



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.



present occupant, is old and tired, and does not heed the requirements of his office." The pertinent act continues as follows:¹²¹

Just now Sebastián de Vivanco, who has been serving as chapelmaster at Segovia, is reported ready to move from Segovia to Seville. But he is a native of Ávila and it is understood that he would be quite eager to join our staff if he could be promised a sufficient salary, even though it did not match the salary that he has been offered at Seville. After discussing the matter the chapter resolved that (1) since the said Vivanco has already quit Segovia with the intention of moving to Seville, and (2) since the Segovia Cathedral authorities will therefore have no objection to our offering him a prebend, such an offer of a chapelmaster's prebend with the obligation of boarding certain boys ought now to be made, always on condition that his release from Segovia Cathedral is duly confirmed.

This signed release from Segovia arrived nine days later. On July 31 Ysassi was instructed to take a long rest; and on August 7, Vivanco's monthly salary in Ávila Cathedral was set at 4,000 maravedís.¹²²

At last, on August 14, his name crops up for the first time in a Sevillian Cathedral capitular act. On that day three Sevillian chapter members were instructed to write an official letter "inviting Vivanco, *chapelmaster at Segovia*, to come here; and promising him the kind of salary that a person of his eminence deserves; and also inviting him to bring with him two or three choirboys with excellent voices."¹²³ However, the letter of invitation stipulated that any appointment in Seville Cathedral was not to be construed as a guarantee of succession to Guerrero. The letter did promise him ample expense money, should he decide not to stay after arriving. The Sevillian dean proposed more concrete terms at the chapter meeting of October 7, 1587: namely, 500 ducats annually and 90 fanegas of wheat. His duties were to include "rearing, teaching, and boarding the choirboys, on a level that meets with the chapter's approval."¹²⁴ But he was to be warned again that no

guarantee of succession could be given. Again he was urged to bring with him two or three boys with fine voices.

Repercussions soon began sounding at Ávila. On Friday, October 23, Vivanco came into the Ávila chapter meeting with the signed offers from Seville in hand.¹²⁵ Immediately, he asseverated that "he esteemed the kindness already done him in this cathedral to be of greater moment than any other that could be done him anywhere else." He therefore asked the Ávila Cathedral authorities to consider matching the Sevillian offer. A week later the Ávila chapter learned that the total value of the Sevillian post would be 900 ducats (counting half-prebend's salary, an additional 200 ducats, and an allowance of wheat). After looking over the signed offers, the Ávila chapter decided that everything possible must be done to hold Vivanco, "because he has proved already to be not only an ornament to the cathedral but also a most necessary servant." Moreover, the chapter thought it just to take account of "the eminence that he enjoys as a musician, his natural tendency to exceed his contractual obligations in coming to additional services and in teaching singing, the great respect accorded him by other musicians, the advantage that all of this promises to celebrations and solemn festivals." Not being able to boost his salary as high as Seville Cathedral could pay, the Ávila chapter proposed instead to give him a high seat in the section reserved for senior prebendaries.

With this satisfaction and the promise of better things to come, Vivanco made himself content during the Christmas season. So acceptable was his conduct that on January 13, 1588, the chapter took a vote to determine whether a present ought to be given. This was not approved;¹²⁶ but he did receive a handsome present on February 1. On the same day he asked for a month's leave to visit Seville. Toward the end of February he arrived in Seville, bringing with him only one of the "two or three choirboys with fine voices" requested by the Sevillian chapter. This boy immediately became homesick, and had to be sent back. On February 29 Vivanco formally took charge of the Sevillian boys.¹²⁷ Since he asked on this same date for a loan so that he could engage a house it cannot be doubted that he intended to stay.

¹²¹ Ávila Cathedral, *A.C. 1587-1588-1589*, fol. 46^v.

¹²² *Ibid.*, fol. 59. Vivanco's "contract" with the cathedral allowed him thirty days "de Requiem" (vacation) each year, besides an extra day every two months. According to the rules of residence he could not leave Ávila without the express permission of the chapter. He was allowed neither voice nor vote in chapter meetings. See *A.C., 1587-1588-1589*, fol. 53^v.

¹²³ Seville, *A.C., 1586-1587*, fol. 122^v.

¹²⁴ Seville, *Quadernos de Autos Capitulares Antiguos. 1586. Desde Abril 1587*, fol. 165.

¹²⁵ Ávila, *A.C. 1587-1588-1589*, fols. 59^v-60.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 84.

¹²⁷ Seville, *A.C., 1588-1589*, fol. 7^v.



He asked also for expense money to cover the costs of moving. On March 3 the chapter agreed to a 200-ducat loan and a 30-ducat gift, to cover the expenses of moving "from Ávila."¹²⁸ Nine days later, he petitioned for money so that he might return to Ávila. On March 17 the chapter acceded with another 100 ducats,¹²⁹ thus fulfilling the original bargain: namely, that should Vivanco decide not to stay he would be amply reimbursed for the whole cost of the inspection trip.

Vivanco thereafter remained at Ávila until 1602, on October 2 of which year he was appointed chapelmaster at Salamanca. Soon after the next New Year's, Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo, occupant of the Salamanca music chair since April 3, 1593, resigned to accept the higher paying post of chapel organist for Philip III. On January 10, 1603, the chair was declared vacant. Vivanco immediately entered his name. At the formal examination on February 19, Clavijo served as one of the judges. Victorious in the trial, Vivanco henceforth held two posts—the cathedral chapelmastership and the university professorship. On March 4, 1603, he was incorporated a Master of Arts. In 1607 he published his *Liber Magnificarum*, a 269-page maximum-size folio. Next year, the same Salamanca printer Artus Taberniel who had luxuriously published his magnificats issued a volume containing ten of his masses. In 1610 appeared a volume of his motets: a mutilated copy of which survives in the Toledo capitular archive. He retired from the Salamanca chair in January, 1621. On the supposition that he reached 70 that year, Montague Cantor in "The *Liber Magnificarum* of Sebastián de Vivanco" (New York University Ph.D. dissertation, 1967), page 7, suggested 1551 rather than 1550 as his likelier birth year. He died October 26, 1622.¹³⁰ His substitute in 1621–1622, Roque Martínez, succeeded him in the chair on December 9, 1622; continuing to occupy it until 1642.

In the engraving to be found on the title page of his *Liber Magnificarum* (his first Salamanca publi-

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 8.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 10.

¹³⁰ Enrique Esperabé Arteaga. *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca* (Salamanca: Imp. y lib. de Francisco Núñez, 1917), II, 512. See also Vol. II, p. 457. Data concerning Roque Martínez, Vivanco's substitute (Jan. 9, 1621) and successor (Dec. 9, 1622), at Vol. II, p. 488. Martínez, a native of Salamanca, served as cathedral organist before his university appointments. He was incorporated M.A. in 1623.



Engraved portion of the title page of Sebastián de Vivanco's *Liber Magnificarum* (Salamanca: Artus Taberniel, 1607).

cation),¹³¹ Vivanco's two posts—those of chapelmaster and of professor—are each symbolized by a different type of headcovering. The engraving shows Vivanco on his knees before a crucifix. In his outstretched hand is a book inscribed with the words "Give me of Thy gifts." Through the open door behind him appear trees in full leaf. Vivanco is ceremoniously attired in full clericals, and on the floor beside him lie both his biretta and his academic cap. This collection of magnificats has grown so rare that even bibliographical details are hard to come by and must be given here as a preliminary to discussion of its contents. The title runs: *Liber Magnificarum Sebastiani de Vivanco Abulensis in summo templo Salmanticensi portionarii, et a musicis prae-fecti: in eiusdemq' urbis academia artium et philosophiae magistri, ac primariam musices cathedram moderantis*. The meaning is clear enough: "Book of

¹³¹ Facsimile of the engraving (not the entire page) in *A History of The Hispanic Society of America . . . 1904–1954* (New York: 1954), p. 393 (no. 295).



Magnificats by Sebastián de Vivanco of Ávila, prebendary in Salamanca Cathedral and chapelmaster; master of arts and philosophy in the university of the same city, and morning professor¹³² of music.” The dedication, like that of Guerrero’s 1597 motets, reads to Christ Himself. Below the engraving is printed a three-in-one canon with “O come, let us adore Christ the King, hanging upon a cross for us” as text. Around the three other sides of the engraving are to be seen three perpetual canons: at the top a four-in-one, at the left a five-in-one, and at the right a six-in-one. These three, unlike the canon below the engraving, lack texts. At the bottom of the title page appears *Superiorum permissu*—a legend not found frequently in Spanish musical publications—followed by *Salmanticae, Ex Officina typographica Arti Taberniel Antuerpiani. Anno a Christo nato M.DC.VII.*

Artus [= Arthur] Taberniel, a printer from Antwerp active at Salamanca from 1602 until his death in 1610,¹³³ produced for Vivanco a choirbook that by virtue of its luxury and accuracy rivals the best Plantin publications. Since the music still remains relatively unknown even to specialists—much less to performers—Vivanco’s endowments are as yet but little recognized. This neglect is unfortunate, for certainly Vivanco’s *Liber Magnificarum* exceeds any work of its class published in Castile during his generation. To list some distinctions of the collection: (1) the canons approach the outer limits of adroitness and complexity; (2) for the first time a

polytextual magnificat is encountered—the Gloria Patri *a 8* of one fourth-tone magnificat combining, for instance, four different texts; (3) the ostinato technique favored by Morales in such motets as *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* and *Gaude et laetare* makes a telling appearance in at least two magnificats; (4) he proves to be the first and apparently the only composer who made a foray into “polytonality”—the Gloria at pages 170–171 inscribed *Super octo tonis cum octo vocibus* consigning a different tone to each of the eight different voices; (5) in another magnificat, the tenor sings all eight tones in numerical sequence; (6) his dexterity as a contrapuntist is such that on occasion he can even produce a four-tone *Benedicamus* in quadruply invertible counterpoint. However, side by side with all this display he inserts exquisite movements *a 3* of the most tender simplicity. His contrapuntal resource never masters him. Rather, he is so completely the master of device that astonishing feats seem no more difficult than the composition of a free fantasia.

Because imaginative use of learned devices, “polytonality,” and polytextuality make interesting news, these features cannot but loom large in any analysis of Vivanco’s magnificats. Just as the best-intentioned of dictionary writers when discussing J. S. Bach’s *Die Kunst der Fuge* neglect the earlier counterpoints for the augmentations; inversions; mirrors; and the “two quadruple fugues, one with four invertible subjects of which one is at the 12th; and the other a totally invertible fugue with four subjects”—which, according to Tovey, was to have crowned the whole series: so also in a discussion of Vivanco’s “The Art of the Magnificat” a due proportion will not easily be achieved.

Vivanco published eighteen magnificats. In conformity with widespread custom his 1607 book included a setting of both the odd verses (*Anima mea*) and the even (*Et exultavit*) for each of the eight church tones. Bringing the total number of magnificats to eighteen are an extra *Anima mea* in Tones I and VIII. Eleven magnificats call for four voices (Tones I, II, III, and VII, odd-verse exemplars; Tones I, III, IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII, even-verse); four for six voices (Tones I, V, and VI, odd-verse; Tone II, even-verse); two for five voices (Tones IV and VIII, odd-verse); and one for eight voices (Tone VIII, odd-verse). In only the Tone VIII odd-verse *a 8* does he exploit the antiphony of two quartets. Although in several other magnificats he expands to eight voices in the concluding Gloria, in none of

¹³²On the connotations of the term “morning professor” at Salamanca, see Caro Lynn, *A College Professor of the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), page 89. Vivanco’s chair was a *cathedra de propiedad*.

¹³³Concerning the printer Artus Taberniel [= Tavernier], see Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, *Biographie nationale* (Brussels: Émile Bruylant, 1928–1929), xxiv, ii, 417. Probably the son of Aimé Tavernier, Artus Taberniel published his first book at Antwerp ca. 1580—*Premier livre des Hymnes mis en vers français*. At Salamanca he used a printer’s device that included the anagram *Arte natus liber*. The earliest of his Salamanca imprints in possession of The Hispanic Society, New York, is dated 1603; the latest 1608. At Salamanca he was official university printer. He cannot have survived 1610—his widow in the year already publishing a book in her own right. See Clara Louise Penney, *List of books printed 1601–1700 in the library of The Hispanic Society of America* (New York City: The Hispanic Society, 1938), pages 558–559 (Alonso de Salazar, *Fiestas que hizo . . .*) and 832. From 1630 to 1632, and possibly longer, Hyacinthe [= Jacinto] Tabernier, son of Artus Taberniel, was official printer for Salamanca University.



these other *Glorias a 8* does he employ double-choir techniques. Vivanco was the first peninsular composer to make a regular habit of printing two alternate *Glorias* at the ends of his *Anima mea* magnificats: the first *Gloria* not increasing the number of voices nor displaying the composer's contrapuntal prowess; the second increasing voices and spurting with contrapuntal geysers. Such alternate *Glorias* end these seven magnificats: Tones I *a 6*, II *a 4*, III *a 4*, IV *a 5*, V *a 6*, VI *a 6*, VII *a 4*. A printed rubric always appears at the end of the simpler *Gloria* and usually reads as follows: *Verte folium et alteram videbis* ("Turn the leaf and you will see another [*Gloria*]"). The smallest number of voices that Vivanco consents to use in any interior movement of a magnificat is three. The *Et misericordia* movements of the Tones III *a 4*, IV *a 5*, V *a 6*, VII *a 4*, VIII *a 5*, the *Esurientes* of the Tone IV *a 4*, and the *Fecit potentiam* of the Tone VI *a 4*, all reduce to a trio. As a rule, the *Et exultavit* magnificats wear less learning than their companion *Anima mea* exemplars. Only in Tone VIII *Et exultavit (a 4)* does he conclude with two alternate *Sicut erat* movements. The simplest among all eighteen are the *Et exultavit* magnificats belonging to Tones V and VII (both *a 4*). He rarely cites the plainsong formulas in *Pfundnoten*. By way of exception, the plainsong creeps at slow speed in the top voice of the *Deposuit's* belonging to Tones III and VI. He confides the formula to the altus of the Tone III *Sicut erat*, but to the bass of the Tone VII *Sicut erat*. Throughout all eighteen magnificats Vivanco eschews triple meter. He carefully differentiates between C and C♯. His printer does occasionally lapse, heading some voice parts in a movement with C and others in the same movement with C♯—when manifestly the signatures of all voices in the movement should have read either C or C♯; as, for instance, at pages 150–151 of the 1607 book. Accidentals, although not supplied so profusely as in Victoria's 1600 and 1605 Madrid imprints, are given sufficiently frequently for the composer's intentions to be clear throughout. His combined vocal limits reach from E₁ to a¹.

To come now to the more spectacular, and therefore more newsworthy, aspects of Vivanco's magnificat technique. The most adroit canons are invariably to be found in the *ossia* *Glorias*. In these he makes a specialty of combining several different types of canon in one and the same movement. Therefore it will not do merely to list types, such as canon by inversion, by cancrizans, and by augmen-

tion, and then next to enumerate the movements in which he uses each type. Rather, it will be necessary to study each *ossia* *Gloria* individually and to name the types combined in that particular *Gloria*.

In the Tone I magnificat (pp. 14–15) three types join hands. Superius II answers the altus a fourth above. Superius III answers tenor II an octave above in augmentation—but disregards all black notes (and dots equal to a black) in the dux. Bassus II answers bassus I an octave above; but in contrary motion. Superius II enters a breve after the altus; superius III, five semibreves after tenor I; and bassus II, three breves after bassus I. So intricate did the famous Spanish scholar Federico Olmeda find this virtuosic *Gloria* that he wrote two penciled notes at page 15 of his copy calling attention to fancied errors in Vivanco's notation. Fortunately for Vivanco's reputation, a latter-day transcription adhering rigorously to his precise directions absolves him of any errors whatsoever. True, on page 14 at what corresponds to meas. 20 in a transcription, tenor I shows traces of a superfluous minim (d). But this printer's error has been carefully whited out in both The Hispanic Society and the Puebla copies—The Hispanic Society copy being that which originally belonged to Olmeda before it was purchased for the Society from a German representative of his heirs ca. 1912.

The *ossia* *Gloria* at the close of the *Anima mea* Magnificat in Tone II boasts a three-in-one canon—superius I being answered by the bassus at the twelfth below and by altus II at the fifth below. In the *Gloria* at the close of the Tone III, tenor I answers superius I at the fourth below and tenor II altus I at the fifth below, while tenor III repeats a nine-note ostinato four times (with five breves between each repetition). In the *Gloria* at the close of the Tone VII, tenor II answers tenor I in unison, altus II likewise follows altus I at the unison, while tenor III answers superius II in cancrizans.

The combination of three favorite plainsongs praising the author of the Magnificat, which occurs in the *Gloria* of the Tone IV, would in itself be a feat of very high order. But of tenor III Vivanco declares: *Hic Tenor in ordine decantat octo tonos*; which means that together with the quodlibet—during which bassus I sings *Ave Maria*, bassus II *O gloriosa Domina*, and the altus *Ave maria stella*—Vivanco makes tenor III simultaneously sing (in numerical sequence) the plainsong formulas for the words "anima mea Dominum" belonging to Tones I through VIII. So far as quodlibet is concerned,



Vivanco could have found it exemplified in the repertoires of such Spanish predecessors as Triana (*Non puedo dexar querer* in the Colombina Songbook, no. 28), Peñalosa (*Por las sierras de Madrid* in the Palace Songbook, no. 312), and even Fuenllana (whose abortive attempt at combining four villancicos—*De donde venis amores* in black ink for the soprano, *Si me llaman a mi llaman* in red ink for the contralto, *Con que la lavare* in blue ink for the tenor, and *Por una vez que mis ojos alce* in green ink for the bass—is advertised at the bottom of canceled folio 169^v in his 1554 *Orphénica lyra*). But these particular precedents, reaching back more than a century, were exclusively secular in their intent. Moreover, no previous Spanish quodlibet had brought together preëxisting melodies that so intimately share the same topic as do the three Marian plainsongs selected by Vivanco. For such reasons as the following it must be shown here in open score: (1) its polytextuality; (2) the quotation of preëxistent melodies; (3) the “catalogue-aria” in tenor III (every plainsong formula from I through VIII is recited in numerical order); (4) the welding of diversities into an extraordinarily compact unity.

To clarify the picture, roman numerals I–VIII are inserted above the third tenor part throughout the accompanying example. These numerals show the moments at which the corresponding formula commences (in the third tenor Vivanco quotes only so much of each formula as comes after the mediation). Meanwhile, he cites not just the second half of a formula in his superius I but the whole of the formula for Tone IV—this being the tone to which this particular magnificat belongs. Tone IV starts in the top voice at mm. 7–25. Notes of large

value add weight to this initial statement. At mm. 29–38 the same formula is paraphrased. As for tenors I and II, Vivanco not only brings them in in imitation but also has superius II imitate their head motive (in augmentation so far as the first three notes are concerned). Among later references to the head motive, the following can be studied: superius II, mm. 13–14; tenor I, mm. 7–8, 17–18; tenor II, mm. 12–13. It should also be noted that the two Marian hymns combine with the angelical salutation to make a quite self-sufficient trio. Lastly, mention should be made of Vivanco’s scrupulous attention here, as elsewhere in his music, to Zarlino’s rules for text-underlay. In conformity with these rules Vivanco consistently avoids a new syllable on a minim or semibreve after two or more running crotchets (unreduced values).

When in 1936 Carl-Heinz Illing drew up his *Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Magnificat-Komposition bis 1620*, Vivanco’s 1607 publication was not so much as mentioned.¹³⁴ But, on the other hand, the fact that Vivanco published a large selection of motets (Salamanca: Artus Taberniel, 1610) has been known since at least 1925, in which year Felipe Rubio Piqueras called attention to Codex 23 at Toledo Cathedral. In the Toledo exemplar, the title and index pages, pages 16–37, and all those after page 234, have been lost. As a result, only half of the 72 motets printed by Taberniel survive in the mutilated Toledo copy: 15 a 5, 14 a 4, 4 a 6, 2 a 8, and 1 a 12 (Rubio Piqueras’s count).

¹³⁴ Illing’s chronological list occurs as an appendix to his *Zur Technik der Magnificat-Komposition des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kallmeyer, 1936).

Magnificat Quarti toni
Gloria Patri
Liber Magnificarum (Salamanca: 1607), pp. 112-113. Sebastián de Vivanco

¹³⁵ *Hic Tenor in ordine decantat octo tonos* ("This tenor sings in succession the eight tones").



et Fi-
li- o, Glo- ri- a Pa- tri, et Fi-
ve- ma- ris stel-
li- o,
Glo- ri- a Pa- tri, et Fi- li-
-li- o, Glo- ri- a Pa- tri, et
a, gra- ti- a ple-
ri- o- sa Do- mi- na,

-li- o,
li- o, et Spi- ri- tu- i San- cto, et Spi- ri-
la, De- i Ma- ter
Glo- ri- a Pa- tri, et Fi- li- o, et Fi-
o, et Fi- li- o, IV
Fi- li- o Spi-
na: Do- mi- nus re-
ex- cel- sa su- per si- de- ra,

et Spi- ri- tu- i San- cto,
tu- i, et Spi- ri- tu- i San- cto,
al- ma,
li- o, et Spi- ri- tu- i
et Spi- ri- tu- i San- cto, et
ri- tu- i San- cto, et Spi- ri-
cum: be- ne- di-

et Spi- ri- tu- i
et Spi- ri- tu- i San- cto, et Spi- ri- tu- i San-
At- que sem- per Vir- go,
San- cto, et Spi- ri- tu- i San- cto, et
Spi- ri- tu- i San- cto, et Spi- ri- tu- i San-
tu- i San- cto, VI
cta tu- i et Spi- ri-
qui te cre- a- vit pro- vi- de, la- cta- sti

San- cto, et Spi- ri- tu-
cto, et Spi- ri- tu- i San- cto,
sem- per Vir- go,
Spi- ri- tu- i San- cto, et Spi- ri-
cto, et Spi- ri- tu- i San- cto,
tu- i San- cto, et Spi- ri- tu- i San- cto, VII
in mu- li- e- ri-
se- cro u- be- re. Al- le-

i San- cto,
et Spi- ri- tu- i San- cto,
Fe- lix coe- li por- ta. Al- le- lu- ia.
tu- i San- cto, San- cto,
et Spi- ri- tu- i San- cto, VIII
et Spi- ri- tu- i San- cto,
bus Al- le- lu- ia.
lu- ia, Al- le- lu- ia.



As for contents of the 1610 imprint, he begins with *Fratres hora est jam* for First Sunday in Advent. But before he reaches his Advent to Ascension series he gives us quite another group: Commons of Saints motets. In addition to breaking the rule of continuing with *proprium de tempore* motets, he also selects texts that for the most part had not been set by previous Spanish composers. To take, for instance, his twenty Pre-Lenten to Palm Sunday motets—all with scriptural texts—only five or six make use of passages utilized previously by Morales or Guerrero. A simple explanation can be given: Vivanco always chose for his text a passage from the Gospel for the Day. A new and revised missal went forth with the approval of Pius V in 1570. By 1575 it had come into general use within the dominions of Philip II. Not only all of Morales's but also all of Guerrero's motets in his 1555 and 1570 collections (and even the thirty-three in Victoria's classic 1572 collection) were composed at a time when local-use missals still prevailed throughout Spain. Because Vivanco's choice of texts, on the other hand, always agrees with the Gospel for the Day in the revised missal, his source passages agree closely with the texts as they have continued to be printed to the present day. The only slight disagreements between his texts and those printed in such a compendium as the *Liber usualis* reflect the changes in the wording of the Vulgate authorized by Clement VIII.

Domine Pater et Deus vitae meae, the four-voice motet at pages 12–15 in Vivanco's book, was transcribed by Theodor Kroyer from the Toledo copy and reprinted in his tendentious *Der vollkommene Partiturspieler* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1930). To name some of the more interesting facets of Vivanco's technique exhibited in this motet: (1) change of time values in the answers to the head motive (mm. 1–8); (2) unmistakable augmented chords at the word "Father" (meas. 8); (3) false relations between the words "evildoer" and "nor" (mm. 41–42); (4) deceptive cadence between the words "forsake" and "me" (mm. 43–44); (5) sudden octave-leaps upward to the word "far" (mm. 55, 59–60, 63–65, 67–68); (6) resort to sequence in the upper voice (mm. 29–30 = 32–34; mm. 35–38 = 38–41)—not to mention less conspicuous instances in the lower voices; (7) unprepared second inversion chord (meas. 30₄).

In addition, eight other Vivanco motets, a hymn (*Ave maria stella*), and a set of lamentations for

Holy Saturday reached print in Samuel Rubio's *Antología polifónica sacra*, Volumes I and II (Madrid: Ed. Cocolsa, 1954 and 1956). Two of the five motets published in 1954 (*Ecce apparebit Dominus*, a 5, and *O quam suavis*, a 4) and the three published in 1956 (*Dulcissima Maria*, a 4, *Iste est qui ante alios Apostolos*, a 5 [a stirring tribute to St. James, patron of Spain], and *Stabat Mater*, a 4) were transcribed from a Salamanca Cathedral manuscript. The Holy Saturday lamentations and the other three motets published in 1954 (*Ante diem festum*, *Petite et accipietis*, and *Spiritus Sanctus*, each a 4) were copied from Choirbook 2 at the famed Guadalupe monastery in Extremadura. The hymn (1956) was drawn from Choirbook 1 at the same monastery.

In contrast with his magnificats, Vivanco's motets a 4 and a 5 transcribed and published in 1954 and 1956 by Rubio are less taxing vocal music—but no less expressive. As for their plan, he constructs all his motets as a series of imitative points alternating with homophony. But he veers from routine by changing at will the rhythm of a head motive throughout any given point of imitation. He laces sections together so ingeniously that clear-cut divisions are usually hard to establish. His dramatic instinct only awaits such phrases as "King of Kings and Lord of Lords" in *Ecce apparebit Dominus* (Rev. 19:16), or "knock, and it shall be opened unto you" in *Petite et accipietis* (Matt. 7:7), to respond with bold tableaux. In his Second Coming motet the cantus ascends to g¹ twice: the first time when Jesus's coming on a cloud is prophesied (meas. 12), and the second time for a full-blooded climax (meas. 56) at the word "King." During the build-up the text reads: "and he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written." The heroism of this climax thrills the hearer the more because of the sudden G-Major chord and block harmony after a swift surge from B_b (meas. 52) to D major (meas. 55). A dramatic silence precedes the shout of acclamation in all voices. As for the word "knock," which Vivanco repeats with mounting insistence at mm. 30–34 in *Petite et accipietis*, the upper pair of voices interlock in imitations of a bacchiac figure; the lower pair develop a figure that after dipping a fifth, spurts upward in rivulets of scales.

After Samuel Rubio's transcriptions, another bevy of Vivanco's motets were not published until 1985. In that year Louis Dean Nuerenberger, founder and



director since 1964 of the Oberlin Collegium, published his transcriptions of nine Vivanco motets (London: Vanderbeek & Imrie Ltd. [Mapa Mundi, Series A: Spanish Choir Music, Nos. 60–62]). Himself a Renaissance specialist whose University of Michigan doctoral dissertation had to do with Cipriano de Rore's 88 five-voice madrigals, Nuerenberger transcribed all his except *Assumpta est Maria*, a 6, from the 1610 *Liber Motectorum. O quam suavis*, a 4—which is the source motet for Vivanco's parody mass of the same name—had already been published in Rubio's *Antología polifónica sacra*, I (1954), 293–298—but none of Nuerenberger's others.

Circumdederunt me setting Vulgate Psalm 114:3–4,7, “is notable for the simultaneous appearances of the opening subject in both normal and inverted forms to represent encompassment of the sorrows of death,” to quote Nuerenberger. Of the 72 motets in the 1610 Taberniel print, only one each requires seven or nine voices. Vivanco's *Laetetur omne saeculum*, a 7, for the feast of Mary Magdalene (July 22) can be connected with the seven devils cast out of Mary Magdalene (Luke 8:2). *Caritas Pater est*, a 9, requires three choirs—each of three voices—in deference to the Blessed Trinity (subject of the text). In his introduction to the three Marian motets a 8, *Surge prope amica mea*, *Sicut lilium*, and *Veni dilecti, mi* (Song of Songs, 2:10b–13a; 2:2; 7:11–13), Nuerenberger exalts them above Vivanco's other motets a 8 because of “the sensuous sound induced by tone clusters, the contrasting harmonies between the choirs, and the rapid declamation.” For him, *Cantate Domino*, a 8 (Vulgate Psalm 97:1a, 4–7), “is most notable among Vivanco's motets for the frequency and rapidity that the composer makes contrasting shift from duple to triple meter.”

Just as in the eight motets published by Rubio, so also in the nine transcribed and published by Nuerenberger, Vivanco favors imitative points in which answer does not slavishly duplicate the rhythm of the subject. Just as in Rubio's eight, rhythmic élan often results from a variety of note values ranging (in transcription) from solemn whole notes to perky sixteenths. Vivanco's contrapuntal wizardry permits his writing seven to nine real parts without his ever falling into the trap of forbidden consecutives. Best of all, in even his longest motets, inspiration never forsakes him. His expressive powers rival those of the great Guerrero.

In *Anuario musical*, III (1948), 61, Anglés called

attention to four handcopied Vivanco masses in Valladolid Cathedral. Each takes its title from its tone (I at folio 7, IV at folio 21, V at folio 33, VI at folio 45). Their importance is suggested by the company kept by these four masses in a manuscript still in use as late as 1792. Morales, Guerrero, Victoria, and Alonso Lobo are the other named composers in this choirbook. These masses were copied from a Salamanca imprint of 1608 that appeared only one year after his *Liber Magnificarum*. As with Vivanco's magnificats, Artus Taberniel was the printer. A mutilated copy survives at Granada, and José López Calo lists the contents in his pathbreaking article “El Archivo de Música de la Capilla Real de Granada” (*AM*, XIII [1958], 119). The ten masses follow each other in this order: *Crux fidelis* a 6 (5), *Assumpsit Jesus* a 5 (34), *Doctor bonus* a 4 (66), *Super octo tonos* a 4 (88), *O quam suavis es, Domine* a 4 (112), *In festo B. M. V.* a 4 (140), *B. M. V. in Sabbato* a 4 (168), *Quarti toni* (188), *Sexti toni* (208), *In manus tuas* a 8 (228). Enrique Alberto Arias transcribed all ten in Volume II of “The Masses of Sebastian de Vivanco (circa 1550–1622): A Study of Polyphonic Settings of the Ordinary in Late Renaissance Spain,” Northwestern University Ph.D. dissertation, June 1971, and as is stated below published three of these in 1978. His dissertation closed with his transcription of Vivanco's *Assumpsit Jesus Petrum et Jacobum* motet a 5 (Second Sunday in Lent, copy in Toledo MS 23, pp. 162–167), from which Vivanco borrowed material for use in his own likenamed mass a 5.

As for his other masses: at the monastery of Guadalupe in Extremadura, Choirbook 1 closes with Kyrie and incomplete Gloria of Vivanco's *Missa Tu es vas electionis* a 4 based on his own motet of that name (in his motet collection, pages 266–269, published by Taberniel in 1610). Choirbook 2 contains a *Missa de Feria* a 4 by “M^o Bivanco” (fols. 246^v–249; 251^v–253) and his Requiem a 4 (consisting of Dona-Kyrie-Absolve-Libera-Sanctus, fols. 263^v–272). David Crawford published incipits of all three Guadalupe masses in “Two Choirbooks of Renaissance Polyphony at the Monasterio de Nuestra Señora of Guadalupe,” *Fontes artis musicae*, 1977/2 (April–June), pp. 167–169. None of these three concords with any of the ten published at Salamanca by Taberniel. However, comparison of the 1608 printed masses with the handcopied masses in Valladolid Cathedral MS I reveals that the “First Tone” Mass



MAG. SEBASTIÁN DE VIVANCO

ALTO I
G nus De a qui tollis pecca ta mun-

ALTO II
G nus De a qui tollis pecca ta mun d. qui tol lis pec

TENOR
G nus De a qui tol lis, qui tol

SOPRANO
G nus De a qui tol lis, qui tol

AGNUS II
Agnus

SALTO
Sanna, ij. ij.

in. ij. o. ij. ij.

in. ij. in. ij. o. fia. ij.

o. ij. ij. m. ij.

o. ij. o. lo. o. lo. o. lo. o. lo.

SANCTUS
Sanna in excelsis, in ij.

o. ij. in. ij. o. ij.

o. ij. in. ij. in. ij.

Sanna in excelsis, o. ij. in. ij. in. ij.

Missa O quam suavis es, last Agnus (Salamanca: Artus Taberniel, 1608), p. 137.

Missa Beata Virgine in Sabbato, alternate Osanna (1608), p. 183.

equals the printed *O quam suavis* (but lacks the final Agnus), "Fifth Tone" equals *Doctor bonus* (again without the printed final Agnus), and that "Fourth" and "Sixth" Tone Masses equal the like-named *Quarti* and *Sexti toni* Masses in the 1608 imprint.

For those who wish a general idea of Vivanco's procedures in his masses, a sampling of his four-voice masses appeared in the series, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, Volume xxxi. Edited by Enrique Alberto Arias, *Three Masses* (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1978) contains transcriptions (which first became available in Arias's 1971 Northwestern University Ph.D. dissertation) of Vivanco's *Sexti Toni*, *O Quam suavis es*, and *Beata Maria Virgine in Sabbato* Masses. As was mentioned above, Samuel Rubio included Vivanco's motet *O quam suavis es*[t], a 4, in his *Antología polifónica sacra*, I (pages 293-298). Com-

parison of the source motet with the likenamed mass permits the following conclusions:

(1) although the mass obviously draws on the Corpus Christi first vespers motet (for example, in the superius at the start of Kyrie I, Gloria, and Sanctus movements, and in the superius II part of Agnus II, a 7), the mass cannot in any proper sense be called a parody;

(2) the *Pleni sunt caeli*, a 5, and Agnus II movements exhibit the most learning—the *Pleni* with a *cancrizans* (marked "verte retrorsum") in Altus part; Agnus II with a long-note top voice part (long notes halved at their repetition) quoting the first seven pitches of the cantus in Vivanco's source motet (as shown at page 137 in the Tabernelius 1608 print).

Concerning the *Missa Beata Maria Virgine in Sabbato*, Arias observed (page ix of his preface) that it "uses the melodies of Kyrie IX, Gloria IX, Sanctus



XVIII, and Agnus Dei XVII, respectively, for each of its four movements." This Lady Mass lacks a Credo. The most virtuosic movement is the *Osanna a 8* (pages 79–84 of *Three Masses*). In the *Osanna Vivanco* contrives a "four-in-one canon, where three voices are derived from one" (page 183 in the Taberniel 1608 print shows the Bassus part from which the canonic voices derive).

At the outset it was said that Vivanco, like Victoria, was a native of Ávila. Even if Vivanco died eleven years later, he cannot have been much younger (in view of the fact that he was old enough to be in major orders and a chapelmaster at Lérida in 1576). Indeed, the best informed estimate would have it that not five years separate their dates of birth. Both grew up, therefore, in the same musical environment. They may even have shared the same teachers. So far as career is concerned, Vivanco made a record as distinguished as any achieved solely in Spain during his lifetime. The best chapelmaster-ships were offered him. Guerrero wanted him for a colleague. He published extensively. His ambition even led him into some completely new and untried paths so far as magnificat composition was concerned. In such motets as his *Stabat Mater* he used plangent, new harmonies. Anyone who has ever taken time to examine their works cannot in conscience hail Victoria as so vastly superior that he should be called the greatest of all Spanish composers while Vivanco's name begs admittance to any but the most exhaustive reference works.¹³⁵

Some months before the tercentenary of St. Theresa of Ávila (1515–1582), the townspeople of Ávila decided to erect a statue in her memory. Around its pedestal were to be inscribed the names

¹³⁵Mrs. Walter Carr does recite Vivanco's name in the table of contents she gives for Hilarión Eslava's *Lira sacro-hispana*. See *Grove's Dictionary*, 5th ed., Vol. II, p. 970, col. 1 (17th cent., i, 1). Unfortunately, she did not take time to collate her "table" with the actual contents of Eslava's Tomo I, serie 1a, siglo XVII. In Eslava's own table of contents (at page 111 of his volume) he itemizes a motet, *O Domine*, as Vivanco's: giving 121 as its page number. But upon turning to page 121 the reader discovers not the promised motet, *O Domine*, by Vivanco; but rather the *Vivo ego* by Lobo which has already been printed at pages 37–39 in the same volume. Of course, it is extremely disillusioning to find that Eslava could have been so lax as to send forth a volume in which on pages 37–39 he printed *Vivo ego* as by Lobo and at pages 121–124 as by Vivanco. (The *Vivo ego* motet is indeed Lobo's, on evidence of the 1602 imprint.)

of those various other natives who were in 1882 thought most worthily to have represented Ávila in letters and the arts. To avoid all partiality, the citizens' committee appealed to the Royal Academy of History for a panel of names.¹³⁶ Vivanco was the only musician chosen. Victoria's name—whatever its worldwide implications—was in 1882 considered of less moment in his own country by a national historical commission. At the very least, it can be said in his behalf that Vivanco was the more *echt Spanier* of the two: for only he made his career in Spain. Whatever elements of strength can be found in his music—like those to be discovered in the music of Francisco Guerrero, Juan Navarro, and Alonso Lobo—all the more truly redound therefore to the glory of peninsular art.

JUAN ESQUIVEL (ca. 1562–ca. 1625)

Esquivel, a native of Ciudad Rodrigo, published three important folios at nearby Salamanca: the first two in 1608 (printed by Artus Taberniel) and the third in 1613 (Francisco de Cea Tesa). A pupil of Juan Navarro during the latter's incumbency in the mid-1570's, Esquivel was brought up in a cathedral with a long and illustrious musical tradition. As summarized in Mateo Hernández Vegas's two-volume *Ciudad Rodrigo: la Catedral y la ciudad* (Salamanca: Imprenta Comercial Salmantina, 1935), I, 291–294, its musical history from 1494 to Esquivel's appointment as chapelmaster in 1591 included the following events:

On June 27, 1494, the Ciudad Rodrigo cathedral chapter elected a native of Gascony chapelmaster—Giraldin Bucher, whose last name is corrupted variously to Buxer, Buxel, and Bujel. His artistic eminence was such that the chapter converted his prebend into a cash salary when he married. His son and pupil, Diego Bujel (who began as a choirboy), succeeded Altamirano as chapelmaster on November 30, 1522. On January 13, 1528, the chapter loaned Diego Bujel 20 ducats to relieve his financial need, and on February 26, 1532, 50 ducats. To assure his never leaving Ciudad Rodrigo cathedral, the chapter on that latter date promised him free lifetime occupancy of the house in which he lived. Like his father, Diego Bujel married a lady belonging to local aristocracy, whereupon his

¹³⁶Pedrell, *Tomás Luis de Victoria* (Valencia: 1919), pp. 153–155.