassus, Marenzio, Monte, Mouton, Obrecht, and Ockeghem to Rore. His article on Francisco Guerrero, I, 637, gave Guerrero's birth year as 1528 but went on to say that he "died in 1599 at the advanced age of 81." Percy A. Scholes excused himself after giving birth and death years in the *Oxford Companion* for then redundantly saying how old the musician was at death because the readers for whom he wrote have difficulty subtracting. Sterndale Bennett's error which cannot have been typographical and was all the sillier because he was a Senior Mathematical Master at King's College, London, when he wrote it, continued invading the Guerrero article when reprinted a dozen years later. At least however Sterndale Bennett had an open mind so far as the value of Guerrero's music was concerned. John Brande Trend (1887-1958)⁵ whose Francisco Guerrero article replaced Sterndale Bennett's in the third through fifth editions of *Grove's*, berated Guerrero as he did several other Spaniards without knowing the music. According to Trend in the third, fourth, and fifth editions of *Grove's Dictionary*, Guerrero sounds like "an exercise in counterpoint; . . . all that appears in his music is a gentle religiosity, presented with a technique which is as accomplished as it is unconvincing." To compound error, Trend then accuses Guerrero of using "words from the Mozarabic liturgy in his settings of the Mass."

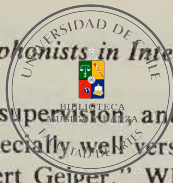
Up to now Guerrero in other encyclopedias as well as *Grove's* heads the list of Spanish composers who always come off badly. Scholes whose "conscience was strongly protestant," as John Owen Ward put the matter in *The Dictionary of National Biography 1951-1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), page 866, reduced Guerrero in the *Oxford Companion* to a nonentity while simultaneously omitting any mention whatsoever of such other Spanish polyphonists as Anchieta, Castro y Mallagaray, Ceballos, Escobedo, Escribano, Esquivel, Infantas, Lobo, Montanos, Navarro, Peñalosa, Raval, Ribera, Robledo, Torrentes, Vásquez, and Vivanco.

The first international lexicon to enlist the aid of a Hispanist was *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, 4th edition (New York: G. Schirmer, 1940). According to The Publisher's preface, dated October 1, 1940: "Certain articles were revised or newly written. . . . But the greater share of the burden rested on the

³See page 8 of the introduction to *Cristóbal de Morales (+1553) Opera omnia, Volumen VIII* (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1971). *In die tribulationis* aptly catches the mood with anguished "incomplete" *cambiatas*.

⁴Cambridge B.A. in 1869, M.A. in 1872, he began teaching at Sherborne School in 1871 and was Head Master of Derby School 1889-1898. See his biography in J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses. . . . Part II From 1752 to 1900* (Cambridge: University Press, 1940), I, 231.

⁵Biography in *Who Was Who, Vol. V, 1951-1960* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1967), 1098. His Spanish music publications were dated 1925 through 1929.



shoulders of Gustave Reese (general supervision and revision of articles dealing with medieval music), Gilbert Chase (especially well-versed in Spanish, Portuguese, and Latin American matters), and Robert Geiger." Whereas in the 1900 *Baker's* only Guerrero, Morales, Salinas, and Victoria were permitted to represent the Spanish Renaissance, the 1940 coverage expanded to include also Cabezón, Encina, Fuenllana, Infantas, Milán, Narváez, Navarro, Ortiz, Ramos de Pareja, Valderrábano, Vásquez, Venegas de Henestrosa, and Vila—but not Anchieta, Bermudo, either Ceballos, Clavijo del Castillo, Comes, Correa de Arauxo, Escobar, Escobedo, Esquivel, Escribano, either Flecha, Alonso Lobo, Mudarra, Peñalosa, Pisador, or Vivanco.

Unfortunately, however, much of *Baker's* 1940 data is wrong. Morales did not remain at Ávila until 1530, his epoch in the papal choir at Rome did not end in 1540, none of his lamentations was published in his lifetime. Just as May is a manufactured birth month for Guerrero, so also March 30 is a manufactured birthday and May 26, 1566, is the wrong death date of Cabezón—who is not "believed to have studied with Tomás Gómez in Palencia" but instead studied there with García de Baeza (died at Palencia November 13, 1560). After more than 15 years in Italy Salinas who was born at Burgos March 1, 1513, did not return home to Spain in 1516. Instead he returned to Spain in 1558 to become organist of Sigüenza Cathedral on January 2, 1559.

Even Victoria, classed in the 1940 *Baker's* as "the greatest of Spanish composers," does not emerge scatheless. *Baker's* 1940 would have it that Victoria resettled in Spain about 1595. Although 1595 or thereabouts is not 45 years off target, still it is eight years too late. Not only was Victoria from 1587 to 1604 maestro de capilla of the Descalzas Reales Convent at Madrid while concurrently serving as the Dowager Empress María's personal chaplain, but also 1587 as the latest year for his relocation in Spain is assured by Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 14047 (which attests his settlement at Madrid before June of 1587). Otto Cardinal von Truchsess who was the dedicatee of only one Victoria publication, his 1572 motets, cannot rightfully be called his "chief patron." Victoria's 1600 Madrid miscellany was not his first publication to include an organ accompaniment part (for a 1592 organ accompaniment, see his *Opera omnia*, IV [1905], 72-98).

In the Diego Ortiz article *Baker's* 1940 credits Enríquez de Valderrábano with having published "motets by him [Diego Ortiz] in lute [!] tablature," whereas Valderrábano himself attributed *Ut fidelium propagatione* and *Hierusalem convertere* at folios 31^v-32^v of *Silva de Sirenas* to Miguel Ortiz, not Diego (see Harold Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600* [1967], 101, items 57-58). In the Juan Vásquez article, *Baker's* 1940 errs in making Luis Milán and Esteban Daza purveyors of Vásquez arrangements. Juan Navarro's tenure at Salamanca as chapelmaster lasted from late 1566 to early 1574 (not 1567-70), and he began at Ciudad Rodrigo in 1574, not 1570. His posthumous folio was published at Rome in 1590, not 1591. Its editor, Francisco Soto de Langa, was born near Burgo de Osma, not near Burgos, in 1534 rather than 1539 (according to Mitjana).

The just cited corrections take no account of the numerous crucial data omitted, such as Fuenllana's service at the Lisbon court of King Sebastian, Guerrero's visit to Lisbon, Navarro's chapelmastership at Ávila, Vásquez's term as Badajoz Cathedral maestro de capilla. On the Portuguese side, *Baker's* 1940 confuses Duarte Lobo with the Osuna-born Alonso Lobo whose works are at Évora in manuscript. Duarte's



dates are egregiously wrong. Except for Juan Navarro [Gaditanus], the 1940 *Baker's* includes no names of Peninsulars who emigrated to the New World.

If Spanish Renaissance composers are so indifferently treated even in the 1940 edition of *Baker's* overseen by a Hispanist, Oscar Thompson's *The International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, does no better. As late as the 1975 tenth edition, Peñalosa's death year is still given as 1535 instead of 1528, Alonso Lobo's birthplace is given as Borja instead of Osuna (50 miles east of Seville) and his death year is loosely given as "after 1610," whereas his exact day of death April 5, 1617, has been in print since 1904.⁶ Throughout the Baroque era Alonso Lobo had a reputation in Spain, Portugal, and in Mexico that exceeded even Victoria's. More copies of his Masses published at Madrid in 1602 still survive in Mexico than of any other early polyphonic imprint whatsoever. In Spain Antonio Soler gave pages 192 to 234 of his *Llave de la modulación*, published at Madrid in 1762, to reprinting movements from Lobo's *Missa Prudentes virgines*.⁷ His motets continued being expensively copied in Portuguese choirbooks from around 1700 to 1820.⁸ Yet with all these testimonials in his favor, no encyclopedia at this moment on library shelves, English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, or Spanish, contains an accurate Alonso Lobo article. *Fasquelle* is typical—giving a wrong birthplace and wrong dates of appointment as vice-chapelmaster at Seville (should be 1591, not 1593) and as chapelmaster at Toledo (should be 1593, not 1601). Even his works reprinted by Eslava are wrongly listed in *Fasquelle* (*Lira sacro-hispana*, siglo XVII, i, includes no Lobo Magnificat and only 4, not all 7 of Lobo's motets published as addenda to the 1602 *Liber primus missarum*). The Lobo article by Alwin Krumscheid in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, VIII (1960), 1072, contains exactly the same errors of birthplace and dates of appointment at Seville and Toledo—thus suggesting that both *Fasquelle* and *UTET*⁹ copied *MGG* indiscriminately. *MGG* (II, 80-81) must also have served as the fountain of errors in *Fasquelle*, the current Riemann, and *UTET*, so far as Bartolomé de Escobedo is concerned. According to *MGG* Escobedo returned to Spain in 1545 to become Doña Juana's maestro de capilla. Actually, he returned to Rome on May 1 of 1545 and remained there without interruption until retirement October 25, 1554. Doña Juana's chapelmaster was Bartolomé de Quevedo, not Bartolomé de Escobedo.¹⁰

Apart from Guerrero, Lobo, Escobedo, and the many who have been omitted from the standard international encyclopedias, the most ignominiously treated major Spanish Renaissance polyphonist must surely be Rodrigo de Ceballos. *Fasquelle* continues confusing him with Francisco de Ceballos, so far as compositions go, and wrongly dates his arrival at Granada. The article in *MGG*, first supplementary volume (1973), column 1392, is the first attempt at redress. Even so, Ceballos's important Sevillian sojourns go unmentioned in *MGG*,¹¹ and the list of his surviving

⁶Simón de la Rosa y López, *Los seises de la Catedral de Sevilla* (Seville: Francisco de P. Díaz, 1904), p. 145.

⁷Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), pp. 266-272.

⁸José Augusto Alegria, *Arquivo das Músicas da Sé de Évora: Catálogo* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1973), pp. 15, 17.

⁹Guido M. Gatti, director, *Dizionario* (Turin: Unione Tipografico Editrice Torinese, 1971), II [L-Z], 127.

¹⁰*Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, pp. 311-312.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 304.

compositions omits his Masses in the third and eighth tones, his Magnificats in all eight tones, his Dixit Dominus settings in Tones I, III, and IV, and his Confitebor tibi in Tone VII.¹²

Without specifying further articles or lack of articles on individuals, from the composer-theorists Domingo Marcos Durán and Juan Bermudo to Sebastián de Aguilera and Sebastián López Velasco, some generalizations by way of summary are now in order. The Renaissance articles on no other nation's composers have hitherto shown up in *Grove's*, *Baker's*, *Fasquelle*, *UTET*, and even on occasion *MGG* with more lamentable faults in datings,¹³ illustrations,¹⁴ and composition lists than those on Iberian composers. With only minor face-lifts, the Victoria article in the 1954 *Grove's* was the same by the Reverend J. R. Milne that first appeared in 1879. The article on *flamenco* in *Fasquelle* is as long as the entire history of Spanish art-music article in the same lexicon. What permits such allotment of space compounded by vast omissions?

A picture postcard stereotype still keeps the average onlooker from seeing much more in Spanish music history than the folk songs collected by Salinas in the sixteenth century, the jotas that entranced Glinka in the nineteenth, and the tinsel that glitters in Ravel's *Rapsodie espagnole* in the twentieth.

¹²Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1970), pp. 10-11, 53, 68.

¹³A typical example of inconsistent dating in general lexicons: in *Collier's Encyclopedia* (1954), Frank C. Campbell gives Victoria's birthdate as c. 1540 (XIX, 245), but Gilbert Chase in the same encyclopedia gives it as c. 1548 (XVIII, 122).

¹⁴In both *MGG* and *Fasquelle* the same checkerboard from Cerone's *El Melopeo y maestro* (Naples, 1613) is erroneously credited to Bermudo's *Declaracion de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna, 1555).