

alluded can be found at number 14 in Zorita's collection. Working from that assumption, he concluded that Zorita had not by any means copied Ingegneri blindly, but had on the contrary merely made use of certain progressions that were the common property of all polyphonists in the epoch.

A *Credo, a 4*, by Zorita survives at Barcelona in Orfeón Catalán MS 6 (fols. 92^v-93). Nine motets for Pre-Lent and Lenten seasons are to be seen in a manuscript catalogued as item 382 in Pedrell's *Catàlech de la Biblioteca Musical de la Diputació de Barcelona*, I, 243. Rubio, in his *Antología polifónica Sacra*, I (1954), published one of these—the Palm Sunday motet *a 4, Pueri Hebraeorum*.

36 Bishop Cirillo Franco's attack on "modern" church music, first published in *Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini . . . terzo libro* (ed. by Aldo Manuzio [Venice: 1567]), took the form of a letter (dated February 16, 1549, at Loreto) to Ugolino Gualteruzzi *sopra l'improprietà delli musici moderni nelle loro compositioni delle messe e canto ecclesiastico*. This letter, which was promptly translated into Spanish, began with a frontal assault on Josquin's Hercules Mass. As late as 1649 the king of Portugal, João IV, felt the necessity of parrying Franco's thrusts with a *Difensa de la musica moderna contra la errada opinion del Obispo Cirillo Franco*. An Italian translation of João's "Defense of modern music" was published at Venice in 1666. No such defense of church composers from Josquin to Palestrina would have been required, however, had not the Italian bishop's animadversions found their echo in the writings of certain Spanish moralists. Typical of these "echoes" was a treatise entitled *Ynconuenientes, y gravissimos daños que se siguen de que las Religiones tengan Musica de canto de Organo* ("Troubles and very great mischiefs which arise from the use of polyphonic music by religious orders"). This tract, which belonged to a collection formed by the historian Gil González Dávila (ca. 1578-1658), dates from the first decade or so of the seventeenth century. A copy is to be seen in MS 14059.11 at the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional. Because of its intimate bearing on the decline of church music after Victoria's death, this tract is summarized in the following long paragraph.

"Although the use of plainchant is a laudable custom, polyphony should not be allowed in religious houses under any circumstances. *First*: the singing of polyphony requires special talent of a sort that is quite unrelated to the religious vocation. Then again where part-music is sung, novices are all too often given the habit solely because of their fine voices. Moreover they often rise to positions of authority. But both SS. Gregory and Thomas inveighed against entrusting musicians with such responsibility. The better the singer, the more unlikely he is to be himself either an

acceptable preacher, teacher, or exhorter. At best, he attracts other singers into a house, rather than preachers and exhorters. *Second*: polyphony of the kind nowadays sung contravenes the very object for which music was first introduced into the church, which purpose is to convert rather than to entertain. SS. Augustine and Bernard considered it sinful to give ear to church music on account of its beauty rather than because of its call to contrition. Navarro [Martín de Azpilcueta Navarro (1491-1586), professor at Salamanca and Coimbra; author of *De musica et cantu figurato*] has treated of the same sin most learnedly and piously. Singers interested in beauty of sound never pay much heed to the sense of a text and indeed scarcely ever care whether the words can be understood or not. Villancicos sung in the vernacular are a still worse abuse. The kind now popular mix Castillian, Portuguese, Basque, and Galician in an unconscionable farrago. What is more, characters such as Negroes, Moors, and others just as hostile to the Christian religion, are introduced solely to divert, to cause laughter, and to turn the House of God into a playhouse. What shall we say of the cornetts, the sackbuts, and all the other wind instruments that some religious orders today permit on every occasion? Their use ought also to be extirpated. St. Thomas expressly condemned such instruments. Religious who allow the glossing, the embellishment, the disfiguration, that these and other like instruments frequently add, should blush for shame. Then to further compound the abuses that polyphony engenders, the majority of religious must invariably sit mute as statues while only a select few gargle their runs. Heaven is better pleased with the sound of a plainchant, even if 'there is no beauty in it nor comeliness.' Doctor Navarro made the same point when he told of an old raucous religious who dared to open his mouth at a principal feast. The polyphonic singers stood aghast because of the ugliness of his voice. Suddenly, however, a voice from Heaven interrupted, saying: *solus raucus auditur* ['only the raucous voice is heard']. Now, if someone should aver that we would exclude all polyphonic singing from churches administered by secular clergy, we deny the charge. Let the secular brethren have their polyphony if they insist. But religious orders must aspire to higher ideals. They should be nearer angels than men. *Third*: religious houses that allow polyphony must usually admit outside singers to eke out parts on important feast-days, at special thanksgivings and the like. These outsiders never fail to sully the purity of the cloister. *Fourth*: musicians who inveigle their way into religious orders are for the most part silly, idle, vacillating, vain, effeminate, and even vicious individuals. Ovid well knew the pernicious influence of music when in his *Remedia amoris*, lines 753-754, he wrote: 'The sound of

citharas, lyres, flutes, and voices has an enervating influence.' The Greeks always required that instruction in gymnastics be joined to music in order to overcome the effeminacy that music alone induces. When musicians wheedle their way into religious orders they always shy away from work, refuse to arise betimes (especially in winter), insist on favored treatment such as delicate food and other special privileges 'in order to preserve their voices.' If not coddled, they apostasize, or desist from their vocation. In any event they never fail to make nuisances of themselves. *Fifth*: the strictest groups such as Carthusians, Recollects, and Discalced Friars, have never known such a thing as polyphony. Several Franciscan generals have proposed its abolition. At the recent Friars Minor chapter meeting in Segovia its use was utterly condemned. The Dominicans long ago gave it up absolutely so that they might devote themselves without let or hindrance to sacred learning and to the preaching of the Gospel."

Perhaps the most important official pronouncement on church music, so far as sixteenth-century Spain is concerned, was delivered at the Toledo Provincial Council of 1565. The *Actio de Reformatione* passed at this council (which brought together prelates from all of Spain) may be seen in Joseph Sáenz de Aguirre's *Collectio maxima conciliorum omnium Hispaniae*, Vol. IV (Rome: J. J. Komarek, 1693), p. 50 (par. 11). "Whatever is sung in church must redound to the glory of God and be understood by the people. Words must not be obscured. Polyphonic singing may be retained but the text must be clearly intelligible. Above all, theatrical music (*sonus quid theatrale*) and any type that arouses the venereal or warlike passions or those sentiments associated with certain classic modes (*classicos modulos*) must be rigorously excluded."

37 Juan de Mallara, *Recebimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal Ciudad de Sevilla* (Seville: Alonso Escrivano, 1570), fol. 172: "Alli se le tomo el juramento de guardar las inmunidades y priuilegios de la yglesia."

38 *Relacion verdadera del recibimiento que hizo la ciudad de Segouia a la magestad de la reyna nuestra señora doña Anna de Austria* (Alcalá de Henares: Juan Gracián, 1572), fol. Y 3^v: "Y para que todos entiendan con quanto miramiento guarda su magestad las disposiciones de la yglesia, sepan que el día antes del matrimonio . . ."

39 *MME*, II, 29, 85 (last paragraph).

40 Anglés's explanation of the term *Rugier*, which he connects with the name Rogier (*MME*, II, 181), must be rejected. John Ward in his "The *Vihuela de mano* and its Music (1536-1576)" [Ph.D.

dissertation, New York University, April, 1953], pages 189-190, pointed to the similarity between the alto melody in *Ruggier qual sempre fui tal esser voglio*, intabulated by Enríquez de Valderrábano in *Silva de sirenas* (1547) at fol. 24, and Antonio's *Rugier* ciphered by Venegas de Henestrosa in his *Libro de cifra* (1557) at fol. 67.

41 Isabel Pope, "The 'Spanish Chapel' of Philip II," *Renaissance News*, V, 1 and 2 (Spring and Summer, 1952), 2-5, 34-37.

42 Edmond Van der Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle* (Brussels: Schott frères, 1888), VIII, 361 [Ceballos]; 358 [Escobedo]; 363-364 [Guerrero]; 358 [Las Infantas]; 371, 380 [Morales]; 358 [Pastrana].

43 Gilbert Chase, "Juan Navarro *Hispalensis* and Juan Navarro *Gaditanus*," *Musical Quarterly*, xxxi, 2 (April, 1945), 191.

44 The printer was Giacomo Tornieri.

45 Elústiza-Castrillo, *Antología musical*, p. LXXIII.

46 Nicolás A. Solar-Quintes, "Morales en Sevilla y Marchena," *AM*, VIII (1953 [1954]), 35.

47 R. Mitjana, "La capilla de Música de la Catedral de Málaga. Año de 1543 al año de . . .", p. 45.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

49 Ávila Cathedral, *A. C.*, 1565-1566-1567-1568, fol. 21.

50 *Ibid.*, fol. 22. Francisco Alexandre [= Alexandro] de la Serna was installed on June 24, 1548, as singer in Toledo Cathedral, by direct order of Cardinal Siliceo. His duties were to include both the playing of organs and polyphonic singing. His last years were spent at Seville. On September 13, 1581, the Sevillian chapter authorized a bread allowance. At the moment he was boarding the choirboys. Bartolomé Farfán took charge of them on March 17, 1584. On December 19, 1586, Alexandre de la Serna was recalled for temporary duty while the chapter looked about for a permanent master. On February 14, 1587, the chapter voted to continue him in the post and to pay him the income of a half-prebend. This arrangement lasted until Vivanco took temporary charge of the boys on February 29, 1588. On July 20, 1594, the chapter commissioned him to travel in search of new choirboys. As of September 26, 1594, the chapter voted to receive two whom he had sent. On May 14, 1599, the chapter decreed that he need no longer sing, march in