



sorrowful even unto death." Flats, which would be of such commonplace occurrence in all other modes as not to deserve notice, make a strange and telling effect at this juncture: especially since only when Jesus begins to speak do they adorn either treble or bass lines in this motet of 96 breves duration. In *Laboravi in gemitu*, a single-pars motet *a 5*, he sets verses 7–9 from Psalm 6.⁹⁰ But Navarro makes no allusion to a psalm tone, does not divide the verses for alternate polyphonic and plainsong rendition, and instead constructs his music as a series of imitative points. His lines are extremely poignant. The drooping thirds at mm. 1–13, aptly evoke the sigh of the psalmist, "I am weary with my moaning." When the psalmist rouses himself and suddenly shouts, "Depart from me, all you workers of iniquity," Navarro responds musically with swift upward leaps to an accented octave, followed by downward thirds, in a point of imitation at mm. 50–54. Not only by the contour of his lines but also by harmonic juxtapositions he finds ways to reinforce the text. When the psalmist complains, "Every night I flood my bed with tears," Navarro at the word "tears" (meas. 23) moves directly from a D-major chord (obligatory $f\sharp$) to an F-major chord (obligatory $F\flat$). He again repeats this shift at mm. 63–64. The cross relations are by no means Navarro's only harmonic expedients. At mm. 40–41 he moves from A minor to B \flat Major and thence to E \flat Major chords in quick succession when setting the words "troubled with indignation."

ALONSO [= ALFONSO] LOBO (ca. 1555–1617)

After mid-century it became the custom at Toledo to require that a biographical sketch of each important new cathedral appointee be filed in the cathedral archives. These sketches do not always reveal date of birth, but they do state the names of the parents and the place of birth. Alonso Lobo, who became chapelmaster at Toledo in 1593, is known from his *expediente de limpieza de sangre* to have been born in Osuna (50 miles east of Seville). His father's name was Alonso Lobo, and his mother's, Jerónima

⁹⁰ Wrong notes intrude at mm. 18₂, 21₁, and 52 of *Laboravi in gemitu* (pp. 119–123). Necessary ficta accidentals have been omitted at mm. 12₄, 13₂₋₄, 14₁, 18₄, 19₁₋₂, and 61₃. In the bass part at meas. 5, D (breve) must be supplied.

de Borja.⁹¹ It would be tempting to suppose that Alonso Lobo the father of the composer was the same *alonso lovo moço de coro del qual le hazian e hizieron merçed e limosna porque sirue vien el coro* in Seville Cathedral on February 18, 1538.⁹² (The composer himself can hardly have been the choirboy commended in the Sevillian capitular acts for his outstanding service, because he would have turned seventy when named chapelmaster at Seville in succession to Cotes—a superannuate's age.)

Not only does the Toledo *expediente* reveal the name of the composer's father, but also that of his paternal grandfather, which was Alonso Lobo as well; it further certifies that each of the four grandparents was a native of Osuna. If the composer was born in 1555, as Eslava suggested, he rose to a canonry in the collegiate church at Osuna before he was thirty-five. Whatever his exact age, it is certain that the surroundings in which Lobo came to maturity were culturally as stimulating as any to be found in Spain during the reign of Philip II. The collegiate church—endowed by Juan Téllez Girón, fourth count of Ureña, the amateur composer who was a patron of Morales⁹³—had been erected on a sumptuous scale in 1531–1535. Situated near the peak of

⁹¹ The "Borja" which appears as the seventh word on the title page of his 1602 Masses (*Liber primus missarum Alphonsi Lobo de Borja*) is his mother's name, not a place name. He was born at Osuna. Nor were there two composers named Alfonso [Alonso] Lobo. Both José Subirá, in his *Historia de la música española e hispanoamericana* (Barcelona: Salvat editores, 1953), pages 258, 433 (see *índice onomástico*, p. 989, for double listing), and Higinio Anglés in his *Historia de la música española* (3d ed.; Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1949), pages 376 and 403, leave such an impression. That Anglés in 1949 still thought there had been two Alonso Lobo's—one of whom served at Toledo, the other at Seville—is proved by his dating of the Toledo chapelmaster's death at 1601 and the Seville chapelmaster's death at 1617. The 1617 date was extracted from Simón de la Rosa y López, *Los seises de la Catedral de Sevilla* (1904), page 145. On page 144 of the same book, however, Rosa y López stated that Lobo returned to Seville after serving at Toledo.

Lobo enjoyed the esteem of Lope de Vega, who eulogized him in *El peregrino en su patria* (published 1604; approbation 1603). See Lope de Vega, *Colección de las obras sueltas*, V (Madrid: Imp. de D. Antonio de Sancha, 1776), p. 346, lines 4–5.

⁹² Seville Cathedral, *Autos capitulares de 1538–1539*, fol. 20.

⁹³ Gerónimo Gudiel, *Compendio de algunas historias de España* (Alcalá de Henares: I. Ñíguez de Lequerica, 1577), fol. 115 (musical ability of the Count of Ureña = Uruena).

a windswept hill and flanked by an imposing tower (now fallen), this *Iglesia colegial* enjoyed all the pretensions of a major cathedral.⁹⁴ Adjacent to it stood the buildings of the University of Osuna, founded in 1549. That Lobo was himself a graduate with the degree of *licenciado* is to be learned from a document that he signed in 1602.⁹⁵

His reputation had spread sufficiently for the Sevillian chapter to invite him by a letter dated August 21, 1591, to become Guerrero's aide and probable successor.⁹⁶ Since contrary to custom he was not asked to undergo any formal tests, he must have enjoyed Guerrero's complete confidence before the letter was sent. Indeed, it seems likely that he was Guerrero's former pupil: especially in view of the number of Lobo's parody masses based on Guerrero's motets. Wasting no time, Lobo reported for duty in Seville on September 2.⁹⁷ His salary was set at 400 ducats annually, with 80 fanegas of wheat. His duties included care and feeding of the choirboys, in addition to their musical instruction. On November 29, 1591, the Sevillian chapter authorized him to wear a mantle: this privilege being extended in recognition of his previous rank at Osuna.⁹⁸ On the same day, he was invited to conduct while the aging Guerrero (with whom he was obviously on the most intimate of terms) took extended leave from official cathedral duties.

Lobo's talents were such that he could not long be suffered to remain in a subordinate position, even to Guerrero. On September 22, 1593, he was elected chapelmaster at Toledo Cathedral in succession to Ginés de Boluda, and on the following December 3 formally installed in *Ración 44 de tenor*. By an anomaly and not by deliberate planning, the chapelmaster's salary at Toledo during the sixteenth century had derived from a mere tenor's prebend. Before Lobo, such Toledo chapelmasters as Andrés de Torrentes (December 9, 1539; December 16, 1547; February 9, 1571), Cristóbal de Morales (Septem-

ber 1, 1545), Bartolomé de Quebedo (December 5, 1553), and Ginés de Boluda (December 7, 1580) had each occupied the same tenor's prebend. But during Lobo's term a proposal was made to normalize matters by assigning him *Ración 35*, the prebend that anciently had been designated for the chapelmaster. This shift was not confirmed without an acrimonious debate that ended in an appeal to the primate. At last, however, the change was ratified (September 18, 1601).⁹⁹ In consequence, Lobo's successors

⁹⁹Felipe Rubio Piqueras, *Música y músicos toledanos* (Toledo: J. Peláez, 1923), p. 53.

Added light is thrown on Lobo's Toledan career in a "Memorial del estilo que se ha de guardar en esta santa iglesia de Toledo en todas las fiestas del año que se celebran con solemnidad de canto de organo" preserved in the Barbieri collection at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. This *memorial*, dated 1604, bears directly on his activities at Toledo, in that it describes the method of celebrating the principal feasts of the year. Since this memorial is too prolix to translate in full, it is here summarized. (1) Polyphony is to be sung on 140 days in the year. (2) Sixty-seven of these will be the calendar days, January 1, 6, 18, 20, 23, 24; February 2, 3, 12; March 1, 19, 25; April 25, 26; May 3, 6, 8; June 11, 24, 29; July 2, 16, 22, 25, 26; August 1, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 15, 20, 22, 24, 28, 29; September 8, 14, 21, 29, 30; October 4, 7, 18, 23, 28, 30; November 1, 2, 15, 18, 21, 25, 30; December 6, 8, 9, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28. (3) Fifty-two will be Sundays of the year. (4) Twenty will be the Saturdays in Advent, Rogation Days, the last four days in Holy Week, Ascension and the day following, Saturday before Pentecost, Whitmonday, Wednesday after Pentecost, Corpus Christi, and its Octave. Samples of the specific directions for such principal occasions as Christmas vespers and the last four days of Holy Week are here offered: "At first vespers (*In Nativitate Domini*) the organ shall accompany the singing of the stanzas beginning *Veni, redemptor gentium* which come at the end of the book of *Ave maris stella* settings and other hymns by Morales." "On Wednesday in Holy Week, the first Lamentation is to be Morales's polyphonic setting. The *Miserere* shall be sung antiphonally, one choir at the high altar, another in the tribunes of the *coro del arzobispo*. One choir shall consist of the boys and a tenor." "On Maundy Thursday at High Mass the introit shall be sung in a contrapuntal setting, the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus polyphonically, the Agnus in plainchant." "On Good Friday the Passion shall be sung as a solo [on Palm Sunday, the *turba* parts were sung polyphonically by a complete choir, and on Tuesday and Wednesday by a trio]. The first Lamentation shall be sung polyphonically." "On Holy Saturday the Gloria shall be sung in plainchant with counterpoint above. The same for the Alleluia. At Vespers the same for Psalm 150. The Magnificat must be in Tone VIII, odd-verses plainchanted, even- sung polyphonically. At solemn compline in the evening, two choirs shall sit on the benches of the cope-bearers and two bands of instrumentalists shall play. The portable organ shall be lowered into the *coro* to

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, fol. 116^v: *dizen las horas canonicas con tanta deuocion y solemnidad, como en la metropolitana de Seuilla.*

⁹⁵R. Mitjana, *Para música vamos* (Valencia: F. Sempere y Cia, 1909), p. 223, n. 1. See also Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña* (Madrid: Tip. de la "Rev. de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos," 1906), Vol. II, p. 39, col. 2, line 36.

⁹⁶Seville Cathedral, *Libro de Autos Capitulares de los años de 1590-1591*, fol. 69^v.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, fol. 72.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, fol. 87.



for the first time in Toledo history can be found occupying a prebend officially made over not to a mere singer, but more properly to the *maestro de capilla*.

Soon after induction at Toledo, Lobo suggested the purchase of Guerrero's *Mottecta liber secundus* and *Canciones y villanescas espirituales*, both of which had been published in partbooks at Venice in 1589. Lobo signed for 200 reales on September 3, 1594, an amount which he then forwarded to Guerrero. This sum of 6,800 maravedís (200 reales) for both Guerrero's 1589 publications may seem small, especially when it is remembered that in 1592 Lobo's predecessor at Toledo, Ginés de Boluda, had paid 81,056 maravedís (2,384 reales) for certain *libros de canto de órgano* of Guerrero—presumably the 1582 masses and 1584 vespers. But an explanation can be found in the fact that both the 1582 and 1584 books were *libros de facistol* whereas both the 1589 publications, on the other hand, were issued in hand-sized partbooks. In payment for his Christmas villancicos composed in 1593 and 1596, Lobo received 4 ducats (1,500 maravedís) each time.

Like his predecessor Ginés de Boluda, Lobo boarded six specially selected boy choristers in his own house. His wheat ration amounted to approximately 42 English bushels in 1596. Since the portrait (front view) on his *Liber primus missarum* published at Madrid in 1602 shows him still in the full prime of manhood, his success with his boyish charges at both Seville and Toledo was probably measured by his own youthful vigor. As for adult singers under his charge, four extra clergy at nine reales each had to be hired to chant psalms during *Tenebrae* in 1600. In consequence, the chapter specially commissioned him on April 18, 1600, to go in search of new clergy adept at singing psalms; and on the same day budgeted 20,000 maravedís for the trip. Certain phrases in the dedication of his *Liber primus missarum* to the Toledo chapter suggest that his singers (as well as instrumentalists) were at other times accounted the best in Spain, both in numbers and in quality.

accompany the singers, who shall sing solos in their order of superiority, with organ and, if desired, instrumental support. Psalm 133 shall be sung in *fabordón*, Tone VIII." On Easter, the *prosa* "must be the one composed by Morales."

This 1604 *memorial* reveals far more concerning Alonso Lobo's daily duties in Toledo Cathedral, the character of the repertory, and the choral and instrumental resources at his command, than the perfunctory notices that tell of his trips or of the music books that he bought.

It was toward the close of Lobo's decade in Toledo that he undertook to publish six of his own masses: *Beata Dei genitrix* a 6, *Maria Magdalena* a 6, *Prudentes virgines* a 5, *Petre ego pro te rogavi* a 4, *Simile est regnum coelorum* a 4, and *O Rex gloriae* a 4. Like Guerrero, who added three of his choicest motets to his first volume of masses (Paris: 1566), Lobo concluded his *Liber primus missarum* with a section of motets suitable for "devout singing during the celebration of Mass." Of the seven added motets, the *Ave Maria* calls for double quartet, the others for four, five, and six voices.¹⁰⁰ Lobo's contract with his printer has been recovered;¹⁰¹ as has also a *carta de pago* dated March 4, 1603. From these sources he is known on August 30, 1602, to have signed a contract before a Madrid notary with the same royal printer, "John the Fleming," who had already in 1598 done so well by the deceased Philippe Rogier (chapelmaster to Philip II from 1587 to 1596) when publishing *Missae sex* in elegant folio.¹⁰² Lobo's contract with Juan Flamenco (= Joannes Flandrus) specified the printing of 130 copies of 137 leaves each. On February 28, 1603, he wrote a letter from Toledo to his good friend Victoria in Madrid authorizing final settle-

¹⁰⁰ Four of these 1602 motets were reprinted in Eslava's *Lira sacro-hispana*, I, i: *Versa est in luctum* (a 6), *Credo quod redemptor* (a 4), *Vivo ego* (a 4), *Ave Maria* (a 8). *Versa est in luctum* was again reprinted, though with numerous errors, in *Tesoro sacro-musical*, xxii, 2 (March-April, 1955), 22-28.

¹⁰¹ See Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, II (1906), p. 39, col. 2; III (1907), p. 415, col. 2; for details concerning the impression. Each three leaves were to cost one real. Since the total number of leaves (130 copies of 137 leaves each) reached 17,810, the delivery price amounted to 5,936½ reales. The original contract specified that only two hours were to be allowed for proof corrections on each leaf. A surcharge was to be levied for any extra time. Evidently Lobo submitted such excellent copy that surcharges were not necessary. He paid a first installment of 2,000 reales to "start the work" on August 30, 1602. By the succeeding February 28 the job was finished, and the books ready for delivery. Juan Flamenco signed a receipt for full payment on March 4, 1603 (in Julio Junti's name).

¹⁰² Details concerning Rogier imprint in Pérez Pastor, *op. cit.*, Vol. I (1891), p. 320 (item 602). See also Manuel Joaquim, *Vinte livros de música polifónica do Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa* (Lisbon: Ramos, Afonso & Moita, Lda., 1953), pp. 21-28. For Rogier's parody sources see *Primeira parte do Index da Livraria de Musica do Muyto Alto, e Poderoso Rey Dom Ioão a IV* (ed. by Joaquim de Vasconcelos), p. 373. *Incllyta styrps Jesse*, a 4, is modeled after Clemens non Papa; *Dirige gressus meos*, a 5, after Crecquillon; *Ego sum qui sum*, a 6, after Gombert; *Inclina Domine*, a 6, after Morales.



ment with the printer. Five days later Juan Flamenco made out a receipt to Victoria, Lobo's proxy. In order to appreciate how much the printing actually cost Lobo, we can draw some comparisons. Hernando de Cabezón in 1576 had agreed upon only 5,000 reales for 1,200 copies of 127 leaves.¹⁰³ True, the *Obras de musica para tecla arpa y vihuela* (1578) did not reach maximum folio size. But it was printed in tablature; and by terms of the contract, Francisco Sánchez (the Madrid printer with whom Hernando Cabezón bargained) was required to provide new matrices and type. Victoria, whose *Missae, Magnificat, Motecta, Psalmi, et alia quam plurima* was issued in 1600 by the same royal firm that in 1602 undertook to print 130 copies of Lobo's *Liber primus missarum* for 5936 $\frac{2}{3}$ reales, had moreover paid less than half Lobo's amount: his bill amounting to only 2,500 reales for 200 sets of nine vocal partbooks and a tenth book for organ.¹⁰⁴

Lobo's superb title page alone must have added considerably to production costs. Centered on the page is an engraving of Mary surrounded by angels. She is in the act of enduing Ildephonsus (606–667),¹⁰⁵ apologist for her perpetual virginity, with a rich chasuble. Since Lobo dedicated his book to the Toledan chapter, such an engraving was, of course, especially appropriate—Ildephonsus having been the most famous bishop of Toledo during the Visigothic era. The engraving is surrounded by a border filled with such diverse musical instruments as viol, vihuela, lute, harp, small stringed keyboard instrument, portative organ, trombone, cornett, and drum. Although it is improbable that all these instruments were used at Toledo conjointly on any single occasion, the frequent references to *menestriles* in the primatial records vouch for complete sets of wind instruments on all festive days. A small oval vignette at the bottom of the title page shows the composer. In his right hand he holds a sheet of music paper inscribed with a three-in-one canon. He wears his hair, mustache, and beard, close-cropped; out of his deep-set eyes flashes a bright gleam. Altogether, his regular features and broad forehead



Ex Typographia R

Alonso Lobo's engraved portrait, title page of his 1602 Masses. Higinio Anglés, *La música española desde la edad media* (Barcelona: Biblioteca Central, 1941), facs. 42, reproduced the entire title page.

would deserve to be called, if not handsome, at least prepossessing.

After publication of his masses, Lobo decided that his task at Toledo was done, and thenceforth turned his eyes southward. On September 9, 1603, Ambrosio Cotes (chapelmaster at Seville since September 22, 1600) opportunely died. In a matter of months Lobo exchanged Toledo for Seville. On March 9, 1604, the Sevillian capitular secretary jotted this marginal entry: "The chapter received Maestro Lobo for chapelmaster and decided that he should be paid prebend's salary from January 1, plus 40,000 maravedís and 40 fanegas of wheat for taking charge of the choirboys."¹⁰⁶ On April 1 (1604) the chapter voted him a further gift of 300 reales to buy bread.¹⁰⁷ On July 1, 1605, the canons acceded to his request for a loan of 300 ducats provided that proper surety was given.¹⁰⁸ On March 16, 1606, the chapter notified the cathedral corps of instrumentalists that they must continue to discharge their most onerous obligation—that of marching in processions.¹⁰⁹ On April 10, 1606, Baltasar de

¹⁰³ Pedrell, *HSMS*, VIII, xvi.

¹⁰⁴ Pedrell, *Tomás Luis de Victoria* (Valencia: Manuel Villar, 1919), p. 168.

¹⁰⁵ For reproduction, see Anglés, *La música española desde la edad media*, facsimile 42. Ildephonsus is the Latin form of Lobo's own Christian name, Alfonso. Significantly, Lobo's collection starts with the Marian mass *Beata Dei genitrix*.

¹⁰⁶ Seville, *Quadernos de Autos Capitulares Antiguos. Años de 1599. 1600. 1601. 1602. 1603. 1604. 1605. 1606.*, fol. 174 (margin).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 178.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 224.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 247.



Torres succeeded to the mastership of the altar boys (*maestro de los moços de coro*). As during Guerrero's time, the *mozos de coro* sang only plainchant, polyphony being reserved for the *seises* who boarded with the chapelmaster. Lobo's last years have not yet been so thoroughly explored as they deserve; but it is known that the choirboys remained in his charge from February 10, 1604, until August 1, 1610; and that he died on April 5, 1617.¹¹⁰ Burial took place at chapter expense in the Antigua chapel. The full complement of cathedral singing clergy accompanied his body to the grave. Since at his death he was still Sevillian chapelmaster, his whole career is accounted for, and there is no unoccupied time left for the period of service in Lisbon hypothesized by the enthusiastic Portuguese musical historian Joaquim de Vasconcellos in his uncritical *Os musicos portugueses* (Oporto: Imp. Portugueza, 1870), Volume I, page 199. Neither is it any longer possible to hold that Lobo died in 1601, as was affirmed by Higinio Anglés in *MME*, Volume iv, page 5.

The latter's "La música conservada en la Biblioteca Colombina y en la Catedral de Sevilla" (*AM*, II [1947]) also fomented various errors. Though in this article a complete catalogue is attempted, no mention is made of such music in the Sevillian cathedral archive as Lobo's two masses *a 4*, *Petre ego pro te rogavi* and *O Rex gloriae*, copied into MS 110 at folios 1^v-16 and 46^v-62. Nor is this perfectly preserved large vellum choirbook the only Lobo source overlooked in the 1947 catalogue: MS 115, another large choirbook (31 by 21 inches) sumptuously copied on vellum, opens with three hymns *a 4* by Lobo: the first for St. Isidore's feast, the second for the feast of SS. Justa and Rufina, and the third for the feast of Hermenegild.¹¹¹ To these hymns for

¹¹⁰Rosa y López, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

¹¹¹The hymn *a 4* for St. Isidore's feast at folios 1^v-5 divides into two *partes*: (1) *Dulce facundi sunt hoc leporis*; (2) *Pater cleri populique*. During each *pars*, Lobo quotes in his cantus the same plainsong (which small variants). Fragments of this plainsong occasionally filter into ATB. Because Isidore belongs so peculiarly to Sevillian hagiology, the plainsong may itself mount to Visigothic antiquity. The initium reads: [d e] c d [d a] a [c¹ a] g . . . d. The hymn *a 4* for St. Hermenegild, on the other hand, consists of a single *pars*: *Carceris squalor nec acerba patris*. Beginning with paired imitation, this mixolydian hymn supports a cantus that moves more slowly than the other parts. A derivation from plainsong, however, is more difficult to establish—there being no second *pars* in which an alternate

Visigothic saints should be added Lobo's hymn for San Diego at folios 11^v-14, and for the Apostle James at folios 14^v-16 in this same choirbook. An unnumbered choirbook copied at Seville as late as 1772 and reaching 41 leaves also goes unmentioned in the 1947 catalogue. This choirbook, devoted entirely to Lobo's lamentations, bears the title *Lect. Prima de Ieremie Propheta. Christus factus est. Et Miserere. In Officio Tenebrarum. Sabbati Sancti. Hldephonso Lupo, Auctore*. Far from being wholly neglected in the Sevillian Cathedral archive, as "La música conservada" would lead one to believe, Lobo is still represented in at least three manuscripts, the latest of which is not only given over *in toto* to his works but was even copied within a decade of the invitation given Haydn by authorities of the Santa Cueva oratory in Cádiz to compose *The Seven Last Words* (*Inter-American Music Review*, IV/2 [Spring-Summer 1982], 8-10).

From the Sevillian capitular acts of 1648, without reference to the music manuscripts just mentioned, it would be known that Lobo enjoyed peculiar favor at Seville long after his decease. On August 12, 1648, the chapter met on special call to consider the proposal of Don Mateo Vázquez de Leca, archdeacon of Carmona. The chapter minutes merit quotation:¹¹²

The archdeacon proposed that henceforth the *Credo Romano* be sung in Maestro Lobo's polyphonic setting every Sunday, except during Lent, Advent, and Septuagesima . . . and also on Corpus Christi, throughout its octave, and on the Feasts of Assumption and Conception; because it is an extremely devout and solemn setting, and most beautiful to hear. After having talked over the archdeacon's proposition, the chapter then took a vote: white tallies being cast by those in favor of, black by those opposed to, the proposal. The scrutiny revealed 32 for, and 12 against: whereupon the diocesan ordered that since the proposition had carried, the chapelmaster must be notified that from henceforth Lobo's *Credo Romano* would be sung regularly, because the chapter

paraphrase can be viewed. The cantus repeats notes of minim (= crotchet) value (mm. 10, 15, 17); and lacks ligatures. By way of contrast, ten such are to be seen in the cantus of St. Isidore's hymn (mm. 3-4, 6, 14, 19-20, 25, 32-33, 38, 40, 41-42, 54-55).

The local character of both hymns, so far as text is concerned, can be proved. Ulysse Chevalier in his *Repertorium hymnologicum* (Louvain: Imp. Polleunis & Ceuterick, 1892-1897) listed neither text. Nor were they listed in Faustino Arévalo's *Hymnodia hispanica* (Rome: E. Typ. Salamonianna, 1786).

¹¹²Rosa y López, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

considers his setting especially fine and lovely. The archdeacon was so pleased at this favorable action that he immediately gave 100 ducats to the cathedral foundation [fábrica]. The chapter accepted the gift for deposit in the cathedral treasury, and expressed thanks to the said archdeacon.

Nor was this all. Some six weeks later the chapter ordered that Lobo's *Credo Romano* should, in addition, be sung at all first-class feasts of Our Lady. But to bring the story to a still more interesting denouement, this setting alone of all Lobo's compositions seems thus far to have reached the United States, in manuscript. It is to be found at folios 8^v-15 of a little known 117-folio Spanish choirbook purchased before World War I through a Leipzig antiquarian for The Hispanic Society in New York. The choirbook bears as its present factitious title, *Missae secundum ritum Toletanum cum aliis missis variorum auctorum*.¹¹³ Heading Lobo's creed at folio 8^v appears this rubric: "Con el canto llano del credo Romano Del maestro Alonso Lobo." The choirbook itself belonged originally to the collegiate church of San Pedro de Lerma (near Burgos). The *Credo Romano* is an independent item, not belonging to any mass. No other composition by Lobo occurs in this book. His creed is followed by a *Missae de beata Virgine* (folios 18^v-30) of Fray Martín de Villanueva—the Jeronymite from Granada who entered El Escorial in 1586, joined the singing of polyphonic passions during Holy Week of 1587, professed a second time October 29, 1589; and thereafter served as *corrector mayor del canto* and organist until death June 2, 1605 (at the Jeronymite monastery in Valladolid).

As for Lobo's creed, his tenor sings a mensuralized version of the fifteenth-century plainsong enumerated as Credo IV in the 1947 *Liber usualis* (pp. 75-78); but not in *Pfundnoten*. Instead, the tenor always moves lithely in semibreves and minims. For a "key signature" Lobo has added Bb—and quite properly since he has transposed the plainsong up a fourth. In addition to the sharps invariably necessary at cadences, Lobo specifies numerous other f_♯'s and e_♯'s in the tenor: with the result that the plainsong-bearing voice is as often degree-inflected as any of the other three making up the CATB quartet. With the exception of the "Credo

in unum Deum" intonation, he has composed the entire creed polyphonically. He divides the text among eighteen musical phrases, each ending with a fermata. The coronas coincide with double-bars in the present-day *Liber usualis* edition of the plainchant. Lobo has so long been known primarily as a learned composer (perhaps because Antonio Soler in his *Llave de la modulación* [1762] advertised two of Lobo's canons as the most difficult enigmas in old Spanish polyphony)¹¹⁴ that this *Credo Romano* deserves to be studied—if only as a corrective to so one-sided a judgment of his genius.

His reputation as an exceptionally skilled contrapuntist has been upheld also by the *Ave Maria* (a 8) reprinted by Eslava in *Lira sacro-hispana* (s. XVII, I, i, 27-47) and transposed up a whole step by Bruno Turner in Mapa Mundi publication, Series A, No. 11 (London: Vanderbeek & Imrie Ltd., 1978). In this ingenious motet, Lobo attacked a problem that Guerrero had already solved successfully in his *Pater noster* (a 8) printed in 1555 and again in 1566: namely, that of an eight-in-four canon—one quartet giving birth to the other quartet. Victoria had closed his early mass, *Simile est regnum coelorum* (1576), with a similar canon. In the *Pater noster* of 1555 Guerrero specified the fifth above for the answer; in the *Simile est regnum coelorum* Mass Victoria chose the unison as answering interval; in the *Ave Maria* of 1602 Lobo selected the fourth below or fifth above. The time lag between each dux and its comes in Guerrero's canonic *Pater noster* always amounts to two breves. But since the "leading" voices do not start singing simultaneously, the entries of the "answering" voices are similarly staggered. Victoria, on the other hand, brings in all four leading voices together. In consequence, the four an-

¹¹⁴ Antonio Soler, *Llave de la modulación, y antigüedades de la música* (Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, 1762), pp. 39-40 (unnumbered) in the introduction. Still earlier in the eighteenth century, Joseph de Torres, when editing Francisco Montanos's *Arte de canto llano* (Madrid: Miguel de Rezola, 1728), pages 154-155 and 158-159, had reprinted two Benedictus qui venit movements a 3 by Lobo. Obviously Alonso Lobo was no "forgotten" composer, exhumed merely for antiquarians to marvel at, when Soler in 1762 transcribed two of his canons. At least two of Lobo's masses, *Petre ego pro te rogavi* a 4, and *O Rex gloriae*, also a 4, continued to be sung in the royal chapel as late as the reign of Charles III. See José García Marcellan, *Catálogo del Archivo de Música del Palacio Nacional* (Madrid: Gráficas Reunidas, 1938), p. 92. The manuscript parts included an extra one for *fagot* (= bassoon).

¹¹³ This manuscript contains also Martín de Villanueva's Lady Mass discussed above in note 34.



swering voices also start together. Lobo follows Victoria's bloc-entry plan—his $C_1 A_1 T_1 B_1$ commencing together, thus forcing his $A_2 C_2 C_3 B_2$ answering voices to enter together at the outset and again at the invocation of "Sancta Maria" (meas. 41⁴ answered at 43⁴). Significantly, Lobo's other Marian antiphon is also canonic. While not perhaps so mellifluous as Guerrero's *Ave virgo sanctissima* constructed on a similar plan and in the same mode, still the unison canon between two top voices in Lobo's *Ave Regina coelorum*, *a 5*, never for a moment detracts from its mystical fervor.

As for their overall impact, Lobo's other motets in his 1602 volume (all seven published at London by Mapa Mundi in 1978) reveal him as one of the most deeply glowing masters of his age. If Victoria's melodic lines are always rounded and smooth, Lobo's are often angular and rugged—but for expressive purposes. Only in the funerary motet, *a 4*, *Credo quod redemptor meus vivit*, do all voices sing the same subject in the opening imitative point. Elsewhere, Lobo opts for paired imitation. His somber *Versa est in luctum*, *a 6*, composed "Ad exequias Philip. II Cathol. Regis Hisp." begins with a paired mirror imitation, the descent of the two top voices being mirrored by the ascent of the tenors.

All seven motets in the 1602 volume are notated in C , are of single *pars*, and range in length under 80 breves (semibreves in transcription). In all seven motets, two octaves and a fifth or sixth separate the lowest note in the bassus from highest in the top voice. Whereas the compass of the bassus usually extends to an eleventh or tenth, the top voice(s) are kept within a note or two less. After a wide skip, he usually turns—but makes no ironclad rule of doing so. Melismas, and especially scale runs, occur at ends of text phrases, not at their beginnings. But he feels no revulsion against ending a run with a new syllable. He parodied Palestrina's *O Rex gloriae* in a mass of that name, but gladly left it to Victoria and Manuel Cardoso (1566–1650) to emulate Palestrina's detail technique.

An overt chromaticism does not violate Lobo's principles ("filia" at meas. 26 of his Song of Songs motet, *Quam pulchri sunt gressus tui*, *a 6*). However, he does not need chromatics, excessive accidentalizing, nor even the Spanish diminished fourth to make his emotional thrusts. Because of the absence of this kind of shading, he suggests comparison with the painter Zurbarán—who needed no chiaroscuro to impress the beholder with his emotional intensity,

But to leave the seven motets—which invite comment because they were all published at London in 1978 (albeit transposed from written pitches to accommodate mixed choruses)—and to come to the six masses: these glorious works pay the highest tribute possible to Guerrero. All but the *Missa O Rex gloriae*, last of the six, are parodies of Guerrero's motets: (1) *Beata Dei genitrix*, *a 6* (1589 [also published in Victoria, *Motecta festorum totius anni*, 1585]); (2) *Maria Magdalena*, *a 6* (1570); (3) *Prudentes virgines*, *a 5* (1570, 1597); (4) *Petre ego pro te rogavi*, *a 4* (1589, 1597); and (5) *Simile est regnum*, *a 4* (1570, 1597). All six testify equally to Lobo's consummate contrapuntal skills and his expressive powers.

As for the two canons from Lobo's *Liber primus missarum* which so intrigued Soler as to occupy him from pages 192 to 234 of his *Llave de la modulación*: both are, significantly, Osanna movements; and both belong to the same mass, *Prudentes virgines*. The parody source in this instance was a Guerrero motet (published with dedication to Pope Pius V in 1570). Guerrero—ever the symbolist—resorted to so literal an expedient as blacks and a momentary switch from C to 3 for the nonce when setting these three words: *media autem nocte* ("And at midnight"). Immediately thereafter he returned to his customary C and to note values mostly in voids for the rest of the sentence, "a cry arose, Behold the Bridegroom is coming, go forth to meet him!" (Matt. 25:6). Since Guerrero resorted to so literal an expedient as eye-music, Lobo the parodist ought not to be accused of musical exhibitionism for having resorted to the much subtler symbolism of enigma canons in his two Osannas. Usually considered the most joyful movements of any mass, the Osannas after the Sanctus and again after the Benedictus were particularly appropriate movements in which to exemplify the *Prudentes virgines* title. The "wise virgins" were ready to shout Osannas when the Bridegroom arrived. Lobo symbolized their superior wisdom with his exceptionally learned canons. That such a symbolical interpretation does not strain against fact can be the more confidently assumed, because Lobo in none other of his masses brandished so much learning. For another matter, enigma canons were in vogue even in Italy at this time for similarly symbolical purposes. Giovanni Maria Nanino (*ca.* 1545–1606) left a four-in-one canon headed (in Latin) "He who is not with me is against me" (Matt. 12:30). The second consequent



Prudentes Virgines. Quinque vocum.

C A N O N.

Cantus II. Vadit & venit: sed de minimis non curat.
Idem Tenor in octauam cancrizando.

Because of the bleeding from one side of the leaf to the other in the Coimbra University library copy, TENOR SV PRA CANTVM and notes in staves 5 and 6 cannot be clearly read.

voice follows in unison, but the first and third go in contrary motion at a dissonant interval of imitation.

At the head of Osanna I in his *Prudentes virgines* Mass, Lobo inserts this rubric: *Cantus II. Vadit & venit: sed de minimis non curat. Idem Tenor in octauam cancrizando*. In effect these directions mean that cantus II is to sing only the semibreves found in cantus I—next, to sing them in reverse order. Upon completion of one forward-and-backward cycle, cantus II repeats the whole cycle several times over. The tenor meanwhile must imitate cantus II at the suboctave, crabwise. At the head of Osanna II in the same Mass, Lobo places this rubric: *Currebant duo simul. Sed Basis praecurrit citius*. Tenor and bass are therefore to sing from the same part. But the bass carries Φ for its time signature whereas the tenor carries \circ . In addition the clefs differ, with the result that although the tenor

starts simultaneously with the bass it commences a fifth higher. So much for Lobo's rubrics. The exhibition of learning does not end with these verbal canons, however. In *Osanna II* the singers must be constantly on the alert against confusing points of division with those of alteration. Color as a means of alteration also plays its role. Not because these two *Osannas* are the best things that Lobo ever composed, but because of the fame that Soler gave them, they must both be shown here in compressed score. In the first, plus signs have been used to show the notes in cantus I which were semibreves in the original. In the second, a time signature of $\frac{3}{2}$ for the bass and $\frac{3}{4}$ for the tenor would be technically the more correct solution. The following incipit serves for both voices:

As for the other movements of *Prudentes virgines*, the Crucifixus contains a forward-and-backward canon in the tenor (folio 55^v). Beginning at *Et iterum* the tenor sings in reverse motion all that had been sung in direct motion up to those words. In the *Agnus* (folio 66^v), the cantus carries two time signatures, one above the other. The top signature C applies to the cantus voice part; the bottom O, to the tenor, which sings the same notes in proportion at the lower octave. *Agnus Dei I* also deserves attention because of its polytextuality—the words “*Prudentes virgines*” being pitted in the tenor voice part against “*Agnus Dei*” in the others.

The earliest dated manuscript copies of Lobo's masses seem to be the already mentioned pair *a 4* found in MS 110 at Seville Cathedral.¹¹⁵ This manuscript bears 1595 as its date of copy. Since each of the three other masses in this source was composed by Guerrero—*Dormendo un giorno* (1566) at folios 30^v–46, *Surge propera amica mea* (1582) at folios 62^v–81, and *Saeculorum Amen* (1597) at folios 16^v–30—Lobo's companion masses eking out the manuscript might both appropriately have been chosen from among his five that parody Guerrero's motets. However, only Lobo's *Petre ego pro te rogavi, a 4*, does parody a Guerrero motet. Interestingly, Lobo modeled it on a responsory motet (of

¹¹⁵ Seville Cathedral MS 110, not catalogued by Anglés, was first seen by Robert Stevenson in 1952.



two *partes*: aB; cB) that Guerrero did not publish until two years after MS 110 was copied.

In contrast with such a parody as the *Prudentes virgines* Mass, Lobo eschews elaborate learning in the Petrine parody. Both motet and parody hew to D minor (flat signature), with frequent transient modulations to nearly related keys. Lobo shows his vast skill more by devising ingenious new combinations of material from the source than by anything so overt as a verbal canon. As a typical example of his ingenuity: during measures 3–14 of the Gloria, the top voice repeats the top voice in measures 7–18 of the source motet, but with new underpinning derived from the source.

Except for Agnus II *a* 5 (CCATB), all movements are scored for four voices (Benedictus, CCAT). The Crucifixus begins full; all other sections start imitatively, drawing on material from *pars* 1 or 2 of the source—paired imitation being his delight at the outset of Christe, Kyrie II, Et in terra, Patrem, Benedictus, Agnus I and II. Except for the Osanna in Φ mensuration, the entire mass is notated in Φ . In keeping with the *missa brevis* fashion current in the 1590's, Lobo garlands the text with comparatively few melismas and does not repeat words in the Gloria or Credo.

Lobo's other parody in Seville Cathedral MS 110 is modeled on a Pentecost motet in Palestrina's *Motecta festorum totius anni liber primus* (1563). In his last Agnus, Lobo lengthens the first five notes of Palestrina's head motive; and makes of them a

sequencing ostinato in the tenor (after Morales's manner in his *Veni Domine et noli tardare* motet). The tenor here carries two time signatures: C above Φ . These mean that after singing the thrice-sequenced ostinato in notes of written value, the tenor is to sing the same sequencing ostinato again, but now at double-quick. This double-quickening of a sequencing ostinato in the last Agnus was an idea that appealed to Guerrero as well as to Lobo: as can be discovered by referring to Guerrero's *Saeculorum Amen* Mass *a* 4 in this same Sevillian choirbook (MS 110). But Lobo went one better than his mentor by introducing in this last Agnus of *O Rex gloriae* a canon at the lower eleventh between the two outer voices (1602, folios 116^v–117).¹¹⁶

The identical two masses *a* 4, *Petre ego pro te rogavi* and *O Rex gloriae*, that are copied in Sevillian MS 110 at folios 1^v–16 and 46^v–62, respectively, are also to be found in another manuscript antedating the 1602 publication of Lobo's *Liber primus missarum*. This other manuscript source, surprisingly enough, was encountered not in Spain but in Mexico—its owner having formerly been Canon Octaviano Valdés of Mexico City Cathedral. Among the nine other masses in this codex are one by Juan Esquivel, four by Palestrina, and still another ascribed to the latter but actually Pierre Colin's *Christus resurgens*.¹¹⁷ The only date in the Valdés codex is 1599. It occurs at folio 87, where in the upper right-hand margin is to be descried, "1599. Años." Of the eleven masses in this Mexican source, *O Rex gloriae* shows the signs of most intensive use. Lobo, whose name is now known by only a few historians, and who is by some of them confused with his Portuguese namesake Duarte Lobo,¹¹⁸ clearly enjoyed not only fame but even popularity in the New World at about the time Jamestown was

¹¹⁶At folio 115^v of the 1602 imprint the tenor in *O Rex gloriae* sings a forward-and-backward canon. Cf. also the Crucifixus of the *Prudentes Virgines* Mass, fol. 55^v.

¹¹⁷See the present author's "Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Resources in Mexico" (part II), *Fontes artis musicae*, 1955/1, pp. 11–15.

¹¹⁸Cf. *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada* (Barcelona: Hijos de J. Espasa, n.d.), xxx, 1246–1247; and vi [Apéndice], 1249. Both articles must be impugned. Concerning Duarte Lobo see Manuel Joaquim, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–59. The birthyear given for Duarte Lobo in *Grove's Dictionary*, 5th ed., v, 351 (like that given for Antonio de Cabezón), was incorrect. A baptismal certificate was issued at Alcáçovas (Portugal) on September 19, 1575 (not 1565), for a homonymous Duarte Lobo.

Beata Dei genitrix. Sex Vocum



Yri e e leyson
Kyri e eleyson.

Yri e e leyson,
Kyri e leyson.

Yri e e ley son,
Kyri e eley fon.

Yri e e leyson,
Kyri e eleyson.

Yri e e leyson,
Kyri e eleyson.

Alonso Lobo: Liber primus missarum (Madrid: Joannes Flandrus, 1602), fols. 2^v-3.

founded. Such signs of frequent and unremitting use as the frayed leaves, mending, and excessive dirt at folios 46^v-56 of the Valdés codex are by no means the only evidence. The fact that printed copies of his *Liber primus missarum* are so widely distributed in Mexico—at least five having been encountered by Steven Barwick in the following cathedrals: Mexico City, Guadalajara, Puebla, Morelia, and Oaxaca—must also be taken into consideration. If for no other reason than because of a desire to scan the repertory of a composer who became a favorite in the Western Hemisphere, the reprinting of Lobo's 1602 book would therefore serve a useful purpose. So many contemporary copies of any other printed collection of early masses have not thus far been discovered in the New World.

Among the more characteristic features of Lobo's

style which such a reprint can be expected to reveal, the following should be named: (1) frequent recourse to rather subtle types of imitation such as by contrary motion, or to the type that involves a change of time values in the head motive; (2) fondness for double and even triple expositions (in which two or three subjects introduced simultaneously at the opening are immediately thereafter switched between voice and voice); (3) reluctance, however, to repeat or to sequence a head motive in any single melodic line; (4) profuse insertion of printed sharps (f \sharp , c \sharp , g \sharp) and flats (b \flat and e \flat); (5) a liking for successions that involve cross relations and for linear movements that oppose an accidental to its opposite in quick succession (e.g., b \natural c' b \flat , f \sharp g f \natural); (6) skillful use of modulations to closely related keys as a structural device (he usually times his shifts from



one key into another to coincide with punctuation in the text).

The spiritual qualities of Lobo's art cannot be localized so easily. But mere craftsmanship—his mastery of which will be disputed by no serious student—must not be allowed to divert attention from the yearning emotional intensity of his best work. He was perhaps the first Spanish composer who timed his climaxes to coincide with high notes. For instance, as early as the opening Kyrie of his *Beata Dei genitrix* Mass (meas. 20),¹¹⁹ the moment of climax is timed to coincide with a', followed immediately by the resolution of a first-inversion F#-minor into a root-position G-minor chord. If geography counts for anything in determining an artist's spiritual outlook, then it is perhaps significant that Ginés de Boluda and Alonso Lobo were the two chapelmasters (of whom any considerable repertory survives) active in Toledo simultaneously with the production of the most admired achievements in Spanish Renaissance painting—namely, the canvases of El Greco (ca. 1542–1614). Should Lobo's Lamentations one day be sung in the Toledo, Ohio, gallery where now hangs an El Greco *Christ in Gethsemane*, or his *Petre ego rogavi pro te* Mass in the Washington gallery where hangs an El Greco *St. Peter*, closer spiritual ties between the two than have hitherto been suspected may be revealed.

SEBASTIÁN DE VIVANCO (ca. 1550–1622)

That Vivanco—like Victoria—was a native of Ávila comes to light in certain Ávila Cathedral capitular acts, which will later be quoted. He would also be known to have been *Abulensis* from the title page of his 1607 book of magnificats printed at Salamanca. Nevertheless, the earliest biographical documentation thus far adduced comes not from Castile but from Catalonia. On July 4, 1576, the Lérida Cathedral chapter passed the following resolution:¹²⁰ "For certain just causes, which do not however affect his honor, the chapter revokes and declares terminated the appointment of the reverend Sebastián de Vivanco, choirmaster and chapelmaster of the said

cathedral; and removes him from his office of singing teacher." Two days later, an inventory of the effects left in his house was submitted to the chapter. This list names certain gatherings of paper of the sort used in music copying, four hand-size and four large songbooks, a few Latin grammars, miscellaneous song sheets, and an index to the cathedral collection of music books. Two months later, on September 7, the Lérida chapter appointed a committee of canons to investigate the dispute between Sebastián de Vivanco, "recently chapelmaster," and Joan Torrent, a clergyman of Lérida diocese who had been a soprano in the cathedral since July 19, 1560. Vivanco had already departed. But he asserted that he had left behind certain possessions to which Torrent was now laying claim.

Catalonia, then as at present, was a province with its own proud cultural traditions, its own literature, and its own language. Since Spanish was not spoken, Vivanco's effects were inventoried in the Catalan language, on July 6, 1576. A Castilian, he cannot have been particularly happy in a province with such pronounced separatist leanings.

After being detained by illness at Lérida during the autumn of 1576, he next therefore tried out successfully on February 9, 1577, for the post of chapelmaster at Segovia Cathedral—holding it for a decade until resignation July 31, 1587. On February 23, 1577, the Segovia cathedral chapter advanced him 50 ducats to defray the expenses of moving himself and his mother to Segovia. A subdeacon when he arrived, his financial state improved when he was ordained priest in November 1581. Frequently during his decade at Segovia the chapter also improved his finances with awards of 16 to 20 ducats for excellent services during the Christmas and Corpus Christi seasons. On the other hand, the chapter called in question on February 17, 1586, his slowness in sending Francisco Guerrero the 300 reales voted April 6, 1585, as a reward for a book of magnificats (presumably the *Liber vesperarium*) sent by Guerrero.

The first inkling that the Sevillian chapter intended to invite Vivanco is given not in Sevillian documents but in an Ávila Cathedral capitular act. On Wednesday, July 8, 1587, the Ávila chapter "decided that the office and ministry of chapelmaster in this cathedral stand in great need of rehabilitation; because Hernando de Ysassi, the

¹¹⁹ *Liber primus missarum Alphonsi Lobo de Borja*, fols. 2^v–3.

¹²⁰ Mateo Flecha, *Las Ensaladas*, ed. by H. Anglés (Barcelona: Biblioteca Central, 1955), fol. 123^v.