



Tomás Luis de Victoria (ca. 1548–1611)

Unique Spanish Genius

FAMILY CONNECTIONS

WHEREAS THE PARENTAGE OF Cristóbal de Morales must be conjectured, and nothing beyond the names of Francisco Guerrero's parents, together with his father's occupation, is at present known, Victoria's family connections¹ can be traced with gratifying fullness. The names of both paternal grandparents have been established, as well as the grandfather's occupation. The names of his father and mother are likewise known, as are also the locales in which each was born and the exact date of his father's death. The names of his father's five brothers and sisters are known. The same can be said of his own ten brothers and sisters, and of his eldest brother's and sister's children. Indeed, so rich a record of his family connections has come to light in recent years that a genealogical tree can be drawn. Such a tree is the more necessary because in the composer's family, as in most Spanish families, the repetition of names in different generations can puzzle and confuse the unwary foreigner. Throughout the next several pages, the reader is therefore advised to refer constantly to the accompanying family chart.

In the accompanying tree, the composer's name is italicized. To elucidate his family connections as precisely as possible, each individual of whom anything of interest is known will be mentioned in this

order: grandfather; father, uncles; brothers and sisters (in chronological sequence).

Hernán Luis Dávila [= de Ávila] is first heard of at Ávila in 1509. In that year he followed the trade of tailor. Later he began to buy and sell wool; then wheat, barley, salt, and oxen. He made his will in 1545. In part, the will read: "I hereby depose, inasmuch as I am much beholden and obligated to Francisco Luis, my eldest and my legitimate son, both on account of his numerous and faithful services, past, present, and anticipated, and for many other just causes and reasons thereunto moving me, that I have intended and do intend to enrich him with a third of all my property, real and corporal, and a third of my credits outstanding and receivable. And, besides the third of my property, I do also bestow upon my son, Francisco Luis, the houses that I purchased of Alonso de Cogollos, former inhabitant of this city, in which dwellings I now live and which are situated on Caballeros Street."²

Francisco Luis de Victoria, eldest in a family of six children, married Francisca Suárez de la Concha of Segovia in 1540. To this couple were born eleven children, ten of

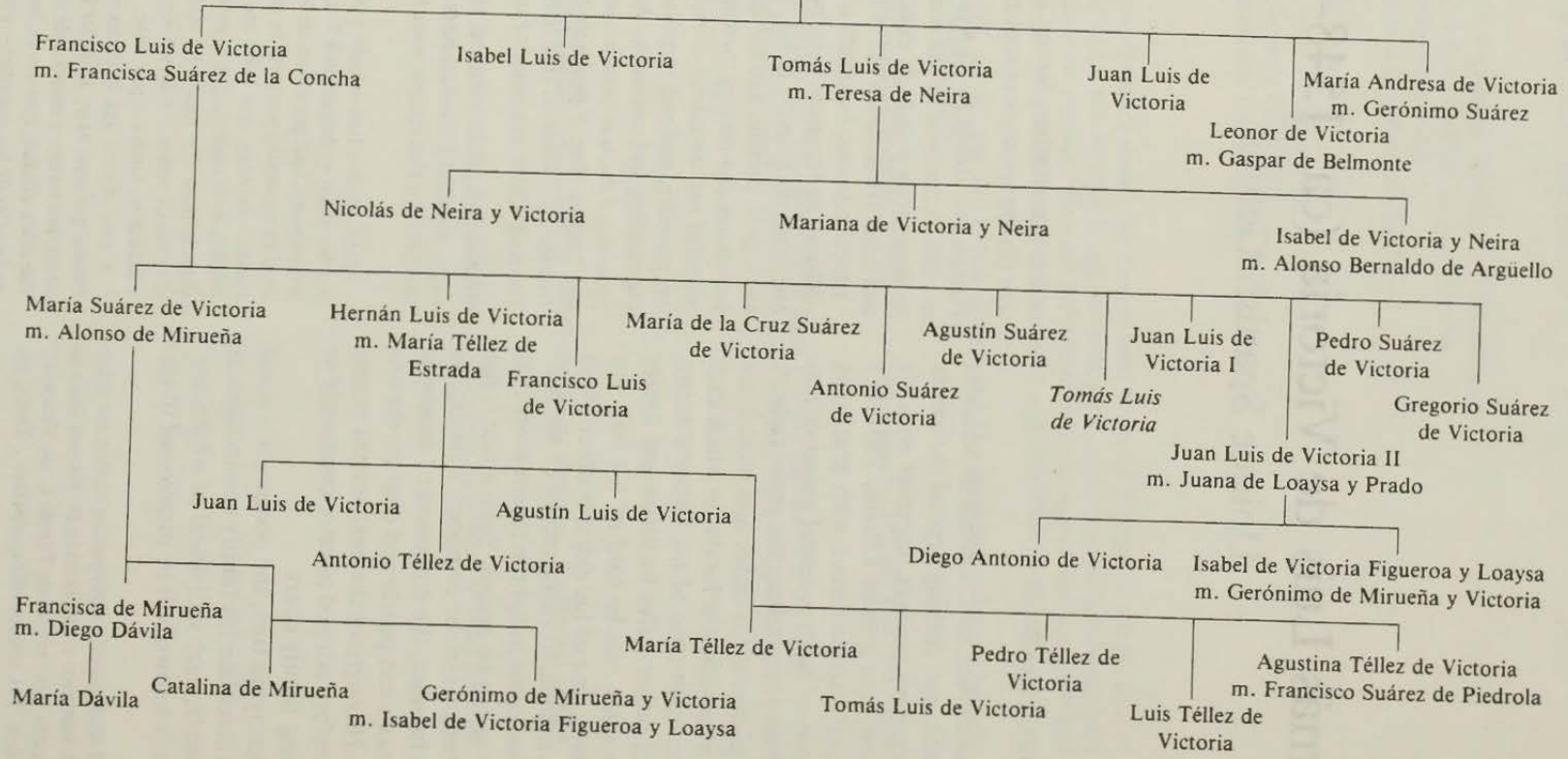
² *Ibid.*, p. 27; Iten mando y digo que por quanto yo soy en mucho cargo y obligacion a Francisco Luis, mi hijo legitimo y primogenito, ansi por raxon de los muchos e leales serucios que de el he rescebido y espero de rescebir como por otras muchas causas e razones, que a ello me mueuen, he tenido y tengo intencion de le mejorar por la presente e le mejoro al dicho Francisco Luis mi hijo legitimo e mayor de otros mis hijos e hijas en el tercio de todos mis bienes ansi muebles como raices, acciones e derechos, auidos e por auer.

Y ansi mismo aya la dicha mejora del dicho tercio de mis bienes que ansi hago al dicho Francisco Luis mi hijo en unas casas que yo oue e compre de Alonso de Cogollos, vecino que fue desta cibdad, que son en las que al presente biuo, situadas en la calle de los caualleros y de el horno.

¹ All biographical disclosures in this opening section not otherwise acknowledged were first announced in D. Ferreol Hernández's article, "La cuna y la escuela de Tomás L. de Victoria," *Ritmo*, año XI, núm. 141 (extraordinario) (Dec., 1940), pp. 27–34.



GENEALOGICAL CHART
Hernán Luis Dávila
m. Leonor de Victoria





whom reached maturity. Francisco Luis died prematurely on August 29, 1557.

Tomás Luis de Victoria, uncle of the composer (who was possibly named after him), obtained the degree of *licenciado*. He settled at the erstwhile capital, Valladolid (70 miles = 113 km north of Ávila), and there practiced law before the Real Chancillería (royal chancery). He seems to have married twice—his eldest son (not shown on the chart) who bore the name of Gerónimo de Victoria³ having been born ca. 1545. On December 14, 1565, Philip II conceded to “Maestro Tomé de Victoria” an annual pension of 45,000 maravedís, chargeable against fees due the crown for the passage of cattle from one province to another. This pension continued to be paid his son and surviving heir Nicolás de Neira y Victoria⁴ as late as 1620: so testifies a receipt signed April 23, 1624, at Madrid. Formerly, this royal pension was thought to have been conceded to the composer himself, but Casimiri in 1934 demonstrated irrefutably that it had been granted to the composer’s namesake uncle.⁵ As for his younger children, Isabel de Victoria y Neira married an important individual, Alonso Bernaldo de Argüello, *regidor perpetuo* (permanent alderman) of Valladolid. In 1575 or thereabouts Teresa de Neira—wife of the homonymous uncle of the composer—died, whereupon he took holy orders in the diocese of Ávila. In the Ávila Cathedral *Actas Capitulares* for 1576–1577 will be found notices showing that although still residing at Valladolid (where he frequently represented the cathedral in legal disputes carried before the royal chancery) he was at the end of 1577 elevated to a canonry in Ávila Cathedral. As a widower he not only took orders, just as did, for instance, Francisco de Borja, third Jesuit general—but also like Borja he rose immediately to a responsible position in the church. Juan Luis de Victoria, his next younger brother, acted as his proxy on Friday, December 27, 1577, when the Ávila chapter formally made him a cathedral canon. (See folios 208^v and 211 of the Ávila capitular acts for 1576–1577.)

Juan Luis de Victoria, fourth in the family of the composer’s father, took priest’s orders in Ávila diocese when still a youth. He it was who acted as guardian of the brood of ten surviving children after the composer’s

father died prematurely on August 29, 1557. Fortunately he lived nearby, on the same Caballeros Street (in a house bequeathed by the head of the clan, Hernán Luis Dávila). He frequently intervened in the composer’s behalf—even after the latter’s departure for Rome. It was he, for instance, who on April 15, 1573, and again on January 9 and September 6, 1577,⁶ presented to the Ávila cathedral

⁶Pedrell, *op. cit.*, page 158, complained that no archivist in Ávila would take the necessary time to track down notices concerning the composer. But in view of Pedrell’s own unwillingness to search at Ávila, his obviously contemptuous attitude toward the citizens of the town (*op. cit.*, pp. 153–157), and the use to which he put documents collected by “anonymous friends,” the ill success that attended his demands for new notices from Ávila *anticuarios* can well be understood. The cathedral *Actas capitulares*, as well as the municipal records consulted by D. Ferreol Hernández, yielded a respectable lode of such notices. Below are reproduced in chronological order seven such notices, all extracted in 1952 from Ávila capitular acts by the present author, and in 1961 published in his SCMGGA, pp. 465–466 and all mentioning the composer or his publications.

A.C., 1572–3–4–5, fol. 29^v: *Miercoles 15 de abril 1573. / Thome de Victoria residente en Roma hizo presente a sus mercedes por mano de Juan Luis de Victoria su tio de seis cuerpos de libros de musica enquadernados que parece quel dicho Tome a compuesto. Recibieronlos y mandaron quel maestro de capilla [Hernando de Yssasi] y musicos los prueven y hagan relacion en cabildo de su parecer.* (Wednesday, April 15, 1573. Tomás de Victoria, living in Rome, has made their worships [i.e., the cathedral chapter] a present which was delivered by his uncle, Juan Luis de Victoria, of six bound music partbooks [*Motecta* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1572)], which the said Tomás seems to have composed. They were received, and order taken that the chapelmaster [Hernando de Yssasi] and musicians try them out and report their opinion to the chapter.)

Fol. 31^v: *Martes 5 de mayo 1573. / A la petición que se dio de parte de tome de victoria para que le gratificasen los seis libros que dio de musica para la yglesia respondieron que por el presente no auia lugar de poderse haçer.* (Tuesday, May 5, 1573. In reply to the petition presented in Tomás de Victoria’s behalf requesting some gratification for the six music books that he gave for cathedral use, the chapter rules that at present no such acknowledgment can be made.)

A.C., 1576–1577, fol. 108^v: *Miercoles 9 de enero 1577. / Juan Luis de Bictoria dio una peticion ofreciendo un libro de canto de organo que tambien dio con ella para que si fuere al proposito para la dicha iglesia le tome dando por el la gratificacion que a sus mercedes pareçiere. Que le auia compuesto un maestro de capilla sobrino suyo criado en esta santa iglesia. Sus mercedes que le vea el maestro de capilla y refiera su parecer y si la iglesia tiene necesidad del.* (Wednesday, January 9, 1577. Juan Luis de Victoria offered a petition and with it a book of polyphony [*Liber Primus. Qui Missas, Psalmos, Magnificat . . . Aliaque Complectitur* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1576)] asking that if it proved suitable for use in this cathedral it be accepted and the gratification given for it which seemed just to their worships. He said that it was composed by a chapelmaster who is his nephew and who was reared in this cathedral [i.e.,

³Felipe Pedrell, *Tomás Luis de Victoria Abulense: Biografía, Bibliografía* (Valencia: Manuel Villar, 1918), pp. 191–192 (Apéndice 38).

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 175 (Apéndice 36). Pedrell mistook “Negra” for “Neira.”

⁵Raffaele Casimiri, “Il Vittoria: Nuovi documenti per una biografia sincera di Tommaso Ludovico de Victoria,” *Note d’archivio*, XI, 2 (April–June, 1934), 118–121. On page 119 (line 36) Casimiri surmised that the licenciado died shortly before 1620. With more likelihood he died before 1600.

chapter in the composer's behalf the *Motecta* of 1572 and the *Liber Primus, Qui Missas, Psalmos, Magnificat . . . Aliaque Complectitur* of 1576.

The composer's eldest sister married Alonso de Mirueña. This couple reared at least three children. One of these, Francisca de Mirueña, and her daughter María Dávila, received exquisite praise in a will dated September 1,

as a boy chorister]. Their worships decided to have the chapelmaster [Yssasi] look it over and tell whether in his opinion the cathedral needed it.)

Fol. 114^v: *Viernes 25 de enero de 1577. / Que se llame para el miercoles para determinar lo que se a de hazer del libro de Canto de organo que traxo Juan Luis.* (Friday, January 25, 1577. A meeting was called for Wednesday to decide what should be done about the book of polyphony [1576 *Liber Primus*] brought by Juan Luis [de Victoria].)

Fol. 115: *Miercoles 30 de enero. / Auiendo sido para ello llamados se resoluieron en que el libro de canto de organo que traxo a la iglesia Juan Luis de victoria se le buelva por que la fabrica esta muy alcançada y no tiene de presente con que le poder pagar.* (Wednesday, January 30 [1577]. A meeting having been called to decide the matter, it was resolved that the book of polyphony [1576 *Liber Primus*] brought to the cathedral by Juan Luis de Victoria should be returned to him, since the treasury is quite depleted and funds are not presently at hand to pay for it.)

Fol. 167: *Viernes 6 de setiembre 1577. / Juan Luis de Bictoria por una petiçion ofreçio para el seruicio desta santa iglesia un libro de canto de organo del maestro Victoria su sobrino. Sus mercedes le mandaron reçibir y poner en el inventario delos libros de la musica.* (Friday, September 6, 1577. Juan Luis de Victoria petitioned the chapter to accept for use in the cathedral a polyphonic book [1576 *Liber Primus*] by his nephew, the [chapel]master Victoria. Their worships ordered that it be received and entered in the catalogue of the [cathedral] music books.)

A.C., 1587-1588-1589, fol. 13^v: *Jueves diez y nueve de febrero 1587. / El maestro Victoria embio dos libros de canto de organo en papel para esta iglesia. Mandaron los Reçibir y que se le den por ellos cien Reales y que los pague el Receptor dela fabrica.* (Thursday, February 19, 1587. The chapelmaster Victoria sent for use in this cathedral two polyphonic books [printed] on paper. It was ordered that they should be accepted and 100 reales given for them: this sum to be disbursed by the cathedral treasurer.)

Yssasi's own sole publication was a 130-leaf volume of monody, *Qvatvor Passiones Domini, cum Benedictione Cerei* (Salamanca: Mathias Gastius' Helrs, 1582), copies of which are in the Museo de Arte "José Luis Bello y González" at Puebla, Mexico, and in the Newberry Library at Chicago. José Lopez-Calo in his *Catálogo del Archivo de Música de la Catedral de Ávila* (Santiago de Compostela: El Eco Franciscano, 1978), pp. 291-292, added the following further data extracted from Ávila captular acts: on December 20, 1581 sopranoist Pedro Hernández notified the Ávila chapter that Victoria, "maestro de capilla que reside en Roma" had written him expressing his desire to

1610.⁷ The kindly disposition of Francisca de Mirueña must have exceeded all usual bounds if María de la Cruz Suárez de Victoria in 1610 could exclaim upon her desire to leave Francisca 2,000 ducats. One of the other children, Gerónimo de Mirueña y Victoria, became a licenciado, practiced law, and rose to considerable eminence. He was the only member of the immediate family to witness the composer's last will and testament in August, 1611. He married his cousin Isabel de Victoria Figueroa y Loaysa, niece and goddaughter of the composer. From their marriage proceeded illustrious issue, a genealogical tree for which is (or was) preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de Calatrava, number 2818.⁸

Hernán Luis de Victoria, eldest of the composer's brothers, was born in 1542; and was therefore only fifteen at the time of the father's untimely death. Juan

send Ávila Cathedral his [latest = *Cantica B. Virginis*] polyphonic publications, provided that the cost of sending it, estimated at 100 reales, be sent him. At the chapter meeting May 16, 1582, notice was given that the unbound volume had arrived, whereupon the chapter voted to send him the postage money and to have it bound. On October 10, 1584, having received Victoria's *Missarum Libri Duo*, the chapter voted to accept it and on November 2, 1584, to send him an unspecified sum, which three days later was designated as ten ducats. As recompense for the two volumes published in 1585 the chapter voted on February 19, 1587, to send him 100 reales and for the 1592 *libro de misas breves de canto de organo* (book of short polyphonic masses) the chapter voted a reward of 10 ducats.

But upon receiving the 10 booklets comprising his 1600 Madrid miscellany, the chapter on the advice of Sebastián de Vivanco, Yssasi's successor as *maestro de capilla* at Ávila (1588-1602), decided June 8, 1601, not to accept them because they were not *a proposito para esta santa iglesia* (not suitable for this cathedral).

Concerning Hernando de Yssasi, chapelmaster at Ávila Cathedral from January 7, 1567, until July 31, 1587, see below, note 34. The chilly reception of Victoria's first two publications in his natal town should not be held against the chapter, but against the chapelmaster upon whom the canons perforce depended for an opinion. In Victoria's lifetime such gratifications as chapters disbursed were usually recommended by incumbent chapelmasters. Only after Victoria became famous abroad could he triumph over Yssasi's petty criticisms.

At Seville and Toledo Cathedrals the tale was different. Guerrero warmly recommended the youthful Victoria's publications to the Sevillian chapter (September 3, 1578; September 18, 1587). Ginés de Boluda, chapelmaster at Toledo, was another who championed Victoria's publications. See Pedrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-192 (Apéndice 37). On September 9, 1585, Boluda recommended paying 200 reales for Victoria's *Missarum Libri Duo* (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1583).

⁷ Pedrell, *op. cit.*, p. 197: *y me perdone que yo quisiera tener dos mil ducados que la dejar* ("and [God] pardon me for wishing that I had 2,000 ducats to leave her").

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 192 (Apéndice 39).



Luis, who assumed the guardianship, later praised the lad highly for turning over to the widowed mother all income from an entailed inheritance—until such time as the younger members could fend for themselves.⁹ The fact that uncle Juan Luis could so laud Hernán Luis suggests that such self-sacrifice was rare. In honor of his uncle, Hernán Luis in turn named his first child Juan Luis. The latter took the degree of licenciado;¹⁰ and as eldest son of the eldest son of the eldest son of Hernán Luis Dávila, founder of the family fortunes, inherited the entailed bequest. The other children in this fourth generation included Agustín Luis de Victoria, who became a priest; María Téllez de Victoria, who became a nun at Santa Catalina in Ávila; Tomás Luis de Victoria, who may perhaps have been the priest of this name who at Rome in 1603 joined with his nephew in the early work of the Piarists;¹¹ and, last in a family of eight children, Agustina Téllez de Victoria, whom María de la Cruz Suárez de Victoria (composer's sister) made her universal legatee in her will of September 1, 1610.¹²

Francisco Luis de Victoria, third in the composer's immediate family, emigrated "to the Indies"—probably to Peru. He must not be confused, however, with the homonymous Dominican friar who became bishop of Tucumán. (See Robert Levillier, *Gobernación del Tucumán* [Madrid: Juan Pueyo, 1920], page 178 and *passim*.)

María de la Cruz Suárez de Victoria, born ca. 1544, seems to have remained a spinster. She made Valladolid her home and resided there as late as 1601.¹³ On November 13, 1603, the composer ceded to her certain rents in the diocese of León.¹⁴ In her will signed at Madrid on September 1, 1610, she still called herself a resident of Valladolid. Her major bequest was a demonstrative legacy to her niece Isabel de Victoria Figueroa y Loaysa (b. 1591). She again confirmed this bequest to her niece on March 13, 1611. On this date her brother, the composer signed the confirmation in her behalf—she being at the point of death and too weak to sign. In the will of September 1, 1610, she bequeathed to her brother the composer some white lace pillows and embroidered towels. She also named him one of her executors. Her will, which Pedrell printed in *Tomás Luis de Victoria* (Valencia: Manuel Villar, 1918) at pages 193–200, itemizes bequests to fifteen relatives, not all of whom can be listed in the family tree, because each is not described at sufficient length to assure his or her identity. In addi-

tion, she requested that María Herraz, a domestic in the employ of her brother the composer, be given a small gift by her executors.¹⁵ Her major bequest—that of the demonstrative legacy to her niece—consisted of an annual income of 32,812 maravedís. The niece was to enjoy this annual income until death, even if she became a nun. If the niece married, the income was to pass to the children. If she had none, it was to be divided upon the niece's death between the following two relatives—Juan Luis, son of Hernán Luis, and Gerónimo de Mirueña, son of María Suárez. This annual income, deriving from duty levied on merchandise passing through inland ports of entry into Portugal, had been purchased from the crown for a fixed sum in the first year of the reign of Philip III. Her uncle the licenciado was doubtless the one who advised her to make so wise an investment. Or he may have himself bequeathed it to her if he died ca. 1599.

Antonio Suárez de Victoria entered commerce and with his younger brother, Juan Luis de Victoria (II) opened a bank in 1575 at Medina del Campo, 50 miles north of Ávila. Juan López Ossorio's "Principio, grandezas y caída de la noble villa de Medina del Campo," a manuscript account written ca. 1630 and printed in Ildefonso Rodríguez y Fernández's *Historia de Medina del Campo* (Madrid: 1903), contains an interesting description of these two brothers' banking activities. Translated, the account runs somewhat as follows: "Seeing that the realm was prospering and that creditors were able to pay promptly, Antonio Juárez [= Suárez] de Victoria and his brother Juan Luis de Victoria—men of great prudence and with lifelong experience in business matters (both in these kingdoms and elsewhere), men as it were born for such financial enterprises because of their extremely sympathetic and accommodating disposition toward persons in need of credit—opened a new bank [in Medina del Campo] during 1575. Their business prospered greatly until the decree of 1596 which required the closing of money exchanges and the shutting of a number of banks, especially those run by Spaniards." After the closing of their bank in 1596, Antonio Suárez moved 20 miles north to Valladolid. On November 23, 1604, he collected in his composer brother's behalf the sum of 100 ducats bestowed by Archduke Albert of the Netherlands¹⁶ (son of the deceased Empress María, former cardinal archbishop of Toledo, and dedicatee of Victoria's 1592 book of Masses). He was still alive in 1610, when María de la Cruz Suárez de Victoria made her will. In it she left him a small rug for his bedroom and some yellow pillows.

Agustín Suárez de Victoria, born ca. 1546, studied at Salamanca, there earning a doctorate in sacred sciences.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 193 (Apéndice 40).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 196–197.

¹¹ Casimiri, *op. cit.*, pp. 164–165.

¹² Pedrell, *op. cit.*, p. 199 (lines 19–20).

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 169 (lines 13814).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 170–171 (Apéndice 19).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 198 (line 33).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 172 (Apéndice 26).



He became a priest, served Jorge de Almeida, the archbishop of Lisbon (1570–1585) who espoused the cause of Philip II, and after Almeida's death he became a personal chaplain to the Dowager Empress María at Madrid.¹⁷ From at least 1599 (and probably much earlier) until 1603 the composer and his elder brother were thus in daily contact.¹⁸ The doctor's honorific titles included *abad de Toro*—Toro being an ancient town 20 miles east of Zamora. María de la Cruz left him a silver image of the fifth sorrow of Our Lady in her will of 1610.

The composer—next in the family line after Agustín—was followed by a brother, Juan Luis de Victoria, who died as an infant. The following child was given the same name. Juan Luis II can therefore not have been born before 1550. As was mentioned above, he became a businessman, and in 1575 opened a bank in partnership with his elder brother Antonio at Medina del Campo. He spent most of his time in Madrid, however, after 1590. The composer became godfather to his daughter Isabel de Victoria Figueroa y Loaysa at a baptismal ceremony in San Ginés Church, Madrid, on March 4, 1591.¹⁹ The parents were listed as parishioners of the same church. On February 17, 1596, Juan Luis (acting as agent for his brother the composer) signed an authorization to collect the large sum of 315,000 maravedís, due his brother from various benefices.²⁰ Juan Luis executed his will at Madrid on August 4, 1599. He died soon thereafter. In it he called himself an inhabitant of the small village of Sanchidrián, 15 miles north-northeast of Ávila, but a resident of Madrid.²¹ Sanchidrián, though certainly not the birthplace of the composer, nor of any of his brothers and sisters, seems to have been the village in which their youngest aunt, María Andresa, settled with her husband Gerónimo Suárez: or at least Doña Francisca Nuñez Suárez, the composer's cousin, was living there in 1610 when María de la Cruz, the composer's sister, made her will.²² Juan Luis at his death in 1599 was survived not only by his eight-year-old daughter, of whom the composer had become godfather in 1591; but also by a son, Diego Antonio, who was soon thereafter to take the Augustinian habit. María de la Cruz excluded this son from her will "because he was a man, and it was not needful." She remembered the daughter, Isabel de Victoria Figueroa y Loaysa; because without a dowry doubtless it would have

been difficult for Isabel even to enter a convent. María de la Cruz's memory of her own father's untimely death in 1577 (and the hardships resulting thereby) probably excited her sympathy for Isabel, orphaned at an even earlier age.

Gregorio Suárez de Victoria, the composer's cadet brother, cannot have been older than five when their father died in August, 1557. He spent his career in the service of the "Ilustre Señor Secretario, Saganta" (Crown secretary).²³

BEGINNINGS AT ÁVILA

Born *ca.* 1548, the seventh child of Francisco Luis de Victoria and Francisca Suárez de la Concha, the composer was nine when his father died on August 29, 1557. His uncle Juan Luis thenceforth served as guardian. Because his elder brother financially assisted their widowed mother with the fruits of an inheritance from their paternal grandfather, the lot of the younger brothers and sisters was made more bearable in the years immediately following their father's death. In 1556 or thereabouts the composer became a choirboy in Ávila Cathedral. The proof of his having been thus reared in Ávila Cathedral is to be found in a capitular act dated January 9, 1577.²⁴ On that day his uncle Juan Luis presented to the cathedral chapter Victoria's *Liber Primus* published in Venice in 1576, simultaneously reminding them that the composer had been reared in Ávila Cathedral.

The young choirboy—composer-to-be—would have found the aging Gerónimo de Espinar chapelmaster, if he began to sing in 1556. Espinar's activities from 1550 until 1558 (in which latter year he died) can be exemplified in the following notations from the Ávila capitular acts. On March 3, 1550, Espinar was admonished to give daily lessons in counterpoint and harmony.²⁵ On March 26, 1550, he was authorized to pay three ducats for Morales's "six-

²³ See V. Fernández Asís, *Epistolario de Felipe II* (Madrid: Ed. Nacional, 1943), p. 435 (line 10).

²⁴ See above, note 6.

²⁵ *A.C., 1550–1551*, fol. 25^v: *Iten quel maestro de capilla de cada dia que tuuiere seruicio su hora de lection de canto de organo y que procure que aprouechan en el contrapunto.* Among the rules to be found in the *Statutos Capitulares de Avila* (*ca.* 1546) is one requiring that the *maestro* teach from noon until two every day except Fridays and feast days (fol. 28^v). The number of choirboys was set at twelve, of whom four served regularly at the altar, and the remainder in the *coro* (fol. 148).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 169 (Apéndice 10).

¹⁸ Dr. Agustín did not succeed in one of the three convent chaplaincies endowed at her death in 1603 by the Empress María. His brother the composer did so succeed. See Pedrell, *op. cit.*, p. 172 (Apéndice 27).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 192 (Apéndice 39).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 167 (Apéndices 3, 4, 5).

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 168 (Apéndice 9).

²² *Ibid.*, p. 198 (lines 14–15).