POLYPHONIC VESPERS C.1550 – C.1700: SOURCES, REPERTORY, GENRES AND PERFORMANCE PRACTICES IN SIX IBERIAN RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS



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To my daughters, Emma and Alice (and Isabel, still silent in the womb.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on the sacred polyphonic repertory for the liturgical Hour of Vespers, performed in religious institutions in the Iberian Peninsula, within the chronological period c.1550-c.1700. Six institutions were chosen as case-studies for this research.

This project examines the musical and liturgical practices (and the interface between them) at polyphonic Vespers in terms of its sources, the settings chosen by the chapel masters for performance (among the ones in each institution's collections) and also performance practices. The genres most commonly set in polyphony at Vespers are analysed, exemplified (from printed and manuscript musical sources) and put against an international context of Italian printed musical sources.

The choice of the above-mentioned time frame is based on questions of production and of musical style, liturgical reform, and of broader historical forces, already under way before the mid-sixteenth century, such as the crucial importance of text and textual perception.

All these had a direct influence on both the composition and the performance of Vespers music. The changes taking place, both from a textual and musical point of view, are patent not only in newly-composed items but also in those settings which became part of these institutions' repertory for lengths of time which surpass, in some cases, the chronological limits of this dissertation.

The study of sources and repertory in different Iberian religious institutions reveals some settings common to all (the most obvious example of which is the collection of Morales's Magnificat settings) but also locally produced, unique works, something particularly noticeable with the genre of hymns.

Ceremonials and other sources show a wide variety of performance practices at Vespers, especially regarding their alternatim practices, which reveal a much richer and diverse pattern than the standard odd-and-even-verse scheme usually found in printed sources from this period.

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Example 5: *Pange lingua*, P-Cug MM 33, fols 87v-90 [87v-88]

Example 6: *Vexilla regis*, E-TUY IV, fols 18v-20 [18v-19]

Example 7: 'Quia respexit', Pedro de Cristo, P-Cug MM 18, fols 53v-54

Example 8: Benedicamus Domino, P-Ar 32, fols 29v-30

LIST OF RISM SIGLA FOR MUSICAL AND ARCHIVAL SOURCES

MANUSCRIPTS:

E-E – Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial

E-GRmf – Archivo Manuel de Falla, Granada

E-GU – Biblioteca y Archivo del Real Monasterio de Santa María, Guadalupe

E-Sc – Catedral de Sevilla, Archivo Musical

E-Tc – Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares de la Catedral de Toledo

E-TUY – Archivo Capitular de la Catedral de Tuy

E-V – Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Valladolid

P-Ar – Mosteiro de Arouca

P-Brad – Arquivo Distrital, Braga

P-Cug – Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, Coimbra

P-Cs – Arquivo da Sé Nova, Coimbra

P-EVc – Arquivo da Sé, Évora

P-EVp – Biblioteca Pública, Évora

P-Ln – Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisboa

P-Pm – Biblioteca Pública, Porto

PRINTS:

A 450 – AGUILERA DE HEREDIA, Sebastián, *Canticum Beatissimae…* (Zaragoza: Cabarte, 1618)

C 1038 –CARDOSO, Manuel, *Cantica Beatae Mariae Virginis*… (Lisbon: Craesbeck, 1613)

G 1563 –GUERRERO, Francisco, *Canticum Beatae Mariae*… (Leuven: Phalèse, 1563)

G 4873 – GUERRERO, *Liber Vesperarum*… (Rome: Basa/Gardano, 1584)

L 2590 – LOBO, Duarte, *Cantica B. Mariae Virginis*… (Antwerp: Moretti, 1605)

L 2822 – LOPEZ DE VELASCO, Sebastián, *Libro de misas, motetes, salmos, magnificas* (Madrid: Tipografia Regia, 1628)

M 123 – MAGALHÃES, Filipe. *Cantica Beatissimae Virginis* (Lisbon: Craesbeeck, 1636)

N 283 – NAVARRO, Juan, *Psalmi, hymni ac Magnificat totius anni* (Rome: Coattino, 1590)

R 508 – REBELO, João Lourenço, *Psalmi tum Vesperarum tum Completarum, item Magnificat*… (Rome: Belmonti, 1657)

V 1427 – VICTORIA, Tomás Luís de, *Liber primus qui missas, psalmos*… (Venice: Gardano, 1576)

V 1428 – VICTORIA, *Hymni totius anni*… (Rome: Basa, 1581)

V 1430 – VICTORIA, *Cantica B. Virginis vulgo Magnificat* (Rome: Zanetti (Basa), 1581)

V 1435 – VICTORIA, *Missae. Magnificat. Motecta* (Madrid: Typographia regia, 1600)

V 2249 – VIVANCO, Sebastián de, *Liber magnificarum* (Salamanca: Taberniel, 1607)

GENERAL NOTES

SOURCES, BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES:

References are made as follows:

a) References are given in the footnotes. They include author, date and, where necessary, page number(s). The full reference is included in the Bibliography. In cases where one author has more than one publication in the same year – as is the case with Owen Rees's book *Polyphony in Portugal* and his articles in *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia* and in *Early Music* (all from 1995) and Eva Esteve Roldán's book chapter and article in *Nassarre* (both from 2013) – the title from the article or chapter is also indicated.

b) In the specific case of the collection of essays in honour of Bruno Turner (*Pure Gold: Golden Age Sacred Music in the Iberian World*) both the title and pages of each essay are provided, since multiple chapters from this book are referenced throughout the thesis. The book is referenced in full in the Bibliography.

c) References of liturgical books include title, date and, where necessary, page or folio number. Some manuscript Ceremonials originated (and currently kept) in the cathedrals of Toledo, Seville and Sigüenza were not directly consulted. Transcriptions of these are available in secondary literature. In these cases, the reference of the Ceremonial is given and also the source where these transcriptions can be found.

d) References of musical editions include the name of the composer and the year of edition. For anthologies, the name of the editor and year of edition are indicated.

TABLES:

Regarding the tables of Chapter 2, the column in the far left gives the shelf-mark of the extant musical sources in each library or archive. For non-extant sources, the inventory number is used. Regarding composers' names, the full name is given in their first mention. From then onwards, only the surname is used. The exceptions to this are the cases where composers have common surnames (for example: Duarte and Alonso Lobo; Juan and Miguel Navarro) or in cases where the composers are typically referred to in literature by their full names (for example: Pedro de Cristo, Airez Fernandez or Estêvão de Brito).

GLOSSARY OF TERMS IN THE CONTEXT OF IBERIAN EARLY MODERN MUSIC

A PAPELES/MÚSICA A PAPELES (Spanish) – Music copied on separate sheets of paper (sometimes parchment) normally implying several vocal and instrumental parts. The copies were made for individual voices and/or instruments. The extant are exemplars usually group all parts of one same work in individual folders (in Spanish, *carpetas*). This form of copying became increasingly common from the late sixteenth century onwards, and it has implications not only for the format of the copy but also in terms of both style and performance. It contrasts with the performance at the lectern, with a choirbook (see *facistol*).

CANTAR A VERSOS (Spanish) – This expression means singing in alternatim, normally referring specifically to the alternation of chant and organ.

CANTAR AL ORGANO (Spanish) **–** This expression designates solo singing, accompanied by the organ. It became increasingly common from the late sixteenth century onwards, with the new style and musical textures adopted by composers. This expression can be found in a variety of sources, from contemporary descriptions to Chapter acts, Ceremonials or inventories of musical sources. Although the most common expression is *cantar al organo* it can also appear associated with other instruments.

CAPILLA (Spanish. In Portuguese, *cappella*) – From the fourteenth century onwards especially, when religious services were solemnised through polyphony, the term *capilla* denoted the group of singers that regularly performed polyphony during the religious services that required it. The original medieval concept was no more than that of clergymen who sang in services, but with polyphony the musical competences gained gradually more importance. These singers were, therefore, professional musicians who might or might not be clergymen. The *capilla* was directed and under the responsibility

of the chapel master (*maestro de capilla*). *Capilla* can also sometimes refer to the whole musical ensemble (including organists and *ministriles*) which performed the polyphonic items during religious services. This whole ensemble can also appear in sources under other designations, such as *música*.

CORO (Spanish and Portuguese) - From the late twelfth century onwards, an element added to Iberian cathedrals was the *coro*, usually built in the middle on the nave of a cathedral. It is U-shaped, with the opening facing the altar. It is connected to the altar through a 'bridge', being thus isolated from the lay community. It is almost a church inside the church. Another form of *coro* is the *coro alto*. This was usually built above the main Western entrance of churches, opposite to the main altar – and therefore directly facing it - in a (usually quite) elevated position. *Coro* can also refer to the group of clergymen and chaplains who sang plainchant at Mass and Office. This *coro* was usually directed by the ***sochantre*** (succentor). *Coro* can have a third meaning: a group of singers, or instruments, or a mix of both (or even the organ alone), usually performing in alternatim. *Capilla*, organ and *ministriles*, for example, would constitute three different *coros*. The indication *A coros* or *cantar a coros* refers to the alternation between these performing groups.

FÁBRICA (Spanish and Portuguese) – The entity which, along with the Chapter – although separated from it – administrated the rents of cathedrals. It took care of the expenses related to the religious services (including music) and with the maintenance of the building. Among the expenses related to the services, were the payments to the *capellanes* who, in addition to the *soldo* received from the Chapter, would receive payment for services to the cathedral (e.g. singing in the choir).

FACISTOL/LIBRO DE FACISTOL (Spanish) – *Facistol* is the Spanish term for lectern. The expression 'libro de facistol', commonly used in Renaissance Spanish sources, refers to

the choirbooks used in the *coro* by the *capilla* of singers. These usually contain 'classical' repertory, in what became known as the *stile antico*, in contrast to the polychoral and *concertato* style, usually called *música a papeles* (see above). Another expression for *libro de facistol* is *Libro de Atril.*

GUIÓN (Spanish. In Portuguese, *guião)* – the term originally designated the synthesis of the lowest voice in a polyphonic setting. It could therefore include one or more voices, although it was always presented as a single melodic line. The *guión* was played by a low instrument (usually a bass viol, a dulcian or a bassoon). From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, it was essentially perceived as a synonym for basso continuo. The Italian equivalent of *guión* is the *basso seguente*.

MINISTRILES (Spanish) – Instrumentalists. Depending on the institution, they could be hired on a long-term basis or, sporadically, for a specific occasion. Until the seventeenth century these were mainly wind-instrument players, but this tends to broaden to a wider range of instruments from then onwards.

PREBENDADO (Spanish and Portuguese) – the highest of the three categories of church musicians. The *prebendados* (in Spain also called ***racioneros***) were members of the Chapter and received a part of its rents, either in cash or goods. Musicians were usually the lowest-paid members and often did not have the right to vote. They could receive only a part of a *ración* (*medio racionero* or *quarto racionero*). Among the musicians of a *capilla*, the *prebendados* would usually be the chapel master, (first) organist and the most important singers. *Cappelanes* constituted the following hierarchical category (usually paid by the Chapter or by private funds) and the lowest ranking were *assalariados*. The latter ones were not required to be clergymen. These would be the instrument players (except first organist) and some singers.

SEISE(S) (Spanish) – The infant singers, who performed the chant and also, sometimes, the highest parts in the polyphonic *capilla*. They were under the charge of the chapel master, who was responsible not only for their literacy and musical education, but also for every part of their upbringing. The name comes from what would be their standard number in cathedrals (six), although this number was by no means a fixed rule. In Portugal, the young boys who participated in liturgical services were usually called *moços de coro*, although they were not, necessarily, singers.

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INTRODUCTION

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, festal Vespers was among the most lavishly celebrated elements of the liturgy. This is the celebration that marks the beginning and end of the most important feasts and of Sundays. Its solemnity was, therefore, signalled in several different ways, from the double celebration (First and Second Vespers) to their length, number of participants, specific performance practices and the musical investment received. In the Renaissance, this investment happened mainly through vocal polyphony, but also, in many institutions in the Iberian Peninsula, through the addition of musical instruments, either on a permanent or temporary basis. Contemporary descriptions of the Hour of Vespers in Iberian cathedrals and monasteries, especially on high-ranking feasts, tell of sumptuous celebrations, where polyphony is invariably present. The musical, archival and liturgical sources confirm these descriptions, through the repertory they comprise or the practices they prescribe (and describe).

During this period, Vespers thus constituted a great stimulus to composers - often in order to meet their own needs as chapel masters, in their obligation to provide music for specific celebrations – and it represents, for many of them, a significant part of their production. The religious institutions themselves relied not only on the production of their own chapel masters but equally on the copying or purchase of works by other composers. Music for Vespers is, therefore, a pervasive type of repertory in Iberian religious institutions, be it in the form of chant, polyphony or – as it is often the case - both. Some of this music survives in manuscript choirbooks, printed editions, separate sheets and fragments of many different sizes. Other repertory is no longer extant, but it is possible to learn of it through inventories or contemporary descriptions. In Iberian polyphonic sources, specifically, it is a very prevalent type of repertory. For centuries, then, the office of Vespers brought about the production, copying, printing, performance and circulation of

music, in Europe and the New World. Understanding the current state of research in this area, including for the Iberian Peninsula is, therefore, an important first step towards any in-depth study of this subject.

CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH

Despite its importance, music for the Office, and indeed for Vespers, has rarely been approached as an autonomous subject by researchers. This is also not an exclusive feature of music research related to the Iberian Peninsula, but of other European regions as well.[1] The exception to this case is the research work developed on Italian repertory of the seventeenth century, where a great deal of attention has been paid to Vespers music, partly driven by the interest in the Monteverdi Vespers, on which a great variety of publications can be found. The very significant production of music for Vespers in this period in Italy, is well demonstrated and revealed in the ten large volumes dedicated to the edition of music for Vespers and Compline by Jeffrey Kurtzman.[2]

The seemingly odd circumstance of the lack of research on music for Vespers derives from two main factors, one related to issues in Iberian musicology itself, and the other linked to an overall tendency in musicological research, to give primacy to music related to the Mass, which has attracted far more attention from researchers. This is noticeable both in secondary literature and in musical editions. In publications on early music, it also becomes clear that, even when music for Vespers is included or mentioned in research,

[1] Eva Roldán points to this issue, and names several reasons why, from her point of view, historical musicology has chosen to give privilege to music for the Mass, despite the number of musical and archival sources containing, or referring to, polyphony for Vespers, not only in the Iberian Peninsula, but also giving examples of countries such as Italy or the Low Countries. E. ROLDÁN, 2013, 1915-18.

[2] Jeffrey KURTZMAN, ed., *Vespers and Compline Music*, Seventeenth-Century Italian Sacred Music 11-20 (New York/London: Garland Press, 1995-2003).

there is, sometimes, a problem with the use of terminology, which is not always given the necessary amount of attention or accuracy.[3]

Before addressing the state of the art for the specific area of music for Vespers – which is developed below – it is necessary to start with the broader context of musicological research in the Iberian Peninsula, since it directly affected all areas of investigation in Portuguese and Spanish musicology.

Musicological work concerned with the Iberian Peninsula, especially in the last decade, has undoubtedly seen significant progress, including in early music. This is clear not only in recent publications, papers in international conferences and even musical recordings, but also in the use of new technologies – namely the internet – which allow the divulging of Iberian musical sources on a global scale. This progress is the visible result of two major changes that only recently were implemented in a consistent manner: on one hand the academic environment to which musicological research was brought and, on the other, a much greater investment in the identification, preservation and study of primary sources. In both Portugal and Spain, the change from isolated, often non-academic research, into large-scale projects involving a considerable number of scholars from different geographical and research backgrounds, has unquestionably brought about the best results so far, especially when accompanied by the return to the archives.

Two recent academic research projects illustrate the process, goals and results just mentioned. One of these is based in Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical

[3] E. ROLDÁN, 2013, 1914. Roldán mentions four examples taken from the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*: the lists of works by Josquin des Prez, Compère, Ockeghem and Morales. An online search at the much more recent Oxford Music Online reveals exactly the same problem. For Morales, one of the composers most often mentioned in this dissertation, there are psalm settings included under the heading of motets, and not one single polyphonic hymn is mentioned anywhere in the list of works, even though there is a rich production of the composer on this genre, already studied and published by Michael Noone (see Chapter 2 of the dissertation). The *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music* adopts the same principle of including all sorts of polyphonic genres (apart from Masses and Magnificat settings) under the motets' category.

(CESEM) in Lisbon, and the other in the Institución Milá y Fontanals, in Barcelona. The Portuguese project 'Musical Exchanges: 1150-1650' was developed between 2010 and 2012 and was coordinated by Manuel Pedro Ferreira. It included researchers of Medieval and Renaissance Iberian music from such different countries as Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom, United States, Canada and Mexico. The 'Musical Exchanges' project brought about a book, an international conference and, especially, the 'Portuguese Early Music Database' (pemdatabase.eu), where full reproductions and descriptions of Portuguese (and some Spanish) manuscripts of chant and polyphony are readily made available to anyone consulting it.[4] In Barcelona, Emilio Rós-Fábregas is head of the project 'Libros de polifonía hispana' (henceforth LPH). Its goal is similar to the PEM database, although including - as indicated by its name – only polyphonic sources, both manuscripts and prints, from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. This database (hispanicpolyphony.eu) was presented at the 2017 Medieval and Renaissance Music conference in Prague, and from then onwards it became officially available to the public. It is, at the moment, still under construction, but it is already possible to access, for each of these sources, some relevant information, such as its RISM siglum and shelf-mark, date, location, composers and (at the moment only for some) the works included in it. It equally includes a very recent tool – Documentation – which allows the user to consult digitized or transcribed archival documents, especially historical inventories of some of the institutions of this database. Unlike the PEM database, however, LPH does not provide images of the sources it describes nor does it indicate, for the listed works, their concordances. The input of sources is made by different members of the Team. The information given on

[4] Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, ed., *Musical Exchanges, 1100-1650: Iberian Connections*, Iberian Early Music Studies 2 (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2016); International Colloquium Musical Exchanges (Lisbon, 21-23 June 2012).

different sources is, therefore (possibly for this reason) quite variable in terms of detail and even of its accuracy.[5]

A smaller research project is equally being currently developed at the University of Coimbra – *Mundos e Fundos* – coordinated by José Abreu and Paulo Estudante – which exploits several polyphonic musical collections in Portugal, especially the musical sources kept in Coimbra which have not yet been studied.[6]

The recent project Historical soundscapes is developed by Juan Ruiz Jiménez as a digital platform (with regular publications), and it aims at exploring historical urban musical life (in this case especially focused in the geographical area of Granada) in the early modern period. Focusing on the musical life at Barcelona in this same chronological period, Tess Knighton explores a similar subject (urban musical life) but especially focused on Barcelona.[7] The same Tess Knighton is one of the editors of *Hearing the City in Early Modern Europe*.[8] This publication reflects the increasing work seeking to embed music and musical practices within their original contexts (urban, institutional, ritual, societal) and it reflects similar tendencies in early modern musicology beyond the Peninsula.

This progress was obviously not achieved without previous (and simultaneous) individual research. Both in Portugal and in Spain, several publications have focused on specific sources, or groups of sources, religious institutions or composers related to Iberian

[5] One of the most blatant examples of this is the indexation of Seville's manuscript E-Sc 2, where all the settings by Guerrero are still listed as anonymous. The LPH Team member inserting this source in the database clearly consulted the 1994 Catalogue of musical sources of the cathedral of Seville only and ignored a series of publications where these settings have already been correctly identified, such as the works of Juan Ruiz Jiménez and Suarez Martos (All these publications are included in this dissertation's Bibliography and are mentioned in several of its chapters, especially in Chapter 2).

[6] This has resulted in some publications (especially in the form of doctoral dissertations on Coimbra's musical sources) and in the musical edition by José Abreu, of Duarte Lobo's *Opuscula* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1602).

[7] Tess Knighton will be a keynote speaker at the forthcoming Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference (Lisbon, 2021), with the paper 'The soundscape of parish churches in early modern Spain'. Two panels in this conference are entitled 'Confraternities and the Urban Soundscape'.

[8] Tess KNIGHTON and Ascensión MAZUELA-ANGUITA, eds, *Hearing the City in Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018). This book has no fewer than five chapters on Iberian topics.

Medieval and Renaissance music. From the late 1990s and early 2000s, a concern is made very clear and it becomes pervasive in doctoral dissertations, books and journal articles: the need for accurate and complete information and the importance of looking to the primary sources themselves. For sacred polyphony, there are some examples of works of research which constitute very relevant contributions to a more updated and informed view of what music was copied, preserved, and performed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' Iberian Peninsula. For Portuguese music, Owen Rees has studied a group of twenty-three choirbooks from the monastery of Santa Cruz, in Coimbra, which had been almost completely neglected.[9] João Pedro d'Alvarenga has researched sources from Braga, Porto, Lisbon and Évora.[10] He equally published on performance practices of the latter cathedral.[11] Bernadette Nelson's DPhil dissertation focused on the role of the organ in Iberian liturgical music, and she has dedicated herself lately to in-depth research on Iberian polyphonic hymns.[12] Also, recent dissertations undertaken in different Portuguese universities, or by Portuguese students in different European universities have focused on the study of individual polyphonic manuscripts (from institutions in Arouca, Viseu and Coimbra), on specific polyphonic repertory from a given local composer or on performance practices.[13] Regarding published works for Spanish sacred Renaissance polyphony, the most substantial research has focused particularly around individual

[9] Of these, fourteen include repertory for Vespers. O. REES, 1995.

[10] João Pedro d'ALVARENGA, 'Polifonia na liturgia bracarense: o Liber Introitus, primeiro testemunho quinhentista', *Estudos de Musicologia* (Lisbon: Colibri, 2002); 2005; 2011), 137-58; *Pure Gold*, 2011, 27-58.

[11] J. P. d'ALVARENGA, 2015.

[12] B. NELSON, 1987; 2000; *Pure Gold*, 2011, 167-205 and 2015.

[13] Ana GAUNT (née SÁ CARVALHO) 'O Códice Polifónico de Arouca: Estudo e Transcrição' (MA dissertation, FCSH-UNL, 2012); Juan Ignacio NEVES SARRIEGUI, 'Os salmos a quatro vozes de João Lourenço Rebelo: Estudo e edição crítica', (MA dissertation, Universidade de Coimbra: Departamento de Estudos Artísticos, 2015); Adriano Manuel de Mendonça Lopes PACHECO, 'Os salmos do Vesperal *P-Va* Cód. 4 de Estevão Lopes Morago' (c. 1575-c. 1630)' (MA dissertation, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2012); J. ABREU, 2002, P. ESTUDANTE MOREIRA, 2007; T.S. FREIRE, 2017. One or more of the musical sources approached in each of these dissertations include polyphony for Vespers. Only the studies by Adriano Pacheco and Tiago Freire, however, approach their liturgical context in some depth.

institutions. Most recently, the publications of Juan Ruiz Jiménez on the cathedral of Seville and the works of Michael Noone and François Reynaud on the cathedral of Toledo are invaluable references for the two most important musical centres of the kingdom of Castile,[14] including what has clearly been quite a long and thorough research into the musical and documentary sources of these institutions.[15] Equally, some Spanish religious institutions themselves, working with musicologists, and making use of the internet, are beginning to publish their own online catalogues of the music collections they hold. It is the case, for example, of the monastery of El Escorial and of the cathedral of Pamplona.[16]

There is, as well, some smaller-scale research on specific sources, composers or religious institutions from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, in the form of academic dissertations, journal articles and book chapters. Some works approach the whole region of the Iberian Peninsula regarding a specific theme, and they provide a very useful contribution for a geographically wider perspective on these subjects. The main journal publications have mostly appeared in Spanish and Portuguese musicological journals, such as *Revista de Musicología*, *Nassarre*, *Anuario Musical* and *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*.[17]

All this shows an interest in gathering and updating information about sources of Iberian early music. It reveals a methodical and thorough approach to musicological research, both in the study of individual or collections of sources as in the creation of up-to-date work tools. It equally shows a keen attempt at internationalisation (both through the

[14] The cathedral of Seville was under the jurisdiction of the crown of Castile from 1248 until 1833.
[15] M. NOONE, 2002; 2003; 2006; 2009; *Pure Gold*, 2011, 3-26. F. REYNAUD, 1996; J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2005; 2007.
[16] At https://rbmecat.patrimonionacional.es/ and https://www.archivomusica-catedralpamplona.org/ for the monastery of El Escorial and the cathedral of Pamplona, respectively.
[17] Some of these approach Vespers, although this theme is by no means the rule. Two examples are the works on polyphonic Magnificat settings by B. NELSON, 2015, and E. ROLDÁN, 2013, 15-44.

cooperation with scholars working in Universities outside Portugal and Spain and the participation – and indeed organization and hosting – of international conferences).

These are, nevertheless, quite recent undertakings, and the large amount of work still left to do in Iberian musicological research is noted by some scholars in publications as recent as 2011.[18] Iberian music scholars seem to display mixed feelings of optimism for what has been achieved and, at the same time, an almost gloomy view of the amount of work that has yet to be accomplished. What the paragraphs above describe, however, is already the result of a new methodology, which turned away from decades of isolated and non-academic research, and the many misconceptions that resulted from that sort of procedure.

In Portugal, the academic establishment of musicology only became a reality in 1980. Until then, individual research prevailed, sometimes deliberately distant from institutional circles.[19] The consultation of sources was, therefore, made mainly on a small scale and by individuals whose specialised areas were not necessarily musicology. In 1958, a committee was created in the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, whose main goal was the study of the most important national archives with musical sources. It resulted, however, in no more than four catalogues – the most recent one from 1989 - and only a small part of the archives was consulted. Other published catalogues are often incomplete and date between 1937 and 1982.[20] They were, for more than twenty years, the work base

[18] Tess KNIGHTON, *Pure Gold*, 2011, xv-xxii, at xx and J. ABREU and P. ESTUDANTE MOREIRA, 2011, 81-8. Both articles mention – again – the lack of research into primary sources, and the still quite incipient stage at which the research on musical sources themselves was at that time.

[19] It is the case of Manuel Joaquim, who, working very much on his own, carried out an extremely thorough research of musical sources, namely of polyphony, and whose results would be the base of future publications for at least twenty years.

[20] The four catalogues are: José Augusto ALEGRIA, *Arquivo das Músicas da Sé de Évora: Catálogo* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1973); *Idem, Biblioteca Pública de Évora: Catálogo dos Fundos Musicais* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1977); *Idem, Biblioteca do Palácio Real de Vila Viçosa* (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbankian,1989), and João Maria Borges de AZEVEDO, *Biblioteca do Palácio Nacional de Mafra: Catálogo dos fundos musicais* (Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985). Other published catalogues are: António A. Ferreira da CRUZ and Carlos F. PIMENTEL, *Inventário dos inéditos e impressos musicais: subsídios para um catálogo* (Coimbra: Biblioteca da Universidade, 1937); Manuel JOAQUIM, *Vinte livros de música polifónica do Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa* (Lisbon: Fundação Casa de Bragança, 1953); Mariana Amélia Machado SANTOS, *Catálogo da Música Manuscrita*, 9 vols. (Lisbon:

for most monographs and articles on Portuguese music. What happened, in these monographs was the repetition, in almost the exact same terms, of what had been published in the 1960s and 70s, without any concern of checking whether all primary sources were covered or whether they confirmed the conclusions being put forward. The conclusions drawn were therefore essentially the copy of previous statements, which were perceived as truthful, without access to documentary sources of any type.[21] It was assumed that the phase of archival research had been completed and was no longer necessary.[22] This view represents a complete contrast to what would come to be said a decade later in almost every Introduction or Preface to works about Portuguese music history.

In Spain, the tradition of musicological investigation expanded very rapidly in the late nineteenth century, linked to key figures such as Francisco Barbieri and Felipe Pedrell. Since that time, awareness of the important documents left 'gathering dust' and a willingness to demonstrate – especially on the international stage – what music had been created and performed in Medieval and Renaissance Spain, led researchers more steadily

Biblioteca da Ajuda, 1958-68); Maria Luísa LEMOS, 'Impressos musicais da Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra', *Boletim da Universidade de Coimbra* (Coimbra, 1980); Luís CABRAL, *Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto: Catálogo do fundo de manuscritos musicais*, (Porto: Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 1982). Apart from these, there are unpublished catalogues in some Portuguese archives and libraries (Elvas and Viseu). The 'fichas verdes' are a series of file cards handwritten by Manuel Joaquim, describing and indexing many of the polyphonic choirbooks of the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra.

[21] An exemplary case of this repetition are the two Portuguese Music Histories published in 1991 and 1992, which are extremely similar in their reaffirming of what had been written in previous decades, with the latter also very often quoting from the former. See Rui Vieira NERY and Paulo Ferreira de CASTRO, *História da Música (Sínteses da Cultura Portuguesa)* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, 1991) and Manuel Carlos de BRITO and Luísa CYMBRON, *História da Música Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 1992).

[22] Musicologist Manuel Carlos de Brito writes in 1984: 'It so happens that at the present moment fairly complete information exists on the musical sources which have survived in Portuguese libraries and on those which are scattered here and there in various European and American libraries; it is unlikely that any major surprises are to be expected in this field.' Manuel Carlos de BRITO, 'Problems encountered in the Study of Portuguese Music Relations with Spain, Italy and the Netherlands During the Renaissance', *Current Musicology* 37/38 (1984), 113-125, at 113.

to archives.[23] This positivistic method and research, directed mainly to sacred early music, became something of a trademark of Spanish musicology in the twentieth century. This project brought about a series of catalogues describing the musical holdings of the most important Spanish cathedrals, as well as musical editions of some of their most well-known composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These publications were, at their time, instrumental in the establishment of a musical scenery for early Spanish music.[24] The research of Higini Anglés, Samuel Rubio, José Llorens- Cisteró, Dionisio Preciado, Pedro Calahorra and José Lopez-Calo means that, nowadays, it is possible to have a more or less accurate idea of which musical sources were housed in these institutions.

The works of José Lopez-Calo, because particularly numerous, deserve a special mention. Starting with his doctoral dissertation, concerned with the cathedral of Granada, he continued this kind of research, looking into the archives of a great number of other Spanish churches and collecting documentary data. For more than thirty years, he published a series of monographs, all with the title words *La música en la catedral de…*or *Catálogo de*… These books include the musical catalogues of the institutions specified in their title, although not all with the same level of detail. The ones published up to 1980 include only a descriptive catalogue, indicating the folio, composer, title of work and number of voices. From 1988 onwards, the catalogues provide the (textless) musical *incipits* of at least the highest voice and a (very brief) description of each of the

[23] E. ROS-FÁBREGAS, 1998, 71. In a letter to Pedrell, quoted in this article, Barbieri writes about the amount of dust ('el polvo de los archivos') covering precious musical documents in archives.

[24] In this 1998 article, Emilio Ros-Fábregas seems somewhat critical of this positivistic approach, linking it to nationalistic ideals prevailing at the time of Franco's dictatorship and accusing it, in a way, of being a mere enumeration of musical sources. It was this process, however, that laid the foundations for the developments later made in Spanish Musicology, which would have been impossible without this previous effort. Portugal would have to wait many years for this process to start on a similar scale.

Cantorales.[25] The total lack of reference to concordances in all of them, however, as well as the minimal (or sometimes inexistent) codicological description of the sources turns these publications into a useful but somewhat incomplete basis for further research. Another problem is that the catalogue numbers assigned to the sources in these monographs are ones created by Lopez-Calo himself and do not correspond to the shelf-marks or call numbers by which they are identified in the archives where they are located. It is therefore left to the researcher to establish this correspondence.

The current situation regarding primary sources and literature for the study of Iberian sacred polyphony is, thus, as follows: the output has been richer and more qualified than ever in the last decade. For Spanish polyphony, there is a series of catalogues, of its main cathedrals, although not all necessarily complete or updated; recent publications include inventories of musical sources (both current and historical), description of manuscripts, and transcription of archival documents. There is, finally, an online database with the description and contents of polyphonic sources up to the twentieth century, already publicly available, but still under construction. A fair proportion of the extant sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries' polyphonic Portuguese manuscripts, is inventoried and described, both in paper and online. As for printed music, it was more systematically studied up to the late 1990s, both for Portugal and Spain. It represents, however, only a small part of the written and performed music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The printing industry in the Iberian Peninsula was not comparable, in size and productivity, to the ones from Italy and the Low Countries and the largest bulk of the repertory was, therefore, transmitted in manuscript form.

[25] As regards Vespers repertory – especially psalms – this is not particularly useful in the identification of works, given that, especially in this genre, the upper voice is usually characterised by the syllabic repetition of one given note.

Among the above mentioned documental and musical sources, many include – or refer to - Vespers psalms, hymns, Magnificat settings or even all these, and the most important religious houses in the Iberian Peninsula have at least one polyphonic Vesperal. Nevertheless, there is not a single text monograph on Iberian Vespers. Book chapters and articles may approach a polyphonic source, the *opera omnia* of a composer, or focus on a specific genre or setting. Often, that source includes Vespers music; that composer has a significant production of Vespers music and that genre or setting are performed at Vespers. This fact, despite being usually mentioned, is never properly explored. The focus is either on the source, on the global production of the composer or on the specific genre These factors are true of both Portuguese and Spanish publications. Michael Noone, Juan Ruiz Jiménez, Manuel Joaquim, João Pedro d'Alvarenga, Bernadette Nelson and Owen Rees have all studied polyphonic sources which include Vespers repertory. These sources (codices, partbooks and loose sheets of paper) are, however, approached by all these scholars under the perspective of the study of sources: codicological description, inventory of contents, concordances, historical and geographical context. Specific local variants for Vespers may be mentioned, sometimes to help locate the origin of a given source but are not pursued further.

As for specific genres, Renaissance Iberian polyphonic hymns have been the subject of several articles being, possibly, the most published and studied of Vespers items. The fact that the great majority of polyphonic settings were intended for this Hour is always stated, but the focus is invariably on the analysis of the settings themselves, leaving unexplored the liturgical context into which they are inserted: Vespers. Bernadette Nelson, Bruno Turner, Michael O'Connor and Robert Snow have all written about polyphonic hymns

from this point of view.[26] The other genre approached is the Magnificat, mostly in the works of Eva Esteve Roldán. Once again, however, although approached as a Vespers item, it appears on its own, isolated from the music that precedes and follows it in the office where it is sung.[27] Most musical editions, for both Spanish and Portuguese polyphony, reflect the above-mentioned scholarly preference for masses and motets. In Spain, the choice for the edition of printed works and the privileging of music for the Mass is easy enough to demonstrate. Even if the importance of the printed Vespers repertory of Victoria, Guerrero or Navarro made their modern edition mandatory, it is, nevertheless, curious to observe that in the collected works of these and other composers, masses and motets come invariably in the first few volumes, leaving Vespers hymns and psalms for last.[28] In the revised edition of Victoria's *opera omnia*, Higini Anglés only includes, in four volumes, the masses and motets of this composer. The only complete musical edition of Victoria's works is the one by Pedrell. Through their *Mapa Mundi* imprint, Bruno Turner and Martyn Imrie have brought new vigour to modern editions of Spanish polyphony, and among this collection it is possible to find a number of psalms, Magnificat settings and Vespers hymns. These performing scores compare the surviving sources, include editorial notes and even, for some hymns, their original melodies. They appear, however, as isolated items and, again, turn to printed repertory: even a quick search through the *Mapa Mundi'*s catalogue reveals that the number of Vespers editions is quite insignificant when compared to the performing scores of Masses and motets.[29] The complete edition of Vespers music made from a manuscript source is, therefore, still

[26] B. TURNER, 1995; M. B. O'CONNOR, *Pure Gold*, 2011, 153-66; R. SNOW, 1992. Bernadette Nelson's publications in footnote 11.

[27] E. ROLDÁN, '*Pure Gold*, 2011, 206-27 and 2013.

[28] Felipe PEDRELL, ed., *Thomae Ludovici Victoria Abulensis: opera omnia* (Leipzig: 1902-13: repr. Ridgewood, 1965); J. LLORENS CISTERÓ, 1999; 2001 and 2002. Of Esquivel's 1613 print with Vespers music, only a small part is edited. Clive WALKLEY and Bruno TURNER, eds., *Four Hymns Complete with their Chants* (Lochs: Vanderbeeck and Imrie, 2004) and R. SNOW, 1978.

[29] Catalogue available online at http://www.mapamundimusic.com/mapacat.pdf

not a reality, although some manuscripts have already been fully inventoried and studied.[30] In *Portugaliae Musica*, the main collection of edited music by Portuguese composers, most of the volumes dedicated to music from the 1500s and 1600s includes Masses and motets. While this is, undeniably, the greatest bulk of the repertory printed during the seventeenth century in Portugal – since they are the genres that these composers, themselves, privileged – and also one of the most accessible and well-known, it is telling that the Magnificat cycle of Filipe de Magalhães has no modern edition, and the most recent one from Duarte Lobo's Magnificat settings dates from 1945.[31]

The fact that modern musical editions rely mainly on printed music also means that some composers, such as Pedro de Cristo – the most important composer from the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra – have not had, to this day, their full work edited. Musical editions of Vespers are thus limited to the production of seven composers: four of them are editions of printed music; two include some items of Vespers among other sacred works and one is the (incomplete) edition of Estevão de Morago's Vesperal.[32]

As for the aspect of performance, the same tendency is confirmed by a look at musical recordings by early music groups. Iberian polyphony has for long fascinated international researchers and performers, and among the recordings of groups such as The Tallis scholars or The Sixteen there are some by Spanish and Portuguese composers. Once again, nevertheless, they seem to rely mainly on the Mass (including Requiem Masses) and motet repertory, something which is probably the reflection of the lack of performing editions of this music. Recordings of works by Victoria, Guerrero, Morales, Alonso Lobo,

[30] The cases of modern editions made from manuscripts are limited to a few rare examples: B. TURNER, 1996; Robert SNOW, 1995.
[31] M. JOAQUIM, 1945.
[32] J.A. ALEGRIA, 1974; 1982 1991; M. JOAQUIM, 1961; Miguel QUEROL GAVALDÁ, ed., *Estêvão de Brito: Obras diversas*, Portugaliae Musica 21, 30, 2 vols (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1972-6) and R. SNOW, 1990.

Manuel Cardoso and Duarte Lobo by the Tallis Scholars do not include a single setting for Vespers. The Sixteen include an eight-voice *Laudate Dominum* and a *Vexilla regis* by Guerrero, as well as several hymns and two Magnificat settings by Victoria, and the polychoral Magnificat by João Lourenço Rebelo.[33] All these represent, nevertheless, only a small part of the total number of recordings by this group.

RESEARCH AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

My research for this thesis focuses on this unexplored subject of sacred polyphonic repertory for the liturgical Hour of Vespers, performed in religious institutions, both monastic and secular, in the Iberian Peninsula in the period 1550-1700. It focuses mainly on six institutions. These are, however, contextualised with the research on historical and current collections of musical sources from a broader sample of institutions. The chosen chronological bounds are based on matters of production, musical style and also of necessary practicality. This study aims thus at a broad understanding of the provision for Vespers in a variety of institutions, through the study of their inventories and Ceremonials. It also looks at the study of this music in sources so far mostly unexplored, such as the collection of Cartapácios or a manuscript Vesperal from the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra (in terms of style, texture or alternatim practices).

One fundamental task, to be decided at the earliest stages of this research, was the choice of which institutions to study. The main norm for this was, naturally, to find churches where the number of sources with this repertory would be significant, both from the point of view of their acquisition – which implied the regular practice of polyphony – and of

[33] These are all based in the printed editions by these composers. These editions are all listed in Chapter 1. These works are included, respectively, in *The Flight of Angels* (Guerrero); the *Victoria collection* and *A Golden Age of Portuguese Music* (João Lourenço Rebelo). Even among non-Iberian composers – with the great exception of Monteverdi's Vespers – recordings of music for Vespers are quite scarce.

their preservation up to the present. The choice fell, thus, upon institutions for which (with the exception of the cathedral of Tuy) there is already a considerable amount of published secondary literature in the musicological field. These were also, however, institutions where the secondary literature was not limited to the enumeration or description of the musical and archival sources or to statements about the completeness of their musical collections but provided transcriptions or facsimile (or digital) reproductions of these documents. In some cases – especially for the cathedrals of Seville and Toledo – these transcriptions are available in more than one publication, which allows for a comparative reading of this material.[34] Therefore, despite the self-imposed lack of extended work in archives, research was based, for these institutions, in the transcriptions or facsimiles of archival documents which musicologists researching on them included in their own studies: Chapter acts, Ceremonials, historical inventories, and fully indexed (or indeed edited) musical sources. While the transcription of an original document is necessarily a subjective exercise, these transcriptions were, nevertheless, always accessed in their original language, and made by researchers (either native or fluent in these languages) specialising in Iberian early music. In cases where the English translation was provided but was considered to not reproduce faithfully the contents of the original language, I have made my own translation.[35] On the other hand, some original documentary sources were accessed either in person or through digital libraries and databases which the internet makes widely available, such as, for example, Ceremonials, Breviaries or Offices for Spanish saints.

[34] This is the case, for Seville, of (among others) the works of Robert Snow, Ruiz Jiménez and Suaréz Martos and for Toledo the different publications by Michael Noone and also by François Reynaud and Rubio Piqueras.

[35] This is the case with some translations made by Michael Noone, especially regarding the monastery of El Escorial. The cases where I provide my own translation are indicated at the appropriate place in the dissertation.

The musical sources from the cathedral of Tuy and from the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra were consulted in a digital database (currently available to members of CESEM only), resulting from the above-mentioned work coordinated by Manuel Pedro Ferreira.[36] Some contemporary printed musical sources – such as Navarro's 1590 Vesperal (extant in the cathedral of Évora) – were equally accessed through this means. Photocopied versions of the Cartapácios were consulted in the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra.[37] The 1579 Ceremonial from the monastery of Santa Cruz (*Ordinário dos Canónigos Regulares*) and the 1615 Ceremonial printed by Craesbeck in Lisbon, mentioned in Chapter 4, were consulted in the British Library.

Even in the case-studies more heavily based on previously published works, the consulting of sources overlooked by more recent musicological studies allowed for a new perspective on certain institutions. This is the case, for example, with Samuel Rubio's 1976 catalogue of El Escorial,[38] whose contents reveal an extremely rich collection of seventeenth-century polychoral music not mentioned at all by Michael Noone in his study of this institution – as demonstrated in Chapter 2. Another example is the recent transcription of a 1604 contract for the hiring of *ministriles* for the basilica of Our Lady of Pillar in Saragossa,[39] which contradicts one of the rules which we most find enforced in contemporary Ceremonials (that is, playing the first verse of the Magnificat instead of singing it), a fact which has not been mentioned so far in the context of performing practices at Vespers in any published work – as shown in Chapter 4.

[36] In 2020-21 the manuscripts were accessed through this online database, which includes sources not yet made available in the PEM database.
[37] In 2015, the Biblioteca Geral in Coimbra did not grant me access to some original manuscripts of the Cartapácios, but instead their photocopies.
[38] S. RUBIO, 1976.
[39] Carlos Bonal ASENSIO, 'Los ministriles polifónicos en la catedral de El Salvador de Zaragoza', *Nassarre* 35 (2019), 171-201, at 198.

STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

The first chapter of the thesis establishes the relationship between music and Vespers during the relevant period. In the sixteenth-century Iberian Peninsula, there was a very significant increase in the works composed for this Hour of the Office. Vespers promoted musical creativity and production, in both manuscript and printed form. Another aspect to take into account is that the texts and the music written for this Hour were affected by ecclesiastical reforms, but also by broader historical tendencies and influences. If the Council of Trent had a much more theoretical rather than actual impact in the production and performance of polyphony for Iberian Vespers, subsequent reforms, such as the 1602 Hispanic sanctoral added to the Roman Breviary, or the huge reform of hymn texts in 1632 had a very real effect on the repertory. Slightly before the mid-sixteenth century, several Iberian churches decide to undertake a reform of their polyphonic repertory and embark on projects for the copying of new music books. This shows, above all, a change in musical style which is reflected not only in the newly copied musical sources but equally in contemporary theorical treatises and printed anthologies for instruments. Chapter 2 describes the sources for polyphonic Vespers in six selected Iberian religious institutions, three secular, two monastic and one, the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, a House of Augustinian Canons Regular. This choice was made, as mentioned above, according to criteria of number and availability of sources and regularity of polyphonic practice, but also aiming to cover a broad range of cases in terms of liturgy, geographical location and annual income (rents). For each of these institutions, aspects such as the acquisition and use of polyphonic sources with Vespers and their repertory are approached.[40] In addition, thirty-two institutions – including cathedrals, female and male

[40] This chapter includes several tables with the sources of polyphonic Vespers for each institution. These are subdivided, for manuscripts, into the categories of choirbooks, partbooks and loose sheets of paper (*musica a papeles*). Whereas for the first two, more general information is given (composer, title of item,

monasteries, collegiate and parish churches – were added to the six study cases, through the study of their modern and/or historical inventories of musical sources, thus allowing for a broader sample on which to draw conclusions.[41] The finding of this study were summarized in three tables. The first looks at the prints with Vespers music most commonly found in their collections, the second at the acquired foreign repertory for Vespers and the third at the works produced locally by their own chapel masters. The third chapter looks at the different polyphonic items sung at Vespers and how these reflect certain compositional approaches and styles. How these styles evolved and changed (namely through polychorality and addition of instruments), is discussed. In the case of psalms, this evolution is the main focus of discussion, using as a main source of study the polychoral psalm-settings in the above-mentioned seventeenth-century Cartapácios from Coimbra, but equally two printed Spanish sources and one manuscript source by a Spanish composer, all from the first half of the seventeenth century. Issues such as texture and vocal arrangement (as well as a discussion on the possible function of these sources) are approached. For purposes of comparison with an international scenario, a representative sample of forty-two seventeenth-century polychoral psalms from Italian printed sources was consulted. The Magnificat in its liturgical context is approached through different perspectives. The choice of certain tones for polyphonic settings of the Magnificat which appear in manuscript sources more frequently than others offers a contrast with the sixteenth-century cycles for all tones usually found in printed sources. Some of the considerations made about the use of these liturgical tones in Spanish

date, material and measurements) and their full indexation can be found in the Appendix, for the latter, information on tone, voices or instruments is given in the chapter itself. This choice was made for several reasons. The first is that in this format, each item represents an individual work in itself, with its own call number. The second is that these works are far less well-studied than polyphonic choirbooks. The third and final reason is that most of these works are polychoral and include a variety of instruments. All this information seemed far too important to be relegated to the Appendix. It was thus included in the chapter.

[41] These historical inventories were accessed through different publications and through the LPH database. The historical inventories are transcribed in Appendix II.

Magnificat settings, and their association with certain feasts of the calendar are critically reviewed in the light of the musical contents within the sources of two of the case-studies (Santa Cruz and Toledo). The changes in style and texture are also discussed in a similar approach to the one made for psalms. The particular case of the Magnificat settings by Morales is presented, including a discussion on how the composer's canonical status can be established. The section ends with a brief discussion on the Magnificat in an extra-liturgical context, reviewing and adding new sources to the ones presented in the publications of Eva Esteve Roldán. For the genre of Iberian polyphonic hymns, in addition to the examples given from the sources mentioned in Chapter 2, the specific case of five hymns by Juan Navarro from a Vesperal from the monastery of Santa Cruz, is approached in-depth, with the study of the source, the musical edition of these hymns and their comparative study with other musical sources and studies on the production of this genre by the composer. These hymns include two *unica* strophes, and this source adds to our knowledge of the transmission, reception and adaptation of Navarro's hymn repertory in the Iberian Peninsula, especially in the practice – found at Santa Cruz – of assembling polyphonic hymns from verses of different origins and dates. The fourth and final chapter approaches performance practices at the liturgy of Vespers, and the relevance of the different kinds of sources which can provide information on them, not only Ceremonials, but contemporary descriptions, inventories, and the musical sources themselves. The latter are particularly useful on the study of certain aspects of performance especially of alternatim practices, by displaying which schemes were adopted for certain settings. In this case, it is possible to see, in some manuscripts, a much more varied approach to these schemes than the mere odd and even-verse alternation commonly found in printed sources. The case of the monastery of Santa Cruz is particularly telling of this variety, especially regarding polyphonic hymns. On the other hand, sources with a more

prescriptive character, usually more associated with performance practices, can equally provide many clues regarding the choice of repertory and information on contemporary (extant and non-extant) musical sources. The conclusion covers a summary of the work done and methodologies applied, and in what way they have helped in the formation of my own conclusions. Three appendixes gather information from both primary and secondary sources and list the Vespers polyphonic items of the institutions considered in this dissertation and of other Iberian churches, as well as the transcription of historical inventories of musical collections in different Iberian churches.

CONCLUSION

Any academic dissertation is necessarily constrained by time and length limits. The obvious consequence of this is that there will inevitably be questions raised to which a full answer cannot be given, since it would imply a type or area of research which fall outside the realms of the dissertation itself. The fact that these questions are raised at all can be seen, nevertheless, as a positive factor, because it encourages further research to be undertaken in the future.

One of the first questions to be answered as a following research to this work would be how the picture drawn for Vespers in the Iberian Peninsula compares to the one in other European countries, in terms of repertory, musical style, performance practices and of the very relevance of this daily service, namely for specific feasts. Corpus Christi was, for example, a monumental event in the Iberian region and, correspondingly, Vespers of that day were particularly festive. In the Spanish Royal chapel of Philip II, celebrations for this feast were equally elaborated, but this practice was, in all likeliness, inherited from the Burgundian chapel of Charles V.[42] Other, related to this one, is how much of an

[42] B. NELSON, 2000.

influence did the musical practices of other countries actually had in the Iberian region for Vespers, and vice-versa. These questions can, in turn, lead to the even more comprehensive (and complex) issue of whether Iberian Renaissance polyphony should be approached more for its specificities and treated, as it has been until now, as a separate reality with well-defined borders, or if it should be integrated in a wider context, within a certain general theme (Music for Vespers, for example), where common traits are explored.

This dissertation will hopefully contribute to historical music research, allowing for a more holistic and clear perspective on a subject to which has undeservedly received – and continues to receive – very little attention:[43] the music for the celebration of the Office in the Iberian Peninsula, in one of its most musically important services.

[43] In the above-mentioned forthcoming Lisbon's Medieval and Renaissance Music conference there is not a single paper related to Vespers in the five days which the conference lasts (two papers are related to Medieval chant offices for specific saints). In contrast, the programme includes two sessions on 'Mapping the motet in German-speaking regions'; one on 'Imitation Masses' and one on 'Music theory and Motets', as well as a number of papers related to Mass and Motet repertory included in other sessions.

1. VESPERS AND THEIR EVOLUTION IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Estuvo S.M. en el coro del dicho monesterio las primeras vísperas de la fiesta, donde estuvo con mucha devoción, y el oficio se hizo con tanto concierto el cual nunca hasta este día se había hecho mejor, porque había muy buenas voces en el coro, y los padres eran muy diestros en el canto de órgano.[44]

By the mid-sixteenth century, polyphony at Vespers on Sundays and the most important feasts of the year[45] was very much a common practice at churches throughout Europe, a development which, naturally, called for an increase in the production of this repertory. Manuscripts were copied, usually with works from local chapel masters and with settings by composers with printed works, and were circulated throughout the Iberian Peninsula and outside it.[46] The circulation of these settings on a wide scale owed much to the fact that, just as with other repertory from this time, music for Vespers profited from the advantages of printing. This music thus travelled both in manuscript and printed form, and there are a number of editions for Vespers by Iberian composers, printed in the

[44] [Christmas 1575] 'His majesty was in the *coro* of the said monastery for First Vespers of the feast, and he was there with much devotion, and the Office was celebrated with such *concierto*, that up to this day no better [performance] had yet taken place, because there were very good voices in the *coro* and the priests were very skilled in polyphonic singing…' Juan de SAN GERÓNIMO, *Memorias de Juan de San Geronimo* (Madrid: 1845). Modern edition in Martín Fernandez de Navarrete *et alia*, eds, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, vol VII (Madrid, 1984), 156. The word *concierto* is clearly integrated in a musical context in this excerpt, as shown in the second part of the sentence. It is used in the sense of a well-performed service, or a well-put together performance. Michael NOONE, *Music and Musicians in the Escorial Liturgy* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1998), 54, translates the term as 'with such order.' Not having found one explicit single-word term which I found satisfactory, I opted for leaving the original.

[45] The Tridentine organisation of the ranking of feasts into five different categories, published in the reformed 1568 Breviary and 1570 Missal would not last, the first revision coming in 1602 under Pope Clement VIII. Iberian liturgical sources from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries use mostly the Roman terminology, but not always. Also, the saints celebrated locally – which did not necessarily appear in the reformed Roman Breviaries and Missals, especially before the introduction of the 'Proprium Sanctorum Hispanorum' by Clement VIII – would receive rankings given in each local institution. The best information for the ranking of a feast in a specific Iberian institution, namely for Vespers, comes, therefore, from local liturgical sources. Examples of some local 'officium sanctorum' are given in the Bibliography.

[46] One of the best examples of this phenomenon is the collection of sixteen Magnificat settings by Cristóbal de Morales. At present, sixteen editions and fifty-seven manuscripts of these settings survive, with either the complete cycle or selected settings, in both their 'Roman' version or in the (most divulged) settings of odd and even verses. See Martin HAM, 2007, List D.

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which are (or were at some point) part of the musical collection of some of the most important Iberian religious institutions.

Table 1.1: Printed editions with polyphonic Vespers by Iberian composers: c. 1550-c. 1700

COMPOSER	EDITION
Guerrero	*Psalmorum quatuor vocum liber primus. Accedit missa defunctorum* (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1559) [Edition currently lost][47]
Guerrero	*Canticum Beatae Mariae*… (Leuven: Phalèse, 1563)
Diego Ortiz	*Musices liber primus hymnos, Magnificas, Salves, motecta, psalmos*… (Venice: Gardano, 1565)
Victoria	*Liber primus qui missas, psalmos, Magnificat* (Venice: Gardano, 1576)
Victoria	*Hymni totius anni* (Rome: Basa, 1581) *Cantica B. Virginis vulgo Magnificat* (Rome: Zanetti (Basa), 1581)
Guerrero	*Liber Vesperarum* (Rome: Basa/Gardano, 1584)
Navarro	*Psalmi, Hymni, ac Magnificat* (Rome: Francesco Coattino, 1590)
Victoria	*Missae. Magnificat. Motecta* (Madrid: Typographia regia, 1600)
Vivanco	*Liber magnificarum* (Salamanca: Taberniel, 1607)
Duarte Lobo	*Cantica Beatae Virginis* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1605)
Manuel Cardoso	*Cantica Beatae Mariae* (Lisbon: Craesbeeck, 1613)
Juan Esquivel	*Tomus secundus psalmorum, hymnorum, magnificarum… et missarum* (Salamanca, Cea Tesa, 1613)
Miguel Navarro	*Liber Magnificarum, quatuor vocibus cum versibus senis, septenis ac octonis*… (Pampeluna: Caroli a Labayen, 1614)
Aguilera de Heredia	*Canticum Beatissimae Virginis* (Zaragoza: Cabarte, 1618)
Sebastián Lopez de Velasco	*Libro de misas, motetes, salmos, magnificas…* (Madrid: Tipografia Regia, 1628)
Filipe de Magalhães	*Cantica Beatissimae Virginis* (Lisbon: Craesbeeck, 1636)
João Lourenço Rebelo	*Psalmi tum Vesperarum tum Completorii. Item Magnificat…* (Rome: Maurizio/Belmonte, 1657)

The Hour of Vespers was, at this, time, given essentially the same musical investment as the Mass, even if, from a theological and liturgical point of view, the latter was generally considered as the main liturgical celebration. As such, Vespers, just like the Mass, underwent liturgical reform, experienced the influence of national and international

[47] On this print, see Robert SNOW, 'Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala', *Nassarre* 3 (1987), 153-202.

historical and musical tendencies and it evolved in performance practices and in the types and styles of musical adornment employed. The changes which occurred in this period are reflected in documentary and musical sources and reveal the lively and rich scenario which took place during the celebration of this service in Iberian churches in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

1.1. VESPERS: MUSIC AND LITURGY

The Hour of Vespers maintained a structure which, in its main elements, remained stable since the early Middle-Ages: after the prayers and opening verse and response, *Deus in adjutorium meum*/*Domine ad adjuvandum*, the following section focused on psalms – four or five, according to the monastic or secular use. A reading and respective response would follow,[48] after which came the hymn and the Magnificat. After the antiphon which framed the Magnificat, the final part of Vespers included the collect and the Benedicamus Domino. Depending on the day, type of Office and rank of the feast, any of these elements - except for the reading and prayers - could be set in polyphony, although the ones most frequently found in musical sources are the settings for psalms, hymns, Magnificat and – to a lesser extent, although quite frequent in Iberian sources – the final verse, Benedicamus Domino. On Sundays and highest-ranking feasts of the calendar, Vespers was celebrated twice, the first celebration taking place on the day before the feast – marking its beginning – and a second time on the day itself. These were the most musically elaborate celebrations of this Hour – especially First Vespers – and the ones where polyphony was used.

[48] In a (more or less elaborate) recitation tone, for the highest-ranking feasts. In certain particularly wealthy institutions, the response after the reading could also be polyphonic. It is the case of first and second-class feasts at the cathedral of Seville in the seventeenth century. J. R. JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 258.

The structure of Vespers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the following:

Initial verses: V/*Deus in adjutorium* R/ *Domine ad adjuvandum*

Psalms (five or four) with respective antiphons

Reading of the day with final short response

Hymn

Magnificat canticle with respective antiphon

Final verse: Benedicamus Domino R/Deo gratias

For each of these feasts, the cycle of psalms was organised according to both the Temporal and the Sanctoral cycles of the liturgical calendar.[49]

Table 1.2: Distribution of Vespers psalms in the secular and Hieronymite rites[50]

PSALM	Sundays	Our Lady and Common of Virgins	First Vespers of Apostles and Evangelists, Martyrs and Saints	Second Vespers of Apostles and Evangelists	Christmas	Corpus Christi
Dixit Dominus Ps 109	1	1	1	1	1	1
Confitebor tibi Ps 110	2		2		2	2
Beatus vir Ps 111	3		3		3	
Laudate pueri Ps 112	4	2	4	2		
In exitu Israel Ps 113	5					
Credidi Ps 115				3		3
Laudate Dominum Ps 116			5			
Laetatus sum Ps 121		3				
In convertendo Ps 125				4		
Nisi Dominus Ps 126		4				

[49] The choice of hymns for different feasts is a much more complex issue, since – unlike psalms – it varied according to local liturgical customs, which underwent alterations after the adoption of the Tridentine Breviary. The choice of hymns according to specific calendars is approached in Chapter 3.

[50] The Hieronymite Office followed, for psalms, the same model as the secular Office.

Beati omnes Ps 127						4
De profundis Ps 129					4	
Memento Domine Ps 131					5	
Domine probasti Ps 138				5		
Lauda Jerusalem Ps 147		5				5

The Divine Office represented a very significant portion of the liturgical activities of the day, especially because it was not limited to the celebration of the eight canonical Hours, but it regularly required additional commemorations. Until the sixteenth century, the Little Office of the Virgin Mary was recited daily in addition to these, during non-penitential periods, having become optional after the Council of Trent. There were also regular processions, which usually took place at the end of Lauds and Vespers, on Sundays and double feasts.[51] One of the four Marian antiphons was usually sung at the end of Compline, but on occasion it could conclude the Hour of Vespers. Further additions to the standard format of this Hour could equally happen, such as Memorials, usually for saints, and normally placed after the collect. Saturday was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which implied a full Office and a Mass.[52]

[51] Even though omitted by the Council of Trent at Christmas and Easter, processions still represented a significant proportion of the liturgical celebrations. A manuscript Toledo Ceremonial from the late sixteenth-century, fully organised around feasts with processions ('procession entera' or 'media procession', mirrors this aspect quite well. F. REYNAUD, 1996, 269-70. See also Chapter 4 of the dissertation.

[52] Ceremonials instruct that the Saturday office of the Virgin should be celebrated as a 'simplex' feast. Two examples are the *Ceremonial de los officios diuinos… según el uso de la Sancta Iglesia Romana… orden de San Francisco* (Toledo: Pedro Rodriguez, 1591), fol. 267 and *Ceremonial romano nuevamente reformado*… (Burgos: J. Zamora, 1603), fol. 238v. There does not seem to be a reference to polyphony for the Saturday Office, but only for the Mass, as prescribed by a 1604 manuscript Ceremonial written for the cathedral of Toledo: 'Every Saturday of the year, except for the ones mentioned above there is mass of Our Lady with music if it is not a high-ranking feast day and when on Saturdays we celebrate Our Lady, the main Mass is in *canto de organo*/ Todos los sábados del año excepto los que arriba se ha dicho, ay Missa de nuestra Señora con música si no es dia de fiesta de guardar, /y quando el Sabado se Reza de nuestra

These displaced – except for penitential periods and for some specific feasts of the calendar – other celebrations of that day. The Office of the Dead was recited on a daily basis, as yet another extra to the daily Office and the daily custom, for ferial days, was the recitation of the three Hours of this office: Vespers, Matins and Lauds. On certain feasts of the calendar, or on specific occasions (such as a funeral service), the office of the Dead would involve the singing of chant and/or polyphony, which would mainly depend on the ranking of the feast and/or the person whose death (or remembrance) might have been celebrated.

The local customs which characterised different liturgical practices were naturally reflected in the polyphonic settings composed or adopted for different religious institutions throughout the Iberian Peninsula. This happened both on a textual and on a musical level. We must therefore consider, on one hand, the texts and melodies used to celebrate certain feasts which were specifically created for a given institution and, on the other, the variants to standard texts and/or musical items of the Temporal or Sanctoral, which only occurred in certain local uses. Either newly composed items, or variants to the Roman liturgical books are important testimonies of the local practices and repertory related to several Iberian religious institutions. Regarding the musical items for Vespers usually set in polyphony, the psalms and Magnificat not only follow a standard biblical text, but are usually based on a (more or less elaborate) psalm tone, meaning that they do not usually display variants, either on a textual or on a musical level.[53] Polyphonic hymns, on the other hand, are based on composed chant melodies, have to be composed for feasts

Señora la Missa Mayor es de canto de Organo'. This Ceremonial is fully transcribed by M. NOONE, 2009, 155-67. This excerpt is found on page 166. In the description of the different spaces for celebration at the cathedral of Seville, Juan Ruiz Jiménez mentions the polyphonic Mass of Our Lady, sung every Saturday at the Capilla de la Virgen de la Antigua, since at least the fifteenth century. J. R. JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 14.

[53] This does not mean that there are not local specificities to them, namely as regards performance practice, especially in certain feasts of the liturgical calendar and in particular for the Magnificat. This is developed in Chapter 3 of the dissertation.

celebrated locally, and therefore often reflect the musical and textual specificities of the institutions for which they were written. These are, for polyphonic Vespers, the best musical testimonies of local uses.

1.2. The adoption of Tridentine liturgical books in the Iberian Peninsula: diversity as a rule

The influence of the Council of Trent in polyphonic music, regarding both composition and performance practice, has been debated for a long time. The perspective of the 'punishment of polyphony' on the part of ecclesiastical authorities progressively lost ground, as musicological research gained access to documentary sources. A 2002 article by Craig Monson restricts the Council's decisions on music to a highly ambitious decree applied only to the Mass, and to one other which leaves the decisions regarding the proper way of singing and playing in the Divine Office with the local synods – pivotal proof, according to the author, of just how much the Council did not intend to legislate on music.[54] This article, however, as most other studies and publications on post-Tridentine catholic polyphony, are circumscribed to Italy. The discussion of how the Council of Trent's decrees were adopted in the Iberian Peninsula, namely for polyphony and especially for the Divine Office, is still one which has not been thoroughly made.[55]

On 12 July 1564, King Philip II ordered the observance of the reformed rite in Spain, beginning in Castile but extending it later to all Spanish dominions. His compliance with

[54] Craig Monson, 2002, 1-37, at 11 and 18.

[55] Post-Tridentine chant and its influence on local liturgical traditions, as well as its liturgic, historic and cultural impact, has been the object of numerous studies, both on a European and on an Iberian level. For the Iberian region, and for the Divine Office, in particular, they are nevertheless restricted to João Pedro d'Alvarenga's approach to the new Matins responsories for the *Triduum* and to Robert Snow's article on Tridentine polyphonic hymns. J.P. d'Alvarenga, 2005, 54-5 and R. Snow, '1992, 465-99. Clive Walkley has approached the theme of Iberian music and Tridentine reform in *Juan Esquivel: A Master of Sacred Music in the Spanish Golden Age* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 1-24, as well as Henry Kamen, *The Phoenix and the Flame: Catalonia and the Counter-Reformation*, (Yale: Yale University Press, 1993), Chapters 1-4 – without any specific reference to the Divine Office. In 2012, Francisco Rodilla-León complained about the lack of clarity that still existed about this subject for the Iberian Peninsula, especially regarding polyphonic repertory. Francisco Rodilla-León, 2012, 103-27.

the rules of Rome was made, however, in a way that would ensure he had complete control over the process. The local synods were summoned, as determined by Trent but under strict control of the Royal Council, especially through the presence of a representative of the king; all bishops and prelates were nominated by the Crown.[56]

The first Spanish local synod after Trent took place in Tarragona, in 1564. Toledo, Valencia, Santiago de Compostela, Zaragoza and Granada followed in the year after. Some dioceses would repeat these meetings some twenty years later.[57] In these local synods, music was never treated as an isolated issue but as part of a wider context, of matters related to the liturgy. The depth and way of dealing with it, therefore, varied considerably. A single mention is made, in these councils, to textual perception and to exclusion of secular elements from the music: an act from the local council of Toledo, held in 1565. Its wording is basically the same as the so often quoted canon of the twenty-second session of the Council of Trent, discussed but never formally approved in the general congregations: 'They shall, therefore, preserve the singing, called 'de organo' in a way that the words sung may be intelligible and may be more focused, while the divine praises are sung, on the pronunciation than on the curious melodies, but they shall be extremely careful that the music used in the praises to God must not imitate the profane tones of the theatre, of impudent love or of the war'.[58]

[56] H. KAMEN, *The Phoenix and the Flame*, 76.
[57] Specific dates for each meeting, both in the 1560s and 1580s, are given by F. RODILLA-LEÓN, 2012, 109.
[58] 'Sic denique musicam, quae organica dicitur retineant, ut forum, quae cantantur verba et intelligi possint et potius pronuntiatione quam curiosis modulis audientium animi Divinis laudibus afficiantur, sed et illum maxime cavendum erit ne ipsius musicae sonus quid theatrale, aut impudicos Amorum, bellorumve clássicos modulos referato, in Dei laudibus decantandis imitetur.'Toledo, 1565-6, Session II, Decree XI. Transcribed by F. RODILLA-LEÓN, 2012, 111.

The adoption of the reformed Breviary and Missal[59] took place during the 1570s – especially after 1575 – in almost all the most important Iberian dioceses, with the exception of Braga, by invoking the antiquity of its liturgical custom.[60] Their general adoption resulted, naturally, in a certain standardisation of texts, but not of much else. For a start, the Breviary and Missal were, for over a decade, the only two official liturgical books issued by Rome, among the large array normally used for the Catholic Mass and Office. The *Martyrologium Romanum* would be published in 1583, the *Pontificale Romanum* in 1595, the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* in 1600 and the *Rituale Romanum* in 1640. The use of the latter one was not compulsory, but optional.[61] As for books with musical notation, there was not an official Tridentine Roman version of chant melodies until the *Editio Medicea* of 1614-15, [62] which only includes chants for the Mass, although Guidetti's 1582 *Directorium Chori*, issued in Rome, with music for the Mass and Office, was particularly successful, and had multiple editions until 1737.[63]

Another problem was related to the acquisition of the reformed Breviary and Missal in the first place, which was far from straightforward. In Spain, Philip II's attempt at having the monastery of El Escorial as single provider of official Tridentine Breviaries and Missals printed by Plantin failed quite quickly, with several churches complaining of the price of the new editions, of the profit coming to El Escorial (which was allowed one-

[59] Anastatic editions of this Breviary and Missal: *Breviarium Romanum. Editio Princeps (1568)*, eds. Manlio Sodi and A.M. Triacca (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1999); *Missale Romanum Editio Princeps (1570)*, eds. Manlio Sodi and A.M. Triacca (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1998).
[60] José Augusto FERREIRA, *Estudos Histórico-litúrgicos: os ritos particulares das igrejas de Braga e Toledo* (Coimbra: Coimbra editora, 1924), 182-271 and Joaquim Félix de CARVALHO, 'A liturgia em Braga', *Didaskalia*, 2nd series, 37 (2007), 139-84 [168-84].
[61] Alberto Medina de SEIÇA, 'Livros de cantochão da Sé de Coimbra na reforma pós-tridentina: notas sobre o contexto de realização de um fundo litúrgico-musical quase desconhecido', *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia* 4/2 (2017), 247-72, at 249, footnote 3 and J. P. d'ALVARENGA, 2005, 11.
[62] Anastatic editions: *Graduale de Tempore: Iuxta ritum Sacrosantae Romanae Ecclesiae: Editio Princeps (1614)* eds. Giacomo Baroffio, Manlio Sodi and Giulio Cattin (Vatican City; Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2001) and *Graduale de Sanctis: Iuxta ritum sacrosanctae Romanae: Editio Princeps (1614-1615)* eds. Giacomo Baroffio, Eun Ju Kim and Manlio Sodi (Rome: Ex Typographia Medicaea, 2001).
[63] *Directorium chori ad usum sacrosanctae Basilicae Vaticanae, et aliarum cathedralium et collegiatarum ecclesiarum*… (Rome: Roberto Granjon, 1582).

third of the sales revenue) and of the long time it took to get them. The result was a series of other Spanish editions, as well as direct importation from Rome, Venice and Lyon, sometimes with texts which did not even correspond to the official reformed ones.[64] On the other hand, Philip himself wanted to make sure that the decisions which had come out of the Council, under Pope Pius V – especially the maintenance of the Toledan chant in post-Tridentine Spanish liturgical books – would be kept. Rumours of a reform of the chant, starting under the papacy of Gregory XIII, made the king write to his ambassador in Rome in 1578, declaring that no other liturgical books other than the ones ordered by Rome under the previous Papacy would be accepted in his kingdom.[65]

In Portugal, King D. Sebastião, similarly to his uncle Philip II, promulgated the acceptance of the reformed rite in 1564. Cardinal D. Henrique, uncle of D. Sebastião, a supporter of the adoption of the Tridentine decrees, promoted their edition, both in Latin (*Canones, et Decreta Sacrosanti Oecumenici, et Generalis Concilii Tridentinii*…) and in an abridged, translated Portuguese version (*Decretos e determinações do Sagrado Concílio Tridentino que deuem ser notificadas ao pouo, por ser de sua obrigação*…).[66] The king was granted permission for the local printing of the reformed Breviary and Missal, respectively in 1570 and 1573, although only the latter one seems to have taken place, since there is no evidence of any Tridentine printed Breviary in Portugal in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.[67] The only liturgical book which included texts – and music – for the Office, was a 1580 *Enchiridion Missarum*,[68] with musical notation and

[64] H. KAMEN, *The Phoenix and the Flame*, 96, and Fermín de los Reyes GÓMEZ 'Los libros de nuevo rezado y la imprenta española en el siglo XVIII', *Revista General de Información y Documentación* 9/1 (1999), 117-58, 118-19.
[65] The letter is transcribed in Narciso HERGUETA, 'Notas diplomaticas de Felipe II acerca del canto-llano, misales, breviaries y demás libros litúrgicos', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 13 (1905), 39-50, at 47-8. Available online at https://archive.org/details/revistadearchivo13spaiuoft.
[66] A. SEIÇA, 'Livros de cantochão da Sé de Coimbra', 248, footnote 1.
[67], J. P. d'ALVARENGA, 2005, 10.
[68] *Enchiridion missarum solemnium et votivarum cum vesperis, et completis totius anni, nec non officio defunctorum et aliis juxta morem S.R.E. et reformationem missalis ac breviarii ex decreto Concilii*

the Tridentine text for Masses, Vespers and Compline for selected feasts of the Temporal and Sanctoral, as well as the *Officium Defunctorum*. The most important Portuguese religious houses, both secular and monastic, did adopt the reformed liturgy, although with certain constraints. The Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra implemented the new rite in 1569 but chose to maintain their own melodies. This is made clear both in the act of the General Chapter and in their Ceremonial, printed ten years later.[69] The cathedral of Évora followed, in 1570, although keeping their own Processional and Ritual books. [70] Nevertheless, despite the decision to reform the liturgical books, the rector of the choirboys of this cathedral complained, already in 1593, of the lack of proper (reformed) chant books.[71]

Musically, since there was not a Roman musical authorised version, the result was inevitably one of multiplicity of versions, either by maintenance of the existing chant, or by reform of books following local criteria. This reform sometimes happened on a large scale, as is the case of Seville cathedral. The chapter declared the implementation of the new Breviary and Missal in January 1575.[72] This decision resulted in the mass copying

Tridentini… (Coimbra: Antonio Mariz, 1580). The only surviving exemplar, P-Ln CIC 71 V, is kept at Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, and available online at their Digital Library: http://purl.pt/23608.

[69] '…except for [the chant], which shall be according to our congregation/ exceito [os cantos] que serao conforme ao uso da nossa congregação'. Act of General Chapter, P-Lan, Corporações Religiosas, Coimbra, Santa Cruz, Maço 2, Livro 1, fol 2v. Transcrined in José Maria Pedrosa CARDOSO, *O Canto da Paixão nos séculos XVI e XVII: a singularidade portuguesa* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2006), 50 and J.P. d'ALVARENGA, 2005, 13. 'And all the chant melodies, both from the Breviary and the Missal sung in our choirs and the Tonary, that we are to keep shall be the ones that we now use, that the Chapter has accepted, and not others/ E todos os cantos, assi do breuiario como do missal, que se cantare*m* em nossos choros, e toairo que se guardar seram os que ora usamos, que o capitulo aceitou, & não outros'. *Ordinário dos Canónicos Regulares do bem aventurado nosso padre S. Augustinho, da Congregação de Sancta Cruz de Coimbra* (Lisbon: João Fernandes, 1579), fol. 10. These melodies are in all likelihood the ones copied in Tonary P-Cug MM 37 (more on this source below) and in Chapter 3.

[70] J.P. d'ALVARENGA, 2005, 13.

[71] Fully quoted and translated in J. P. d'ALVARENGA, *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, 2015, 20.

[72] 'On this day, the said gentlemen, gathered as stated, ordered that in the *coro* of this holy church the Roman *nuevo rezado* is to be prayed, according to what is contained in it, not adding nor removing anything but rather as what it is contained in it/ Este dicho dia, los dichos s.eñores congregados como dicho es mandaron se rece en el choro desta santa iglesia el nueuo Reçado Romano según y como en el si contiene, no añadiendo ni quitando cosa alguna sino como en el se contiene'. Chapter act, 7 January 1575, Libro 30, (1573-74-75), fol. 205. Transcribed by R. STEVENSON, 1985, 63.

of new books which amounted to no less than 4,396,556 *maravedís* and the building of a new *scriptorium*. This was made, nevertheless, mainly for chant books and not for polyphonic ones.[73] Two years previously, Toledo's Chapter had decided to adopt the Roman Breviary and Missal, and from there resulted a series of newly copied chant choirbooks for the Mass and the Office. Despite this, there is still testimony of some of the pre-Tridentine chants in three folios from Office Antiphoners from the early sixteenth-century, which were literally incorporated by scribes into the newly copied books.[74] In Coimbra, a group of twenty-one seventeenth-century chant books belonging to the cathedral, and copied in the wake of the adoption of the Tridentine liturgical books, have only recently been approached and are starting to be studied.[75] On the other hand, the collection of musical manuscripts kept at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal shows numerous examples of choirbooks from the fifteenth and sixteenth century, originated from different convents and monasteries throughout the country, as well as from secular institutions in the area around Lisbon, which show clear signs of having been used for extended periods of time, sometimes even centuries. In this case, the adaptations to the new texts and melodies were made through corrections in the manuscripts themselves, and not through the copy of new choirbooks.[76] There is indeed a very scarce number of printed chant Antiphoners and Graduals until the middle of the eighteenth century, whereas heavily revised sixteenth-century manuscripts are much more common.[77]

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[73] J. R. JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 100.

[74] Michael NOONE and Graeme SKINNER, 'Toledo cathedral's collection of manuscript plainsong choirbooks: A prelimary report and checklist', *Notes* 63/2 (2006), 289-328, at 299.

[75] Most of these books are currently kept in the Seminário Episcopal de Coimbra. This collection is presented by A. SEIÇA, 'Livros de cantochão da Sé de Coimbra'.

[76] João Pedro d'ALVARENGA, 'A música também é escrita', in *Tesouros da Biblioteca Nacional* (Lisbon: INAPA, 1992), 253-84, at 255 and 260.

[77] One example of these late alterations is that of a fifteenth-century Hieronymite Antiphoner from the convent of Espinheiro in Évora showing a note from 1735, the date when it had its chant melodies corrected by a 'Frei Vicente', for their better concordance and concision. The image of this source and the transcription of this note are given in J. P. d'ALVARENGA, 'A música também é escrita', at 260 and 262.

The perception of the Tridentine influence in the Iberian Peninsula should therefore be the one which has already been established for other European locations. It is one where the changes in the musical style of the sixteenth century started and were visible even before the Council of Trent, where local variants remained, and not only in liturgies older than two hundred years; where the 1614-15 Roman edition of revised chant was not universally applied; where even the adoption of the official textual sources – only two, of the vast array used in Catholic liturgy – was a process far from straightforward, quick or consistent where, in the local synods, music often came up as part of a much broader issue: the liturgical celebrations; and where Tridentine alterations of texts did not have at a musical level. The scenario that emerges in the Iberian Peninsula of the 1570s is one of a Church developing in a sinuous and gradual process. The expressions of a new religiosity were perceptible in sacred music and artistic manifestations, as well as on the everyday life of the laity, linked to the Church at such a deep level at this time. The diverse ways in which the norms of the Council of Trent were adopted and perceived in different countries within Christendom seem therefore to go well beyond specific rules and, in the case of the Iberian Peninsula, they only confirm the statement of Craig Monson on this subject: 'The history of post-Tridentine sacred music is therefore local history, characterized not by uniformity, but by fascinating diversity.'[78]

1.3. REFORMS IN SACRED MUSIC

1.3.1. A new music: the renovation of repertory

During the first half of the sixteenth century several Iberian religious institutions decided to reform their musical repertory and embarked on projects of production of new books. In Portugal, the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra underwent a process of deep reform,

[78] C. MONSON, 2002, 27.

started in 1527 and which involved the copying of new choirbooks. One musical source which illustrates quite clearly not only the new melodies but also the importance given to the correct accentuation of texts is manuscript P-Cug MM 37, a Tonary copied in the 1550s. This is an anthology for the liturgical year, written for the everyday use of the canons in this institution. It includes intonations for the psalms, antiphons, hymns and Kyries for the liturgical year. A large part of these chants (namely hymns) is written not in black square notation, but in void mensural figures. This source is extremely relevant for the polyphonic repertory of the monastery given that it worked, demonstrably, as the basis for many of the settings in the polyphonic collection of this institution.[79] In the cathedral of Évora, a new Breviary was printed in 1548,[80] with the contribution of Humanist André de Resende, which must have also implied the reformation of musical books, even if these have not survived to confirm this theory.[81] One other significant Portuguese musical source is a *Passionarium*, by Fernandes Formoso, chaplain of king D. João III, printed in Lisbon in 1543.[82] Apart from the four Passions, this chant source includes Lamentations and other lessons for Holy Week, as well as a cycle of hymns for the liturgical year. All the hymn melodies in this source use mensural notation so that, as Formoso explains in the title page, the music could respect the correct accentuation of the Latin text. A polyphonic hymnal copied and used in the mid-1550s in the cathedral of Coimbra (P-Cug MM 221) uses some of these melodies as the basis for its polyphonic settings.[83] In Toledo, an extensive project for the copying of new polyphonic books

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[79] This source is available online at the Portuguese Early Music database: http://pemdatabase.eu/source/39637. Owen Rees included this chant source in his study of polyphonic sources in Santa Cruz given its relevance for his object of study. O. REES, 1995, 255-8. In Chapter 3 several musical examples are given of polyphonic settings based on melodies from MM 37.

[80] *Breuiarium eborense* (Lisbon: Luis Rodrigues, 1548). Available online at: http://purl.pt/22944.

[81] Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, *Antologia de Música em Portugal na Idade Média e no Renascimento*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Arte das Musas/ CESEM, 2008), 87.

[82] *Passionarium secundum ritum Capelle Regis Lusitanieae* (Lisbon: Luis Rodrigues, 1543). This source is available online at http://purl.pt/14803.

[83] B. NELSON, *Pure Gold* 2011, 176 and 179. Both the *Passionarium* and MM 221 are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

begun in 1542. The luxury parchment manuscripts that today survive at this cathedral were part of this ambitious project for which the professional scribe Martín Pérez was hired.[84] The commission was made by *obrero mayor*, Don Diego López de Ayala. Lopez de Ayala was clearly the model of an intellectual man, well versed in literature and the arts.[85] Eleven years later, in 1553, the Chapter of the cathedral of Seville gathered and decided that new polyphonic choirbooks were needed, with more updated repertory, since their own was becoming outdated when compared to what was being made at other churches. A commission was created to decide which items were to be copied.[86] The reference of this Chapter act to what was sung at other churches of the kingdom almost certainly included – and was probably focusing on – the cathedral of Toledo.

The above-mentioned impetus to renew the repertory which we find in several Iberian churches is reflected around the 1550s in other kinds of sources, such as theoretical treatises or musical anthologies for instruments. One of these examples are the works of theorist Juan Bermudo (c. 1510-c. 1565). Both in his *Arte tripharia* (Osuna: Juan de León, 1550)[87] and in his *Declaración de Instrumentos musicales* (Osuna: Juan de León, 1555),[88] Bermudo is clear about this new style, both in his description of the music itself[89] as in

[84] Perez's contract for the copying of these books is transcribed in E. CASARES, 1986, 375-6.
[85] Lopez de Ayala was a page at the service of Cardinal Cisneros. He would later become Cisneros's representative at the Spanish court of Ferdinand the Catholic and of future emperor Charles V in Flanders. For more on López de Ayala, see Jonathan Paul O'CONNER, 'Diego López de Ayala and the Intellectual Contours of Sixteenth-Century Toledo' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 2011).
[86] This Chapter act is transcribed in Chapter 2.
[87] A facsimile edition of the 1550 original, made in 1875 (probably at the request of Barbieri) is available online at the Digital Spanish Library: http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000120214&page=1
[88] This treatise is available online at https://archive.org/details/Juan-Bermudo-Declaracion-1555/page/n11 Bernadette Nelson writes on all three of Bermudo's treatises including a whole section on his choice of repertory. Bernadette NELSON, 'Bermudo's masters and models of excellence for keyboard players in sixteenth-century Spain', *Revista de musicología* 39/1 (2016), 77-115.
[89] Bermudo writes: 'Have it as a particular care to flee from simultaneous singing. The compositions of fifty years ago, and the ones used when I was growing up commonly had all the voices together. You must keep from this music as from grammatical barbarism. The singing of nowadays is linked, and so tied that it barely has one voice together with another/Tened por auiso particular huyr el canto golpeado. La composición de ahora cincuenta años y la un que se vsaua quando io me crié: dauan communmente todas las boces junctas. Música es esta que se deuen guardar della como de barbarismo de gramática. El canto de ahora va eslabonado, y tan asido que apenas da una boz junctamente con otra'. Juan BERMUDO,

the list of composers whose works he particularly recommends as the ones to be studied by the aspiring keyboard player – which implies the idea of the renovation of repertory. This list is quite telling: among these composers, Josquin is the only example of a deceased musician. Every other name is of someone of his own generation, even if none or hardly any of their music has survived to the present.[90] Composers from the Josquin generation, such as Anchieta, Porto, Escobar or Peñalosa are completely dismissed.

A different kind of source – Fuenllana's anthology of music in tablature for the vihuela, *Orphenica Lyra* (Seville: Martín de Montesdoca, 1554) is equally well representative, in its choice of works, of what was performed and heard at this time: Josquin, Arcadelt, Verdelot, Morales, Guerrero and Juan Vasquez. In another anthology of the same kind, Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro de cifra nueva para tecla, harpa y vihuela* (Alcalá de Henares, Joan de Brocar, 1557), Clemens non Papa and Crequillon are prominent composers, alongside Josquin, Morales or Francisco Soto (1500-71).[91]

This new style and the composers from this generation are mostly the ones which we find in the new collections of books copied in Toledo, Seville and other institutions.[92] The idea that (with the great exceptions of Josquin for the Mass and motet repertory, Morales and Urreda's *Pange lingua* setting) the repertory from the first half of the sixteenth century did not become canonical after this period – unlike what we find with composers active

Declaración, fol 135. Robert STEVENSON, *Juan Bermudo* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1960), 64 translates the phrase 'canto golpeado' as 'accented homophony'. The current translation is mine.

[90] In *Arte tripharia* Bermudo particularly recommends, for composers of works for the keyboard, Granada-settled organists Juan Doiz and Gregorio Silvestre, the organist from Granada's royal chapel Bernardino de Figueroa, Pedro Villada (organist at Seville). From these composers no work has survived other than a responsory from *an Officium Defunctorum* by Figueroa. Other recommended composer is Antonio de Cabezón. For vocal polyphony, Bermudo names Josquin, Morales and Gombert In the *Declaración* he expands the list to Juan Vasquez (for villancicos) and also Willaert; Jacquet de Mantua, 'and other similar ones.' (fol 60).

[91] The popularity of these composers for keyboard players is discussed in Bernadette NELSON, 'The chansons of Thomas Crecquillon and Clemens non Papa in Sources of Instrumental Music in the Iberian Peninsula, and Sixteenth-Century Keyboard Traditions' in Eric Jas (ed), *Beyond Contemporary Fame. Reassessing the Art of Clemens non Papa and Thomas Crequillon* (Turhout: Brepols, 2005), 167-89.

[92] The specific case of choice of repertory and sources for Vespers are discussed in Chapter 2.

in the second half of the century – is made clear in the extant and documented musical sources. Works by composers from the first half of the sixteenth century are either not found in later inventories or, when they are, it is because they were preserved (instead of being destroyed) but were in not use and not being re-copied.[93]

1.3.2. Liturgical reform

Between 1568 and 1632 four different editions of the *Breviarium Romanum* were issued. Twenty years after the Tridentine Breviary a new one was published, under the papacy of Sixtus V; the 1602 Clementine Breviary that would follow expanded the Sanctoral with a *Proprium Sanctorum Hispanorum*. These revisions would be, however, of small scale, when compared to the one operated under the papacy of Urban VIII. The desire to privilege the correct accentuation and metre of Classical Latin led to a profound revision of the texts of hymns. In this revision, few escaped adjustments and underwent deep alterations. If Trent implied the revision or new composition of some hymns, the 1632 Breviary meant completely new texts for most of these, even for hymns which had already been circulating in print for decades.

Each of these revised versions led – to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the institutions – to alterations in the text of polyphonic settings for the Office (it being frequently the case that in Iberian churches the new text was applied to existing musical settings). On the other hand, it opened the opportunity for new compositions, given the alterations to the calendar of saints, which created the need for musical settings for the newly added feasts. Both the alteration of texts made to pre-existent settings and the

[93] An exemplary case of this is the entry in a 1724 inventory from the cathedral of Seville of a manuscript book of Magnificat settings by composers from the first half of the century (Josquin, Morales, Porto, Acuña, Peñalosa, Pedro Fernandez, Carpentras). The author, organist Muñoz de Montserrat states: '…but even though [this book] is not used in the *coro*, it should be kept in the archive since it has got very particular and exquisite musical figures/ pero aunque non sirva en el choro se debe guardar en el archivo por que tiene figuras en música muy particulares y exquisitas'.

composition of settings for new feasts are well reflected in the musical sources from this period. These alterations are particularly visible in hymns, the polyphonic genre which, unlike psalms, Magnificat or Benedicamus, was the object of alterations as a consequence of both textual and calendar modifications following the Council of Trent and during the seventeenth century.[94]

1.4. Polyphonic techniques to singing at vespers in the sixteenth century: theoretical, musical and liturgical sources

In the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, the polyphonic repertory performed in churches throughout the Iberian Peninsula fell into several distinct categories, known and practiced by singers, instrumentalists and composers.[95] Some of these meant specifically written and composed polyphony, whereas other could indicate different levels and types of improvisation, such as performance based on learned formulae (not always necessarily written down), or the improvisation of one or more melodic lines over a given melody or polyphonic texture. The terminology attributed to these different types of polyphony is pervasive throughout Renaissance sources, from Ceremonials to theoretical treatises or descriptions of musical performance in certain religious services.

One of the terms found in Iberian Renaissance sources is *fabordón*. This type of polyphony involves a four-voice texture which can be applied to both vocal and instrumental settings. Although it was essentially improvised, it could be written down. [96] The most traditional *fabordón* settings place the psalm-tone in the superius voice, although it can also appear in the tenor (in the seventh tone) or even, when composers

[94] These issues are developed in Chapter 3.
[95] This does not imply that these categories disappeared after the sixteenth century. On the contrary, they were maintained and use alongside the new textures developed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.
[96] The examples found of written *fabordón*, exemplified in treatises and copied in musical sources, are for four voices.

want to explore alternatives to the standard settings, in the alto voice. It is, therefore, a way of elaborating upon a psalm-tone. *Fabordón* is mentioned in several treatises, and in musical sources (both for vocal and instrumental settings) up to as late as the eighteenth century. The main characteristics attributed to it by Renaissance theorists seem to be, on one hand, its simplicity and, on the other, the main role of the ear – and not of knowledge of music theory – in its practice although, when it was copied, it would usually be complexly written down.

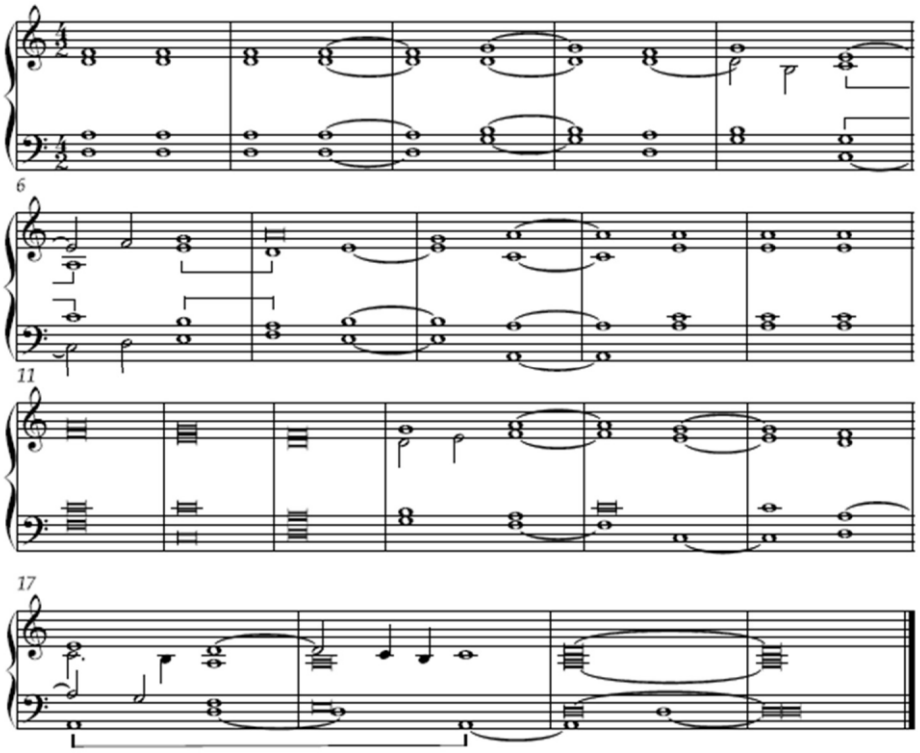
Despite the similarity of the term with 'fauxbourdon'; 'faburden' or 'falsobordone', the Iberian *fabordón* has particular characteristics, unique to musical settings found in Iberian sources.[97] These are, mainly, the succession of root-position chords, over a bass-line progressing in leaps of fourths and fifths, which presents clear cadential movements at the mediation and final *saeculorum* chords, usually more elaborated, especially with a hemiola-type rhythm in the bass line (particularly in the mediation cadence), related to the slight melodic movements of the psalm-tone itself.

Given that *fabordón* could be written down, we have examples of it in musical sources. Of the choirbooks from the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, P-Cug MM 44 contains no fewer than sixteen settings, while others are preserved in MM 12 and MM 48.[98] E-Tc 21 includes eight *fabordones* – one for each tone – with the text of psalm 109, *Dixit Dominus.*

[97] B. Nelson, 1987, 279-311, discusses the *fabordón* and its characteristics at length and demonstrates them with musical examples taken from both primary and secondary sources, for all tones. This dissertation is available online at https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:b736ca8f-0bb7-47a4-9ac4-2102b6cc3acb

[98] Most of these are textless. Only the three settings in MM 12 have text: two *Dixit Dominus* and one *In exitu Israel*.

Musical example 1: *Fabordón* tone 1, P-Cug MM 44, fols 48v-49



Pietro Cerone refers to *fabordón* in his 1613 *Melopeo y Maestro*, precisely in the opening to the chapter on how to compose psalms: 'In these kingdoms of Spain, it is not usual to sing the psalms in composed polyphony, but in fabordón'.[99] Andrés de Lorente mentions it in his 1672 treatise *El porqué de la música*, providing examples of four-voice *fabordónes* in all eight tones, and considering it as a useful tool to composition.[100] Still in the eighteenth century, Nassarre explains that in many churches, where there is not a

[99] '… en estos Reynos de España, no es vso el cantar los Salmos en Música, si no a Fabordónes'. Pietro CERONE, *Il Melopeo y Maestro* (Naples: Gargano/Nucci, 1613), 689. Available online at https://archive.org/stream/imslp-melopeo-y-maestro-cerone-pietro/PMLP213335.cerone_livro_xii#page/n37. My translation follows the one in Douglas KIRK, 'Newly-Discovered Works of Philippe Rogier' in *Encomium Musicae: Essays in Honour of Robert J. Snow*, David Crawford and Grayson Wagstaff eds, Festschrift series 17 (Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2002), 47-74, at 57. This passage is equally quoted and translated by Giuseppe FIORENTINO, 'Contrapunto and Fabordón: Practices of Extempore Polyphony in Renaissance Spain', *Studies in Historical Improvisation: from cantare super librum to partimenti*, Massimiliano Guido ed (New York: Routledge, 2017), 72-90, at 85. The author interprets the word 'Música' literally, concluding thus that Cerone disregards *fabordón* to the extent of not considering it as actual music. 'Música' appears in Spanish Renaissance sources with a variety of meanings and, in this case, it clearly refers to composed polyphony (*canto de organo*). FIORENTINO discusses *fabordón* (and its different meanings) and contrapunto at length in '"Cantar por uso" and "cantar fabordón": the "unlearned" tradition of oral polyphony in Renaissance Spain (and beyond)' *Early Music* 43 (2015), 23-35.

[100] Andrés LORENTE, *El porqué de la música: en que se contiene los quatro artes de ella: canto llano, canto de órgano, contrapunto y composición…* (Alcalá de Henares: Nicolas de Xamares, 1672), 566-71. Available online at: http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000160019&page=1.

(professional) *capilla* of singers, *fabordón* was often used on solemn feasts, which meant therefore that polyphony was created according to the fancy of the singers and of what sounded good to them, something which he states to be 'without art.'[101]

As regards settings for Vespers, Ceremonials usually recommend *fabordón* for psalms – confirming what is stated in theoretical sources - but *fabordón* may also be used in low-ranking feasts, or second Vespers, in the Magnificat. This is the case, for example, at second Vespers of lower-ranking feasts in the cathedrals of Granada ('dobles que non son de guardar') and Palencia ('fiestas que non son de guardar'). [102] The famous *Directorio de Choro* of the cathedral of Sigüenza, a four-volume Ceremonial copied in the late sixteenth-century, instructs that the Magnificat be in *fabordón* for second Vespers of first-class feasts, and first Vespers of octaves and second-class feasts.[103]

Contrapunto is a form of improvised polyphony, and it distinguishes itself from *fabordón* in the fact that it demands a certain degree of musical education.[104] Perhaps for that reason, it is more thoroughly discussed in musical treatises. It was, according to theorists, divided into two main categories, according to its degree of complexity: *contrapunto suelto* implied improvisation of only one voice over the plainchant melody, whereas

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[101] 'En muchas partes no hay Capilla de músicos, los días Solemnes forman consonancias muchos sobre el *Canto Llano* que se canta; à lo que llamaron los antiguos *Contrapunto* y los modernos llaman cantar à *Fabordon*, por distinguir al Contrapunto, que es con arte; de este, que es sin el… Y en el que se llama Fabordón se forman [consonancias] según el antojo de él que canta, sin poner la atención más a que suene bien / In many places there is no *capilla* of musicians, [and], on solemn days, many make consonances over the chant which is sung; to which the ancient ones called *contrapunto* and the modern ones call singing *a fabordón*, [in order to] distinguish it from *contrapunto*, which is [performed] with art, from this one, which is [performed] without art… And in the one called *fabordón* the consonances are formed according to the fancy of those who sing it, without paying attention to anything other than it sounding pleasing [to the ear.]' Pablo NASSARRE, *Escuela Música, según la practica moderna*… (Zaragoza, por los herederos de Diego de Larumbe, 1723), vol 2, 150. Available online at: http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000014534&page=1

[102] Herminio González BARRIONUEVO, *Francisco Guerrero (1528-1599): vida y obra: la música en la catedral de Sevilla a finales del siglo XVI* (Sevilla: Cabildo Metropolitano de la Catedral, 2000), 704 and 708.

[103] Sections of this Ceremonial were transcribed by J. SUAREZ-PAJARES, 1998. Occasions when Magnificat (and psalms) should be performed in *fabordón* are mentioned in vol 2, 105-18.

[104] See the above-mentioned works by G. FIORENTINO, 'Contrapunto and Fabordón: Practices of Extempore Polyphony' and '"Cantar por uso".

contrapunto concertado implied improvising two voices, thus having to 'concertar' not only with the chant melody but also with the third voice.[105] *Contrapunto* was regarded, at least since the mid-sixteenth century, as an essential component in the education of a musician, and the importance of the teaching of 'educated improvisation' is replicated in a variety of treatises. Regarding Vespers, Ceremonials recommend contrapunto mainly for the psalm and Magnificat antiphons. Sigüenza's *Directorio de Choro* states that the antiphon to the first psalm at First Vespers of Epiphany, *Ante luciferum genitus*, should be performed in *contrapunto suelto*, the same applying to the Magnificat antiphon of that feast. The author, Juan Pérez, recalls that in some churches, nevertheless, these antiphons are performed in *contrapunto concertado*.[106] An eighteenth-century Ceremonial from the cathedral of Seville equally recommends *contrapunto* (without further specification of type) for all the five psalm antiphons and Magnificat antiphon at first Vespers of 'primera classe' feasts. In the case of only one *ministril* being present, *contrapunto* should be applied to the antiphons of the first psalm and of the Magnificat. *Contrapunto* was reserved only for the Magnificat antiphon at second Vespers of first-class feasts and first Vespers of second-class feasts. On specific feasts, such as the Expectation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or St Thomas the Apostle (both celebrated during Advent) the 'O' antiphons should be performed in *contrapunto*, as well as the psalm and Magnificat antiphons of Holy Saturday Vespers.[107] Although mostly applied to antiphons, there is one mention of *contrapunto*, to be applied to psalm 116, *Laudate Dominum*, in a 1604 Ceremonial from the cathedral of Toledo.[108] Although the descriptions in treatises usually do not enter into

[105] P. NASSARRE, *Escuela Música*, 141. This distinction so clearly made by Nassarre is abundantly mentioned in secondary literature. Two recent examples are J. SUAREZ-PAJARES, *La música en la catedral de Sigüenza*, 119 (where this passage is transcribed) and Pablo L. RODRÍGUEZ, 'Ad maiorem Dei gloriam (aut regis): la música en latín y el organo', in *Historia de la música en España e Hispano américa. La música en el siglo XVII*, Álvaro Torrente ed. (Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2017), 85-188, at 104.
[106] J. SUAREZ-PAJARES, *La música en la catedral de Sigüenza*, vol. 2, 119.
[107] J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La Librería*, 363, 379 and 381. Jiménez transcribes this Ceremonial (*Compendio de las obligaciones*) in Appendix 2 of this book.
[108] M. NOONE, 2009, 165. This Ceremonial is further discussed in Chapter 4.

a great deal of detail, one document of a very different nature - also from the cathedral of Toledo and equally dated 1604 – describes a level of complexity so extreme for *contrapunto* that researchers wonder if this was actually possible to accomplish.[109] This document describes a setting of twenty tests which the applicants for the new position of choirmaster (left vacant by Alonso Lobo) would have had to undergo. It involved, among other things, the improvised addition of one voice not only to one, but to two, three or even four pre-existent chant or mensural melodies, or the improvisation of a melody over a chant or *canto de organo* melody while simultaneously showing to one (or even two) singers what to sing by using the Guidonian hand.[110]

Canto de organo unmistakeably meant composed, written polyphony. As regards Vespers music of the sixteenth century, *canto de organo* is mainly represented in the genres of the Magnificat and the hymn. The defining line separating contrapunto from *canto de organo* could sometimes become blurred, as explained by Bermudo in his *Declaración de Instrumentos*.[111]

Considered, on one hand, the most sophisticated form of vocal polyphony it was not, on the other, uncontroversial, especially in the wake of the movement which privileged

[109] This is the case of Philippe CANGUILHEM and Alexander STALAROW, 'Singing upon the book according to Vicente Lusitano', *Early Music History* 30 (2011), 55-103 at 57.
[110] E-Tc Actas Capitulares 23, fols 183-183v. This document is controversial in more than one way. Firstly, the later description in Chapter acts of what took place during these tests does not correspond exactly to what is described in the documents which lists the tests; secondly, it displays a level of demand much higher than the one shown in documents of other institutions. If nothing else, however, it shows how vital the ability to dominate *contrapunto* was for musicians at this time. This document is transcribed in Dionisio PRECIADO, *Alonso de Tejeda (ca. 1556-1628) compositor español* (Madrid:Editorial Alpuertom 1978), vol 1, 78; F. REYNAUD, 1996, 135-6 and Philippe CANGUILHEM and Alexander STALAROW, 'Singing upon the book', 102-103.
[111] 'In the supreme chapel of the late most reverend Fonseca, archbishop of Toledo, I saw singers so gifted in the art of counterpoint that if it had been written down, it could have been sold as a good composition… This is why some wish this art not to be called contrapunto but rather composition/ En la extremada capilla del reverendísimo arçobispo de Toledo, Fonseca de buena memoria vi tan diestros cantores hechar contrapunto, que si se puntara: se vendiera por buena comoposición… De aquí es que algunos no quieran esta arte se llame de contrapunto; sino de composición'. J. BERMUDO, *Declaración de instrumentos*, fol 128. The translation used is the one of Philippe CANGUILHEM and Alexander STALAROW, 'singing upon the book', 101.

textual perception.[112] The distractions which *canto de organo* might bring during religious services, and the less spiritually fulfilling experience they might cause on its participants or attendees, were sometimes used as an explanation for the use of alternative forms of polyphony (namely *fabordón*), in which the text would theoretically be less obscured by musical artifice. This is one of the theories used to explain, for example, the supposed prohibition of King Philip II of *canto de organo* in the monastery of El Escorial, a prohibition for which no conclusive explanation has yet been found.[113]

Fabordón, *contrapunto* and *canto de organo* were the three chief, but by no means the only, forms of polyphonic performance found in musical and textual Iberian sources. Other expressions, usually associated with improvised singing in parts, can be found, such as *discante* or *varetas*.[114] One characteristic which all these expressions have in common is the fact that they presuppose the performance by one choir of singers, which could be – and often was – enriched by the organ and an instrumental ensemble. The expression *a coros*, also commonly found, simply means antiphonal performance, either between parts of the choir or between these and instrument players. This scenario, however, started to change towards the end of the sixteenth century, and new textures started to be cultivated

[112] The subject of textual perception, its importance and how it was applied in polyphonic performances at Vespers services is developed in Chapter 4.
[113] This is partly the theory of Spanish musicologist J. SIERRA PEREZ, 1998, 169-240. The complex theme of polyphonic practice at El Escorial is developed in Chapter 2.
[114] *Varetas* were to be performed in the second and fourth Vespers psalms of first-class feasts in the cathedral of Seville, according to the *Compendio de las obligaciones.* Transcribed in J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 241 and 363. According to the *Diccionario de Música Española e Hispanoamericana* (vol. 10, 753-4), Varetas (or 'varillas') is a form of improvised polyphony. It is described as 'no other than a contrapunto alla mente in the style of primitive parallel organum ('no es otro que un contrapunto alla mente en el estilo del organum primitivo paralelo') which was used in Spain until at least the first half of the nineteenth century. Hilárión Eslava, Seville's chapel master between 1832-47, mentions this practice in the singing of psalms at Compline until at least 1843 in his *Breve memoria historica de la música en España* (Madrid: Luis Beltrán,1860), 37. His description does indeed seem to correspond with the definition of the *Diccionario*: 'The intonation of the psalms is in the eight tone and, until the mediation, it is harmonized in perfect chords, making perfect fifths in a row/ La entonación de los salmos es por 8º tono y hasta la mediación se harmoniza en acordes perfectos hacendo quintas perfectas seguidas'.

and added to these, such as solo singing on one hand, and on the other, polychorality. These developments are discussed and exemplified in Chapter 3 of the dissertation.

1.5. Conclusion

The musical sources with polyphony for Vespers, as well as the documentary sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, demonstrate the very significant amount of repertory for this service – the consequence of the fundamental role which music played in it. The ecclesiastical authorities in each cathedral or monastery would, therefore, on a regular basis, try to make sure that, within their financial possibilities and musical resources (of singers, instrument players, musical instruments and musical sources) the service of Vespers would have the best available repertory that they could copy or purchase, performed by the best singers and instrumentalists they could afford to hire.

CHAPTER 2. POLYPHONIC SOURCES FOR VESPERS: ACQUISITION, USE AND PERMANENCE. THE CASE OF SIX IBERIAN RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

Este dia mando el cavildo [sic] que el Libro de Magnificas que oy presento en nombre de un maestro de capilla portugues el Racionero Alfonso Pablo, se inventarie y entregue al maestro de capilla con los demas que estan asu cargo.[115]

The purpose of this chapter is to present the musical collections for Vespers of six Iberian religious institutions, to be used as study-cases and to study the various ways in which these collections were acquired and what items were part of them. The most significant issues which emerge from surveying the sources are discussed throughout the chapter and summarized in section 2.3 (Repertory): the choice of Iberian composers - particularly evident from the 1550s onwards; the prolonged use of some sources and also the 'canonisation' of certain composers.[116] The study of historical inventories and published catalogues allows for a perception of the polyphonic Vespers music which these institutions held and also, in some cases, sheds a very different light regarding the use of polyphony in previously-studied institutions – as shown below, with, for example, Michael Noone's depiction of the monastery of El Escorial. At the end of the chapter, the findings of the study of the collections for Vespers of thirty-eight Iberian religious institutions are presented, allowing for a new comparative study, in which certain patterns – the issues mentioned above – clearly emerge.

[115] 'On this day, the Chapter ordered for the book of Magnificat settings by a Portuguese chapel master [Manuel Cardoso], which was presented by *racionero* Alfonso Pablo, to be added to the inventories and to be given to the chapel master [Francisco de Santiago], with the other books which are under his charge'. E-Sc Sección 1, libro 49, fol 59. Chapter act from the cathedral of Seville, 06/09/1617. Transcribed in Rosario Gutiérrez CORDERO and María Luísa M. MUÑOZ, 2012, 126.

[116] I borrow the term 'canonisation' from the title in J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2013.

2.1. ACQUISITION: COPYING, PURCHASE, DONATIONS AND LEGACIES

There were different ways in which a given religious institution could build its collection of music sources and these were frequently used concurrently. The degree to which each one of these was applied varied according to the financial possibilities of the institution, the size of its *capilla* and (determined by both factors) the frequency and complexity of polyphonic performance on feast days. The way in which choirbooks and other music sources were acquired was documented essentially in Chapter acts and account books from the *fábrica.*

Wealthier institutions could afford to rely on a substantial amount of manuscript copying as a way of acquiring new repertory. The cases of the cathedrals of Seville and Toledo are particularly telling in this case, not only for the amount of copying done, but also for the material chosen for it – parchment.

Just before the mid-sixteenth century, the cathedral of Toledo embarked on a project for the copying of a series of new polyphonic choirbooks. This resulted in no fewer than 21 richly illuminated volumes produced between 1542 and 1605, all of them copied using parchment of the very best quality – a factor which contributed decisively to the survival of every one of these sources up to the present day.[117] In 1553, the Chapter of the cathedral of Seville equally decided to renew its collection of polyphonic choirbooks. A Chapter act from 7 October states: 'On this day, the said gentleman Dean and the Chapter, having learned that the polyphonic choirbooks of this holy church are very old, and the works

[117] The archive of the cathedral of Toledo is particularly rich in documentary sources, allowing us to trace in great detail the history of these choirbooks. Michael Noone describes it as 'an extraordinarily rich series of archival documents', which 'enables us to trace with unusual precision the choirbooks from conception, through to repertory selection, copying, illumination, correction, binding, recompilation and rebinding.' (Michael NOONE, 2006, 561-85, at 562). A series of publications – most including transcription and/or facsimiles of archival sources – discuss these sources and their history: Rubio PIQUERAS 1926, Michael NOONE 2002, 2003, 2006, 2012, 2016, Michael NOONE and Graeme SKINNER 2009 and François REYNAUD, 1996.

they contain also very ancient, and not the ones that are being sung in other churches throughout the kingdom… commissioned from Martin Gascon and other people from the city [who are] knowledgeable in polyphony… how to best arrange to make two or three polyphonic choirbooks with the best Mass that there currently is and they gave this job to Rodrigo de Ceballos… '.[118] Even though this Chapter act refers specifically to books of Masses, and – unlike Toledo – most of Seville's sixteenth-century sources do not survive, new books were copied around this time, namely the current parchment choirbook E-Sc1 with Marian antiphons and motets, and the no-longer extant collection of Magnificat setting by different composers, also copied in parchment (see Tables 2.1 and 2.2 below).

The process of copying is, in fact, telling in more than one way. It lets us know not only of the financial possibilities of a religious institution, but also of its desire to use and keep a certain repertory. It is common to find manuscript copies of prints (in parchment or paper) in Iberian religious institutions, sometimes made as late as the eighteenth or nineteenth century. Most often – unless the source survives, or in exceptionally detailed historical inventories - it is not possible to know of the use, or lack of it, of a certain source. But the fact that an institution produced copies (or kept recopying) certain works – particularly if the copy was made in parchment –almost certainly means that this was music meant for frequent and/or prolonged use.

Another form of acquisition was the purchase of music books, either in manuscript or – mostly - in printed format. This naturally derived from the proliferation of printed editions

[118] Este dicho dia [7/10/1553] los dichos señores dean y cabildo… tenendo relación que los libros desta santa ylesia de canto de organo son muy antíguos y las obras dellos muy antíguas y non aquellas que se cantan en las yglesias de todo el reyno cometieron alos señores el doctor don martin gasco y personas abiles de la çibdad en la musica de canto de organo …de orden que se há de tener para hazer dos o tres libros de canto de organo de punto de la mejor misa que agora ay…y mandaronolo cometer el trabajo a rodrigo de çavallos…' Chapter act 7/10/1553, E-Sc sección 1, libro 22, fol 74. Transcribed in R. STEVENSON, 1985, 40 and J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2005, 109. This passage appears translated in R. STEVENSON. 1961, 145.

of polyphonic music from the mid-sixteenth century. Documentary sources from the Cathedral of Toledo, for example, show that the purchase of books increased systematically when Ginés de Boluda took up the position of chapel master in 1580.[119] These purchases could then be copied into manuscripts in the institution itself. In some cases, where the copy is extremely faithful, it is possible to recognise from which specific edition they came. This is the case of several works from the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, whose original source Owen Rees identified.[120] Manuscripts could equally be purchased, although this was a rarer instance. One important example comes from two Toledan inventories – one undated and the other one from 1539, which mention a richly decorated parchment manuscript, with 'many new works', bought by Diego Lopez de Ayala, *obrero mayor* in Toledo and the commissioner of the above-mentioned copy of new manuscripts. This description seems to correspond to the richly decorated choirbook E-Tc Reservado 23, which includes mostly works by Franco Flemish composers from the first half of the sixteenth century.[121]

Another form of acquisition of polyphonic choirbooks which became particularly popular with printed music, especially in the regions of Castile and Aragón, was one which came to be quite frequently used in secular churches throughout Spain. When a composer had

[119] Reynaud's work on the acquisition of choirbooks – with reference to the documentary sources for each book – is quite illustrative of the level of detail that characterises Toledo's archival documents, and it shows an increase in the purchase of music prints from between the late sixteenth and the first decade of the seventeenth century. F. REYNAUD 1996, 360-71.

[120] O. REES, 1995, 88.

[121] See J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2013. The undated inventory states: 'And also. Another book of *canto de organo*, written in parchment, with many new works, with some golden letters, which *señor* Diego Lopez de Ayala ordered to be purchased from a German man/Ytem. Otro libro grande de canto de órgano escrito en pergamino con muchas obras nuevas con algunas letras de oro que mandó comprar el señor Diego Lopez de Ayala de un alemán'. E-Tc Obra y Fábrica, Ms. 1326, fol 192. The inventory from 1539 states: 'and a very rich book of *canto de organo*, written and notated in parchment, with illuminated letters and historiated initials, which is very well bounded and embellished. It was ordered to be bought by the said don Diego López de Ayala, vicar, canon and *obrero*/ yten un libro de canto de órgano muy rico escriptio y puntado en pergamino con sus letras & ystroias ylluminadas, el qual esta muy bien enquadernado y guarneçido. Mandolo comprar el dicho señor don Diego López de Ayala, vicario, canonigo y obrero'. Inventario *Tavera* (1539), fol 190v.

a new work – especially in print – he would send it to several cathedrals and, although not explicitly stated, expected a financial reward for the 'donation'. This would bring to the composer not only the financial return but, especially, a way to divulge his own work. The chapel master was, in this instance, a key figure in deciding whether the work was appropriate or not for the service of the institution.[122]

A fourth way in which music books could arrive at a certain institution was through legacies, where an individual decided to leave their own personal library to a certain institution of their choice, usually because of some formal or personal tie to it. Sometime between 1577 and 1582, the cathedral of Zamora received from Bernardo García - a canon at this cathedral and a music theorist - a rich collection which included motets by Lassus, Phinot, Pierre Colin, Gombert, Vicente Lusitano, Masses and motets by Josquin, and Victoria's 1576 *Liber primus qui missas, psalmos, Magnificat*, among other works where the composer is not identified.[123] Jerónimo de León, a chapel master at Valladolid, equally left his private library of about 100 music prints and manuscripts to the cathedral in 1629.[124] In the mid sixteenth century, the cathedral of Seville received, after a long legal battle, an invaluable legacy from Hernando Colón, which included, among thousands of volumes, a variety of musical sources. This would come to be the Biblioteca Colombina. The incorporation of these legacies in the repertory of the institutions is of course very difficult to trace, although manuscript copies of certain items, or the displacement of a certain book to the *coro* constitute significant signs that this might have been the case. In Seville, the above-mentioned parchment collection of Magnificat

[122] Although in almost every case the chapter accepted the offer and gave the financial reward which it found appropriate, success it was not always absolutely guaranteed, as can be seen in the decision of the chapel master at the cathedral of Ávila, Vivanco, of refusing Victoria's *Missae, Magnificat, Motecta* claiming: 'they are not appropriate for this church' ('no son a propósito para esta santa iglesia'). Archivo capitular de Ávila. Actas capitulares nº 33, 08/06/1601, s.f. This is transcribed in multiple studies of Victoria. For the full excerpt of chapter acts related to this donation, see Appendix II.
[123] Transcription of inventories of this cathedral in Appendix III.
[124] S. AGUIRRE RINCÓN, 2009, 384.

settings included copies of this canticle by Carpentras and Josquin, and the inventories of Colón's collection included both Carpentras's *Liber cantici magnificat omnium tonorum* and Josquin's *Magnificat liber primus.*[125] Quite tellingly, both prints have disappeared from the Colombina collection.[126]

A variant of the acquisition through legacies happened when a musician of a certain religious institution – especially a chapel master, or someone related to him by family ties –legated his work to that same institution.[127] The death of the chapel master also often meant – even if not specifically stated – that his works remained in the institution where he had worked until the end of his life. These musical collections often resulted in the listing of the output of that composer. These inventories represent only a portion of the overall musical collection of a certain church, but they constitute invaluable documentary sources, especially in the case of seventeenth-century composers, when a part of their works was *música a papeles*. The inventories of the music by Toledo chapel masters Pedro de Ardanaz and Miguel de Ambiela, (from the early 1700s), and Seville chapel masters Luís Bernardo Jalón and Alonso Xuaréz – all resulting from the listing of their works made shortly after their death – constitute important lists of items of *música a papeles*, and of the choices of repertory and musical style in these cathedrals – particularly

[125] See Catherine CHAPMAN, 'Printed collections of polyphonic music owned by Ferdinand Columbus', JAMS 21/1 (1968), 34-84, Items nºs 29 (Josquin) and 153 (Carpentras).

[126] Higini Anglés's 1947 catalogue of the Colombina no longer includes the prints by Carpentras or Josquin. Higini ANGLÉS, 'La música conservada en la Biblioteca Colombina y en la Catedral de Sevilla', *Anuario Musical* 2 (1947), 3-39. Ruiz Jiménez makes notice of the disappearance of these sources. He proposes these items may have been moved from the Colombina collection into the *coro*, for use of the *capilla*, and would have eventually been lost through damage, even though he states that the only documentary evidence of such a case is related to another book (*Liber selectarum cantionum* - 1520[4]). J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 214-15. No inventories from the polyphonic choirbooks kept in the *coro* ever includes the prints by Josquin or Carpentras. If they were indeed moved, the thought must have been that they belonged to a different collection and should not, therefore, be included in these inventories.

[127] This process can be more or less complex, depending on the family members expectation of some financial reward for that legacy. A particularly long process took place in Toledo, with the works by chapel master Pedro de Ardanaz, whose brother-in-law, Toledan *ministril* Juan de Medina, only gave up the composer's works after a payment of 20 *doblones*, seven years after his death. Chapter acts related to this are transcribed in GIL, 2018, 138.

in the genres of psalms and Magnificat settings – although not all the inventories provide the same level of detail and most of the sources listed did not survive to the present.

2.2. COLLECTIONS OF POLYPHONIC SOURCES

Collections of polyphonic sources vary greatly in size and wealth, something which is determined on one hand, by how many of these were acquired in the first place, and, on the other, by how many of them have survived to the present.

There are several ways in which it is possible to know of these collections. The first and most straightforward one is by knowing which ones are extant. A second way is through documentary sources, by the mentioning of music which, even if no longer extant, was once part of an institution's collection. The most usual form of listing these sources were inventories, made more or less regularly (depending on the institution). There were three circumstances which usually led to the writing of a new inventory: the change in chapel master (where the new one taking the post made a list of all the extant music at that moment, thus freeing himself from any responsibilities over previously lost or damaged choirbooks); an episcopal visit (which usually led to the listing of all the goods of an institution, including musical sources) and, as mentioned above, the acquisition of a legacy of music, where the newly received items were listed.

Other documentary sources such as Chapter acts can provide information on musical sources which had been copied, purchased, repaired or rebound. Finally, some contemporary descriptions of what was sung at a certain feast or celebration can help infer what musical sources would have been available, although this is the case where we tread on most uncertain ground.

The richness or deficiency of archives varies greatly in the Iberian Peninsula. In some cases, the sources have been well preserved and organised, and are more or less easily

accessible. Other institutions are at the opposite end of this spectrum. Spanish and especially Portuguese churches suffered losses from both natural causes and historical events. In Portugal, an earthquake of great proportions in 1755 caused the destruction of many musical libraries. The liberal revolution of 1834, when all the religious institutions were closed and their goods became a property of the state, further helped disband the musical and documentary collections of many Portuguese religious institutions. The prolonged neglect which these sources were subject to, on the one hand, and, on the other, the attitude of many clergymen – who, in fear of having more of their treasures 'stolen' by the state choose to hide whichever few musical sources they have - result in a combination of factors which makes research on these collections extremely difficult.[128]

The Napoleonic invasions and the Peninsular war (1807-14) against France were particularly felt in religious institutions in Spain, with the burning and even demolition of several convents, especially in Madrid. The whole first half of the nineteenth century was also marked by the so-called 'Spanish confiscation' ('*desamortización'*). The properties and goods of the of the '*manos muertas'* – literally, the 'dead hands', that is, the land and possessions in the hands of the Church and the noble class – were nationalised and sold.[129] The Second Spanish Republic was proclaimed in 1931 and in 1936 the Civil War had begun, lasting for nearly three years. The pre-war period was marked by Government confiscations leading to more than one religious institution

[128] The sources from the monastery of Santa Cruz are an exemplary case of this. With its closure in 1834, its musical collection was spread through libraries, archives and private collections in different parts of the country. In the worst cases, this documentation was simply lost. This process probably meant a very significant impairment to their archive. Nowadays, most of the musical documents from this monastery, as well as from other religious institutions in Coimbra, namely the cathedral and religious colleges, are thus kept in the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra (BGUC). Many chant sources from Santa Cruz are kept in the Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto. The trauma of these events is still felt by Church authorities in Coimbra nowadays. The polyphonic Vesperal approached in Chapter 3 has very much been kept secret by the priests of the Church of Santa Cruz. The only way of accessing this source – photographed by musicologist José Abreu, after months of conversation – was under the condition that it would be used for study purposes only, and the divulging of any of its photographs is strictly out of the question.

[129] Francisco Marti GILABERT, *La desamortización española* (Madrid: Rialp, 2003).

discreetly selling parts of their musical collections.[130] The war itself caused, on the one hand, the moving of several musical archives (namely to and from the National Library of Spain and also from the Library of Catalonia)[131] and, simultaneously, on the other, an attempt – especially from the librarians of Spain's National Library – at keeping files and inventories not only from their own collections but from religious institutions in the area of Madrid.

2.2.1. Secular churches

In secular churches, the use of polyphony and the number of sources with this music was mainly related to the financial ability to acquire them and maintain a *capilla* of singers and instrument-players, rather than by issues of policies on the use of polyphony and its appropriateness in a certain religious context, as is the case with monastic orders. The three secular churches chosen as study-cases in this chapter, although all within the highest-rank of this type of church – all are cathedrals – represent two very different scenarios regarding the number of polyphonic sources, the maintenance of their *capillas*, and the musical settings themselves (especially in terms, of polychoral repertory, for example), with Seville – and especially Toledo – at one end of the spectrum, and Tuy at the other.

[130] The Benedictine monastery of Monserrat sold at this time a collection of 2000 musical manuscripts, by composers from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, at suggestion from priest David Pujol. See Maria Teresa Delgado Sanchez *et alia*, 'Music papers on movement, 1936-1939: the case of the Spanish civil war', 3. Article from the Associación Española de Documentación Musical, published online at https://www.iaml.info/sites/default/files/pdf/music_papers_on_movement-full_text.pdf

[131] Higini Anglés, librarian at the Music Department of the Library of Catalonia had to flee to Germany during the Spanish war, persecuted by his religious status. Before leaving, he managed to salvage manuscripts from different churches – particularly from the cathedral of Barcelona – in the library where he worked. Idem, 13.

a) The cathedrals of Toledo and Seville

The cathedrals of Toledo and Seville have been, from their creation as Christian temples, the two most important religious institutions in the kingdom of Castile and are certainly to this day ranked among the most important ones in the whole of the Iberian Peninsula and of Europe. This had an obvious and direct impact on the performance of music in many aspects, from the frequency of polyphonic practice to the size of their *capillas*, from the musical production of their chapel masters and the international impact of their music to the richness of their collections of music.

The musical collections of both the cathedrals of Toledo and Seville were extremely rich and the number of polyphonic sources for the use of the singers registered in their inventories in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is proof of this fact.[132] The care for the preservation of these sources varied greatly, from the type of book, to its main users, to the material they were made of and to their contents.

The tables below were elaborated on the one hand, on the basis of modern catalogues of extant sources – available online and in secondary literature – and on the transcription of various historical inventories. These tables list items used for the Hour of Vespers and by composers working within the time frame of the dissertation only.[133] They are organised in the following manner: the first and second tables for each institution (2.1, 2.2. and 2.3, 2.4) list their extant and their documented choirbooks respectively. The subsequent tables (2.5 to 2.8) list their *música a papeles*.

[132] To these must be added the chant books and the books for the instrumentalists (*ministriles*). The latter ones are important - in the sense that the *ministriles* often played with the singers - and are therefore also representative of the polyphonic repertory performed at religious ceremonies. The books for *ministriles* are therefore included in the tables below, whenever they are part of their extant or documented collections.
[133] This means that settings used in processions (such as several Sevillian 'Tantum ergo' or the Toledan fragmentary 'Monstra te' verse by Morales for processional use), or *música a papeles* by chapel masters working in the eighteenth century listed in these inventories, are not included in these tables.

Table 2.1:[134] Extant choirbooks with polyphonic repertory for Vespers in the cathedral of Seville

MANUSCRIPTS						
RISM Sigla	Composers	Contents/Title	Date	Material	Dimensions (mm)	Acquisition
E-Sc 2	Guerrero Ceballos Navarro	Psalms/Hymns Hymns Magnificat settings	1573-76	Parchment	610x400	Copy
E-Sc 10[135]	Aguilera de Heredia Anonymous	Magnificat settings Hymn *O Roma felix*	After 1724	Paper	580 x 400	Copy
E-Sc 16	Anonymous A. Lobo G. Úbeda F. Santiago P. Rabassa G. Villareal D. Salazar	Hymns	First half of 17th century - second half 18th century	Parchment	850 x 610	Copy
PRINTS						
E-Sc 19	S. Aguilera de Heredia	*Canticum Beatissimae Virginis*	1618	Paper		?

Table 2.2:[136]: Documented choirbooks with polyphonic repertory for Vespers in the cathedral of Seville (Non extant: mentioned in historical inventories)

MANUSCRIPT					
Catalogue nº.[137]	Composers	Contents/Title	Date	Material	Acquisition
15 (1588)	Ceballos	Hymns Magnificat settings	1559? [138]	Paper	Copy
22 (1618)	Guerrero	Doxologies	1563	Paper	Copy
15 (1644)	Morales	Magnificat settings	?	Parchment	Copy

[134] Table 2.1 is based on the catalogue of 1994 and also on the LPH database.
[135] This choirbook is very damaged, showing signs of prolonged use.
[136] Table 2.2 is based on the following historical inventories: E-Sc sección 0, libro 53, fols 56-57v (1588); Idem, fols 90-91v (1603); Idem, 92-95v (1618); E-Sc sección IX, leg. 25, pieza 15 (1644); E-Sc sección 0, libro 11157 (1721-24), Idem, libro 55 (1818-25). Various publications transcribe a few or all of these. See Todd BORGERDING, 'The motet and Spanish religiosity, ca. 1550-1610', (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1997), 278-84. J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ 2007, 317-62, J. M. SUARÉZ MARTOS 2006.
[137] The number and date correspond to the last (hence most recent) catalogue where the source is mentioned.
[138] In 1559, Ceballos offered a book containing hymns and Magnificat settings to Seville's chapter in 1559 (Chapter act: E-Sc Sección IV, libro 78, fol 13). It is, in all likelihood, the one mentioned in the 1588 inventory.

22 (1724)	Carpentras Costanzo Festa Pedro Sa?? [illegible] A. Pérez de Alba Pedro Fernandez J. Valera Urreda Escobar	Hymns	c. 1555	Parchment	Copy
27 (1724)	Guerrero	16 Magnificat settings	1560?	Parchment	Copy
32 (1724)	Josquin Despres Moralez (Cristóbal or Rodrigo?) Pedro do Porto 'Acuña' Peñalosa Pedro Fernandez Carpentras	Magnificat settings	c. 1553	Parchment	Copy
8 (1825)[139]	Guerrero Luis Bernardo Jalón	1 psalm 6 psalms 1 Magnificat setting Hymn *Quicumque*	?		Copy
5 (1825)	Anonymous Guerrero Manuel Cardoso	3 doxologies 19 doxologies 1 doxology	after 1618	Paper	Copy[140]
SMALL BOOKS (FOR SOLO VOICE)					
Fol. 7 (1724)		8 psalms[141]	?	Parchment	Copy
Fol. 7 (1724)		10 psalms	?	Parchment	Copy
PRINTED					
18 (1618)	Victoria	*Hymni totius anni*	1581	Paper	Donation
17 (1618)	Victoria	*Cantica B. Virginis,*	1581	Paper	Donation
20 (1618)	Guerrero	*Liber Vesperarum*	1584	Paper	Donation
35 (1618)	Navarro	*Psalmi, Hymni*	1590	Paper	Donation
28 (1724)	Duarte Lobo	*Cantica Beatae Virginis*	1605	Paper	Purchase?
29 and 30 (1724)	Manuel Cardoso	*Cantica Beatae Mariae*	1613	Paper	Donation
Chapter act 1613	G.P. Flaccomio	*Liber primus concentus*[142]	1611	Paper	Donation

[139] Three works of this book (Jalon's *Dixit Dominus*, Magnificat and *Quicumque*) are written for choir and solo voice with organ accompaniment. In the exceptionally detailed inventory of 1724 the author, organist Muñoz de Monserrat, explains that this specific source (which he calls 'Libro de Jalón') includes the choral parts only, whereas the solo voice and the organ accompaniment were copied separately in two other books (both equally lost).

[140] Probably many of these settings were copied from the 1536 manuscript (number 22 in 1618).

[141] Both sets of eight and ten psalms receive the indication: 'escritos por letra… para cantar versos solos al órgano. The meaning of 'escritos por letra' is difficult to interpret and the only thing we can be assured of is that the psalm text was included (with or without musical notation). The second part of the sentence is clear: they are meant to be interpreted by a soloist singer with organ accompaniment. This is further discussed in Chapter 3.

[142] Chapter act transcribed in R. CORDERO, 2012, 85. The chapter act is the only reference to this work. It never appears in inventories. J. R. JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 198, footnote 479. See also footnote on this setting in Table 2.18.

Table 2.3[143]: Extant choirbooks with polyphonic repertory for Vespers in the cathedral of Toledo

MANUSCRIPT						
RISM Sigla	Composers	Contents/Title	Date	Material	Dimensions (mm)	Acquisition
E-Tc 4	Guerrero	Magnificat settings	1561	Parchment	575 x 390[144]	Donation
E-Tc 6	B. de Ribera	Magnificat settings	1570	Parchment	700 x 400	Copy
E-Tc 8	Navarro Anonymous	Psalm *Laudate Dominum* 'Beata quoque' (inc.) 'Sumens illud ave' 'Monstra te esse'	1590-1600	Paper Parchment	560 x 405	Collation printed folios + Copy
E-Tc 12	Torrentes	Psalms Hymns Magnificat settings	1579	Parchment	695 x 480	Copy
E-Tc 13	Morales	*Beati omnes*	1553-4	Parchment	750 x 505	Copy
E-Tc 18	C. Festa Torrentes Morales Basurto Peñalosa	Magnificat settings 1 psalm Hymns Magnificat settings Magnificat settings Magnificat setting Magnificat setting	Part 1:1544-6 Part 2: 1543	Parchment	700 x 500	Copy
E-Tc 21	Torrentes Anonymous	*In exitu Israel* *Veni creator spiritus* 8 *Fabordones* (*Dixit Dominus*) Hymn *Tibi Christe splendor*	1549	Parchment	695 x 400	Copy
E-Tc 22	Anonymous	*In exitu Israel*	Late 16th century	Parchment	410 x 280	Copy
E-Tc 24	Navarro Guerrero Ardanaz	Psalms Hymns *Vexilla regis* 2 hymns	Mid 18th century	Parchment	545 x 430	Copy
E-Tc 25	Morales Tejeda Urreda Guerrero (Ambiela) Anonymous	Psalms Hymns Magnificat setting Benedicamus Domino Hymn *Jesu corona* Hymn *Pange lingua* Hymns Hymns Hymns	1546|1549 (1st layer) 17th-18th centuries: other layers	Parchment	677 x 470	Copy

[143] Table 2.1 is based on the catalogue of Rubio Piqueras, on the above-mentioned publications of Reynaud and Noone, and also on the LPH database.

[144] The measurements of this book and of E-Tc 24 have been kindly given by Michael Noone, to whom I thank.

E-Tc 30	Victoria	Psalms Magnificat settings	1572-5	Paper	750 x 500	Brought from Rome by Juan de Navarra y Mendonza
E-Tc 34	Morales Torrentes	Magnificat settings	Part 1: 1544-6 Parts 2 and 4: 1549 Part 3: 1543	Parchment	700 x 490	Copy
E-Tc 35	Navarro Ginés de Boluda	*In exitu Israel* *In exitu Israel*	1584	Paper	545 x 400	Copy
E-Tc Res. 23	Jean Courtois Richafort Mouton L'Heritier Anonymous Pierrequin de Terrache Févin Josquin Desprez	Magnificat settings *In exitu Israel*	1520-35	Parchment	595x400	Purchase
PRINTS						
E-Tc 3	Navarro	*Psalmi, hymni ac Magnificat*	1590			Donation?[145]
E-Tc 14	Vivanco	*Liber Magnificarum*	1607[146]			Purchased from the church of Colmenar de Oreja, 1658

[145] No acquisition documents are found for this print. It does not appear in the inventory of 1600 (only in 1649) which indicates it was acquired after that time. Seville received Navarro's print from his nephew in 1592 (J. R. JIMÉNEZ 2007, 163 and Alvaréz MARQUES, *El mundo del libro en la cathedral de Sevilla*, 1992, 141) and it would be odd that it would be sent to Toledo so much later

[146] This exemplar is unique, in that several of its pages have been typographically reset, hence in all likelihood not the one sent by Vivanco in 1608.

Table 2.4:[147] Documented choirbooks with polyphonic repertory for Vespers in the cathedral of Toledo (Non extant: mentioned in historical inventories and acquisition documents)

MANUSCRIPTS					
Catalogue Nº	Composers	Contents/Title	Date	Material	Acquisition
Nº 10 (1649)	Ceballos	*Fabordones* Hymns Magnificat settings	1586	Paper	Purchase[148]
SMALL BOOKS (FOR SOLO VOICE)					
Nº 36 (1649)	Anonymous	Psalms 'para cantar al organo'	?	Parchment	Copy
PRINTS					
Nº 24 (1790)	Aguilera de Heredia	*Canticum Beatissime Virginis*	1618	Paper	Donation
Nº 26 (1649)	Victoria	*Hymni totius anni*	1581	Paper	Purchase?[149]
Nº 29 (1649)	Victoria	*Cantica B. Virginis, vulgo Magnificat*	1581	Paper	Donation?
Nº 30 (1790)	Duarte Lobo	*Cantica Beatae Virginis*	1605	Paper	Donation?[150]
(1670)	Victoria	*Missae, Magnificat, motecta*	1600	Paper	Donation
Nº 32 (1790)[151]	Vivanco	*Liber Magnificarum*	1607	Paper	Donation
Nº 41 (1670)	M. Cardoso	*Cantica Beatae Mariae*	1613	Paper	Purchase

The tables presented above make some aspects quite clear. The first is that in both cathedrals, the number of polyphonic choirbooks with Vespers repertory was quite substantial, and they represented a significant percentage of the total of these collections at any given time. It is also possible to see that, although both institutions possessed rich

[147] Table 2.4 is based on the following documentary sources: a contemporary copy of a 1649 inventory (which itself includes all the items listed in previous inventories, made in 1580 and 1600), kept without siglum at Toledo's Archive, and transcribed by M. NOONE, 2006, 267-72; Account books from the *Obra y Fábrica*, partly transcribed at Idem, 249-66, and a 1793 inventory (E.Tc Ms 14045/101-123), transcribed by Barbieri and published in Emilio CASARES. ed., 1986, 558.

[148] One of two books with works by Ceballos bought in 1586 from fray Pedro Durán, a copyist from Granada. F. REYNAUD, 1996, 370 and J. LOPEZ-CALO, *La música en la catedral de Granada*, 2 vols, (Granada: Fundación Rodriguez Acosta, 1963), vol 1, 131.

[149] This and the Cantica first appear in the 1600 inventory, but no documents known so far mention their acquisition.

[150] Listed for the first time in 1649, no acquisition documents are known.

[151] The last date where two copies of this print are mentioned. From 1795 onwards only one is mentioned in catalogues, probably the extant exemplar.

collections of Vespers music, far more have survived at Toledo than at Seville. In the latter, the number of non-extant sources is more than double the ones currently found at the archives of this cathedral. One common trend in both institutions is that parchment, large-sized choirbooks, used by the chapel singers with works from their own chapel masters tend to resist time much more effectively than paper printed editions or books used by the *ministriles*, the ones that have mostly disappeared.

In each cathedral there is a surviving manuscript source which was originally conceived as a polyphonic Vesperal: E-Tc 12, the musical source which reunites the greatest number of works by chapel master Andrés de Torrentes, and E-Sc 2, which contains several unedited works by Guerrero, Ceballos and Navarro.[152] E-Tc 12 was copied by Alonso de Morata in 1579, during the third and last period of Andrés de Torrentes as Toledo's chapel master. It contains Vespers psalms, hymns and Magnificat settings, ending with two *Nunc dimittis* settings. Apart from most of its contents being *unica,* this Vesperal also opens with a curious feature in the setting of its first six psalms. The fourth psalm of Vespers, *Laudate pueri*, set six times, each in a different tone (1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8), is followed, each of these times, by the lesser doxology ('Gloria Patri') of the fifth psalm, *Laudate Dominum*, in the same tone as the *Laudate pueri* settings. The doxology is identified as belonging to this psalm by the inscription 'Laudate Dominum' on the folios where it is copied. These settings are, thus, according to Noone, meant to be paired, something which he sees

[152] The identification of these works is made possible by the full indexation of the contents of this (and all other) choirbooks in the 1724 Monserrat inventory, including ascription. This is further confirmed by the concordances of many of Geurrero's works in E-Sc 2 with the *Liber Vesperarum*. In the 1994 catalogue of Seville, all the items of E-Sc 2 as classified as anonymous, clearly without knowledge of Monserrat's inventory. This entry at LPH was in all likelihood uniquely based on this catalogue, and also lists all the works in this source as anonymous.

confirmed not only by the use of the same liturgical tone, but also by the fact that the original *tabula* does not specify the fifth psalm, but only the fourth.[153]

E-Sc 2 was copied by the scribe Diego Dorta, who was the head of the cathedral's *scriptorium* between 1547 and 1581, and was paid for the job in 1576.[154] Almost all its settings are by Guerrero, with the exception of the hymn *O lux beata Trinitas*, one strophe of *Ave maris stella* ('Monstra te'), by Ceballos, and *Quodcumque vinclis* and *Quidcumque Christum*, by Navarro.[155] Apart from the hymns, this choirbook contains psalms and Magnificat settings. Many of these works – the hymns in particular – are earlier versions of the ones Guerrero would later publish in his *Liber Vesperarum*.[156]

Other manuscript choirbooks include collections of specific genres for polyphonic Vespers: psalms and, more often, hymns or Magnificat settings. Another category is one of mixed books, in which some items are meant for Vespers. Finally – and this becomes more common as we move forward in time – there are collections of loose folios or of partbooks, of smaller (and therefore more easily portable) size. This relates, on the one hand, to the specific purpose of their copying (for processions, for example) but it also reflects the changes in musical style, since these smaller-sized books were often also copied for soloist singers and, sometimes for the respective instrumental accompaniment.

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[153] A photograph of this *tabula*, with indication of tone, is shown at NOONE, *Pure Gold*, 2011, 8. This aspect was missed by previous publications on the Toledo choirbooks, such as the ones by Rubio Piqueras and Robert Stevenson, and was only recently pointed out by Noone (*Pure Gold*, 2011, 14-15 and 19) Noone here refers to the doxology of *Laudate Dominum* as 'third verse', which can cause some confusion, since psalm 116 has only two. In this group of six psalms, every third verse is set in polyphony (see Appendix I, E-Tc 12). Given that alternatim scheme, the only option for this specific psalm, in order to assure complete consistency, would necessarily be to set the doxology.

[154] The payment for the binding of the book was made on 9th June 1576. E-Sc sección IV, libro 06380, fol 44. Cited in J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 42.

[155] The choirbook itself does not include any attributions, but these are given in the 1724 Monserrat inventory, where all the listed choirbooks are fully indexed and most settings are attributed. The Sevillian catalogue of 1994 classifies all the items as anonymous, clearly without the knowledge of this inventory. The LPH database equally presents E-Sc 2 without any attribution.

[156] J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 400-02 makes a comparative study of the proximity (or lack of it) between the settings in E-Sc 2 and *Liber Vesperarum*.

Examples of this are item 8 of the Sevillian inventory of 1825, the small books (usually called 'libretes' in inventories) with psalms for solo singers mentioned in folio 7 of the inventory of 1724, or this same type of source mentioned as item 36 of the 1649 Toledan inventory.[157]

As for printed choirbooks, both Toledo and Seville possessed copies of the contemporary Vespers editions from Victoria, Guerrero and Navarro, as well as the Magnificat cycles of Duarte Lobo, Manuel Cardoso, Aguilera de Heredia and Vivanco. One particular case is that of the Magnificat settings of Morales, of which both Toledo and Seville possessed, at one point, parchment manuscript copies.[158] This is not at all surprising, given the great editorial success of this work, but in neither of the two cathedrals is there a specific reference to the printed edition.[159] This might be due to the fact that both churches already had the works in manuscript versions.

Inventories of *música a papeles* are quite different from the choirbook inventories. Except in very rare cases,[160] inventories of choirbooks and of *música a papeles* are written as separate entities: an inventory of *música a papeles* does not include choirbooks, and vice-versa. Even when both categories are included – such as in the above-mentioned Toledan inventory of 1793, which lists essentially *música a papeles* - the collection of choirbooks is simply mentioned as a whole, in a single paragraph: 'Thirty-six books of polyphony of

[157] In the Sevillian inventory of 1724 these small books are described as 'escritos por letra… para cantar versos solos al organo'. This expression and its implications are translated and discussed in Chapter 3.
[158] E-Tc 34 – a complex manuscript resulting of the dismantling and recompilation of several others – holds all 16 settings. In Seville these are last mentioned in the inventory of 1644.
[159] An account's book from Toledo registered the purchase of 'polyphonic books by Morales… for the exercise of the singers' ('libros de canto de música de morales… para el execriçio de los cantores de la iglesia') on 15 March 1569. E-Tc, Obra y Fábrica 864, fol 128, transcribed in NOONE 2006, 251 and cited in REYNAUD 1996, 358, 370. The contents of these books are not indicated. The plural indicates several books – perhaps partbooks? -which might, or not, have been the Magnificat settings. These never appear in inventories, possibly because, as indicated in the purchase register, they were not meant for the use of the capilla in ceremonies, but rather for the training of the singers.
[160] One of these rare cases is the Sevillian inventory of 1724, where all the polyphonic music is listed, under different headings for different categories.

different sizes…'.[161] These inventories can either list the works of a single composer or all the *música a papeles* kept in that institution at a given time.

Even when the musical settings do not survive – which happens with most of this music from the seventeenth century - the mere listing *of música a papeles* can be indicative of the use of this type of music in religious institutions, as discussed below.

The tables of *música a papeles* below are presented according to different criteria, for Seville and for Toledo. The table for Seville is based on total of six inventories and a modern catalogue (dating between 1673 and 1994). There is hardly any common setting between any of them at different times, given, on one hand, the tendency to list the works of a single composer and, on the other, the disappearance of these works in inventories from the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As such, Seville's inventories are organised in a single table (2.5), with sub-divisions according to composer. With the single exception of a setting by Victoria in the catalogue of 1994, all the works are by chapel masters of this cathedral. Toledo's inventories – three from the eighteenth century[162] and a catalogue from 2019.[163] These include – unlike Seville – works by different composers, either in the main inventory itself or as an appendix, meaning that they have multiple references to the same copies (that is, the same setting) among themselves. As such, three tables are presented, organised by genre, allowing to trace

[161] 'Treinta y seis libros de Canto de órgano de diferentes tamaños…'.
[162] There are very few extant seventeenth-century musical inventories from Toledo. Other than the ones already mentioned from 1600 and 1649 (which only list choirbooks), a contemporary copy of a 1670 inventory remains uncatalogued in Toledo and a few excerpts of it have been transcribed in several of Noone's publications. According to NOONE, 2006, 247, this inventory is also a list of choirbooks only.
[163] A catalogue made by Carlos Martínez Gil and Miguel Ángel Ríos Muñoz, of all extant the music from Toledo from 1600 to 1900, published by Toledo Cathedral as part of its collection 'Primatialis Ecclesiae Toletanae Memoria' was meant see the light of day in 2019. This has not taken place. With the publication date of this catalogue yet unknown, this was the chosen date to give to this catalogue. Information of the works from historical inventories which did survive to the present, are indicated in GIL, 2018.

these common settings throughout time (2.6: psalms, 2.7: hymns, 2.8: Magnificat settings). In all tables, the chapel masters of the institution are indicated in bold font.

Table 2.5:[164] *Música a papeles* for Vespers in the cathedral of Seville

1673 – INVENTORY			
Composer	**Title**	**Vv**	**Notes**
SETS FOR VESPERS			
	Vespers of Our Lady Dixit Dominus Laetatus sum Lauda Jerusalem Magnificat	10	
	Vespers of Our Lady of Seven Sorrows Credidi [Eripe me Domine] [Voce mea ad Dominum clamavi][165]	9	Number of voices given for *Credidi* only
IN PARTBOOKS			
	Dixit Dominus Magnificat	8	In eight partbooks
	Dixit Dominus Magnificat	8	In eight partbooks
INDIVIDUAL PSALMS			
	Dixit Dominus	9	With solo tiple and organ
	Beatus vir	8	Alternatim
	Beatus vir	8	
	Credidi	12	With instruments
	Laudate Dominum	10	
	Laudate Dominum	9	
	Laetatus sum	10	
	Laetatus sum	9	
	Laetatus sum	8	Alternatim
	Lauda Jerusalem	10	
	Lauda Jerusalem	8	Alternatim
1674 (*MÚSICA A PAPELES* BY LUIS BERNARDO JALÓN)			
Composer	**Title**	**Vv**	**Notes**
INDIVIDUAL PSALMS			
L.B. Jalón	Dixit Dominus	8	
L.B. Jalón	Dixit Dominus	8	
L.B. Jalón	Dixit Dominus	8	
L.B. Jalón	Beatus vir	8	

[164] Table 2.5 is based on the following inventories E-Sc libro 09739, fols 232-232v (1673); Idem fols 234-235 (1674), Idem fol 235v (1686). These are transcribed in F. SANTOS DE LA HERA, 2019, 157-59, 163-65 and 168-69 respectively.

[165] The inventory lists this item providing only the title of the first psalm, Credidi. The other two are given the indication 'third psalm' and 'fifth psalm'. Breviaries and the *Officia Propria Sanctorum* indicate these as the psalms to be sung at this feast (the same ones as in Maundy Thursday).

L.B. Jalón	Beatus vir	6	
L.B. Jalón	Laetatus sum	10	
L.B. Jalón	Laetatus sum	8	
L.B. Jalón	Lauda Jerusalem	14	
L.B. Jalón	Lauda Jerusalem	8	
L.B. Jalón	Credidi	8	
L.B. Jalón	Laudate Dominum	11	
L.B. Jalón	Laudate Dominum	8	
MAGNIFICAT SETTINGS			
L.B. Jalón	Magnificat	12	
L.B. Jalón	Magnificat	12	
L.B. Jalón	Magnificat	8	
L.B. Jalón	Magnificat	8	
L.B. Jalón	Magnificat	5	
1686 (WORKS BY ALONSO XUÁREZ)			
Composer	**Title**	**Vv**	**Notes**
INDIVIDUAL PSALMS			
A. Xuárez	Dixit Dominus	10	
A. Xuárez	Dixit Dominus	8	
A. Xuárez	Dixit Dominus	8	
A. Xuárez	Dixit Dominus	8	
A. Xuárez	Dixit Dominus	7	
A. Xuárez	Beatus vir	12	
A. Xuárez	Beatus vir	10	
A. Xuárez	Beatus vir	10	
A. Xuárez	Credidi	9	
A. Xuárez	Laudate Dominum	12	
A. Xuárez	Laudate Dominum	12	
A. Xuárez	Laudate Dominum	8	
L.B. Jalón	Laudate Dominum	8	Authorship added by a different hand. Same setting as in 1674?
A. Xuárez	Laetatus sum	12	
A. Xuárez	Laetatus sum	8	
A. Xuárez	Lauda Jerusalem	8	
J. Sanz	Lauda Jerusalem	8	Authorship added by a different hand.
MAGNIFICAT SETTINGS			
A. Xuárez	Magnificat	11	
A. Xuárez	Magnificat	8	
A. Xuárez	Magnificat	8	
M. Tello	Magnificat	9	
1724			
Composer	**Title**	**Vv**	**Notes**
C. Patiño	Beatus vir	8	Inventory states there are only two extant works by Patiño, the ones listed.
C. Patiño	Magnificat	8	
1825			
Composer	Title	Nr of voices	Notes
Guerrero	Pange lingua	4	The title given is *Pange lingua* – noting that verse 'Verbum caro' is written separately. (The only surviving section)

Guerrero	Ave maris stella	4	
C. Patiño	Beatus vir	8	Number of voices not specified, but in all likelihood the same settings as in 1724
C. Patiño	Magnificat	8	
C. Patiño	In exitu Israel	?	Absent from 1724 inventory
1994			
Composer	**Title**	**Vv**	**Notes**
Guerrero	'Verbum caro' 'Tantum ergo'[166]	4	E-Sc sig. 51-1-1 Parchment copy, 1727
Guerrero	Ave maris stella[167]	4	Currently E-SC sig. 51-1-3 Paper copy, 18th century
D. Salazar	Dixit Dominus 'de Batalla'	9	E-Sc sig. 88-1-4 Includes instrumental parts for oboe (1st and 2nd), sackbut and organ (B.C.).
Victoria	Veni creator	1 (S)	E-Sc sig. 98-4-3 Catalogue does not specify if incomplete
A. Lobo[168]	Vexilla regis	4	E-Sc sig. 70-7-1 Paper copy, 19th century

Table 2.6:[169] *Música a papeles* for Vespers in the cathedral of Toledo: Psalms

PSALMS								
	1713		**1737**		**1793**		**2019**	
Composer	**Title**	**Vv**	**Title**	**Vv**	**Title**	**Vv**	**Title**	**Vv**
Anonymous					Lauda Jerusalem Laetatus sum Dixit Dominus Dixit Dominus Dixit Dominus	8 8 8 8 12		

[166] Even though other copies of this verse (namely by Guerrero, and an eighteenth-century version by Urreda) are specifically for use in processions and other liturgical moments and not at Vespers, the title of this copy clearly states: '*Versos Verbum caro y Tantum ergo que se cantan la Víspera del Corpus Christi y el día octavo en las segundas Vísperas.* (Verses 'Verbum caro' and 'Tantum ergo', sung the day before Corpus Christi [hence first Vespers] and on the octave at second Vespers'. In the same folder (51-1-1) there is a copy of these same verses, from the second half of the nineteenth century, with added parts for oboe, violin and double bass.

[167] Copied in separate parts, one for each voice. There are three extant copies. Superius part is missing from the third copy.

[168] J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2007, believes this is wrongly attributed to Lobo in the 1994 catalogue and is rather by Jalón. A *Vexilla regis* with the same function (the ceremony of the flag) was copied in a book with works by Jalón (nº 25 in 1724). If Jiménez is correct, the function of this *Vexilla regis* would not be as a Vespers hymn but for a very specific ceremony – the displaying of the flag (further explained in Chapter 3). It is therefore included in this table with a separate line.

[169] Tables 2.6 to 2.8 are based on three eighteenth-century Toledan inventories referring to or including works from seventeenth-century composers. Two of these (1713 and 1737) are transcribed by GIL, 2018, 147-52. The author does not provide the shelf-mark of these sources in his article. I tried to get hold of this information by writing to Martinez Gil. My email did not get a reply. The third inventory is the above-mentioned one from 1793.

Sebastián Alfonso					Lauda Jerusalem	8		
Pedro de Ardanaz	Dixit Dominus Dixit Dominus Dixit Dominus Dixit Dominus (+ shawms) Dixit Dominus Dixit Dominus Dixit Dominus Dixit Dominus Dixit Dominus	16 15 12 12 11 8 8 8 8			Dixit Dominus	11		
	Beatus vir Beatus vir Beatus vir Beatus vir Beatus vir Beatus vir Beatus vir Beatus vir	17 14 12 12 10 8 8 8			Beatus vir Beatus vir (one of the two in 1713)	12 10 8	Beatus vir	10
	Laetatus sum Laetatus sum Laetatus sum Laetatus sum Laetatus sum	13 12 10 8 8			Laetatus sum Laetatus sum Laetatus sum	13 12 10	Laetatus sum Laetatus sum Laetatus sum	13 12 10
	Lauda Jerusalem Lauda Jerusalem Lauda Jerusalem Lauda Jerusalem	12 12 8 8						
	Laudate Dominum Laudate Dominum Laudate Dominum Laudate Dominum Laudate Dominum Laudate Dominum	12 10 8 8 4 12 8 12	Laudate Dominum (one of the two of 1713)	8	Laudate Dominum	12		
	Credidi Credidi	 8						
	Inegistu (sic) Israel	8						
	Memento Domine							
	Domine probasti me							

Juan Bonet de Paredes			Memento Domine Domine probasti me	8 10			Memento Domine	8
Ciurana[170]			Dixit Dominus Credidi	8 8				
Cristóbal Galán			Dixit Dominus Beatus vir	8 8	Laudate Dominum [171]	8		
Vicente García			Lauda Jerusalem Lauda Jerusalem	11 8				
Vicente Marqués			Dixit Dominus Beatus vir	9 10				
Tomás Micieces	Dixit Dominus	13	Dixit Dominus Dixit Dominus	12 8	Lauda Jerusalem	12		
Juan de Padilla	10 partbooks with Vespers psalms (not specified) Dixit Dominus Dixit Dominus Dixit Dominus Dixit Dominus Beatus vir Beatus vir Lauda Jerusalem Lauda Jerusalem Laetatus sum	7 12 8 8 7 12 8 8 8 12				Laetatus sum	12	
Carlos Patiño			Dixit Dominus Beatus vir Lauda Jerusalem Laetatus sum Credidi	8 8 8 8 8	Dixit Dominus Laetatus sum Credidi	8 8 8	Laetatus sum Credidi	8 8
José de Torres			Beatus vir	8	Beatus vir Laetatus sum	8 8	Beatus vir	8
Veana			Dixit Dominus Beatus vir Credidi	8 8 8	 Beatus vir Credidi	 8 8	 Credidi	 8

[170] Hardly anything is known about this composer. Carlos Martínez Gil places him as active in the second half of the seventeenth century. There is no reference to any of his works in inventories after 1737. C. Martínez GIL, 2018, 142.

[171] This is one of three cases of inconsistencies between references in the works listed in these inventories (the other two are the number of voices in Micieces's *Dixit Dominus* and the title of his psalm setting in 1793). These could simply be new works previously not mentioned. They could also be the result of error of either the original copyists of these inventories or on the transcriptions of Martinez Gil.

Table 2.7: *Música a papeles* for Vespers in the cathedral of Toledo: Hymns

HYMNS	
Composer	**1713**[172]
Pedro de Ardanaz	Hymn St Joseph[173] - [*Te Joseph celebrant*] Hymn St Theresa – [*Regis superni*] – **Note**: a *Regis superni* by Ardanaz survives in E-Tc 24. Same setting? Hymn St Hermenegild – [*Regali nuntio*] – **Note**: a *Regali nuntio* by Ardanaz survives in E-Tc 24. Same setting? Hymn St Vicente Ferrer – [*Alme Vicenti veneranda*] Hymn Most Sweet Name of Jesus/Holy Name of Jesus – [*Jesu dulcis memoria*] Hymn Crown Thorns – [*Lauda fidelis concio*] Hymn St James – [*Defensor alme Hispaniae*] Seven Sorrows of V. Mary – [*Stabat mater*] Seven Sorrows of V. Mary – [*Stabat mater*] Seven Sorrows of V. Mary – [*Stabat mater*] *Ave maris stella*, 20vv *Ave maris stella*, 12vv
Juan de Padilla	Hymn St Hermenegild, 4vv – [*Regali nuntio*]

Table 2.8: *Música a papeles* for Vespers in the cathedral of Toledo: Magnificat settings

MAGNIFICAT SETTINGS								
Composer	**1713**	**Vv**	**1737**	**Vv**	**1793**	**Vv**	**2019**	**Vv**
Anonymous					Magnificat Magnificat Magnificat	11 10 8		
S. Alfonso			Magnificat	8	Magnificat	8	Magnificat	8
Pedro de Ardanaz	Magnificat, tone 5 (+ shawms) Magnificat, tone 6 Magnificat, tone 1 Magnificat, tone 6 Magnificat, tone 8 Magnificat, tone 8 Magnificat, tone 4 Magnificat, tone 4 Magnificat, tone 3	16 14 14 12 8 8 8 8 8			Magnificat Magnificat (tone 6 or 1)	16 14		

[172] All of these hymns (all for seventeenth-century feasts of the Temporale with the exception of *Ave maris stella*) are identified not by title but by feast. All of them disappear from the inventories of 1737 and 1793 and are currently non extant. An *Officia Propria Sanctorum Toletanae Ecclesiae et Dioecesis*… (Antuerpiae: ex Typographia Plantiniana, 1728), available on Google Books, allows to identify the title of these hymns. Some of these titles are further confirmed by the extant settings in eighteenth-century choirbook E-Tc 24. The inventory of 1737 lists only two Christmas hymns, by Miguel de Ambiela, who replaced Ardanaz as chapel master in 1710.

[173] At the end of the inventory of the works by Ardanaz, in a list where the settings of each genre are added up (or, within the same genre, works with the same title), the hymn to St Joseph by this composer is scraped out. It either was wrongly listed initially, or perhaps lost.

Diego de Cáseda			Magnificat	8	Magnificat	8	Magnificat	8
Juan de Ciurana			Magnificat	8				
Juan B. Comes			Magnificat	8				
Galán			Magnificat (officium defunctorum)	4				
Vicente García	Magnificat, tone 8	8						
Tomás Micieces	Magnificat, tone 7 Magnificat, tone 4	10 8			Magnificat Magnificat	10 8	Magnificat Magnificat	10 8
Juan de Padilla								
Carlos Patiño			Magnificat	8				
Juan Pérez Roldán			Magnificat	12				
Veana			Magnificat	8				

Several conclusions can be drawn from the tables presented. Firstly, *música a papeles* included mostly psalm and Magnificat settings. The few hymns found are always, without exception, for feasts of the *Sanctorale* - and, within this category, for newly-established seventeenth-century feasts of the *Proprium Sanctorum Hispanorum*.[174] There is, therefore, an obvious lack of material for feasts of the *Temporale*, for the common of Saints and for non-Hispanic saints celebrated in the Iberian Peninsula. By exclusion, the only sources from which these settings could be performed were the sixteenth and seventeenth-century choirbooks continuously listed in the inventories of these institutions. Secondly, most of this music was polychoral (usually for eight voices) and would therefore be used in the highest-ranking feasts.[175] A third aspect made clear by the tables is that works of *música a papeles* disappear from inventories at a much faster rate

[174] This is further discussed in the hymn section of Chapter 3.
[175] Discussion of voice numbers and arrangements, and the theme of polychorality are discussed in Chapter 3.

than the copied choirbooks of that institution.[176] The works by chapel masters Pedro de Ardanaz and Juan Padilla (especially as regards psalms) are the most obvious examples of this. The concern for preservation was therefore clearly not the same for these two different types of sources. The writing of new psalms and Magnificat settings by consecutive chapel masters - independently of the preservation or loss of previous works – also shows a need for the renewal of this repertory which is not found with hymns. Finally, the attributions of these works show an obvious preference for local composers. Toledo and Seville relied thus – for Vespers – on the music of their own chapel masters and, when not these, on the music of other Spanish composers.

b) The cathedral of Santa Maria de Tuy

Tuy is situated in the northeastern Galician province of Spain. Its distance from the cathedrals of Toledo and Seville is great not only from a geographical but also from a financial point of view. A survey of annual rents among the studied Spanish institutions puts the cathedral of Tuy at the opposite end of the spectrum when compared to Toledo and Seville. In 1659, the richest Spanish cathedral was Toledo, with three-hundred thousand *ducados* of rent, followed at a significant distance by Seville, with ninety thousand. Tuy's annual rent on the other hand, was four thousand *ducados* that year.[177] This limited income had a very tangible impact on the music produced and performed at Tuy, and the Chapter acts make this quite clear. There is substantial evidence in these documents that both the Chapter and *fábrica* often struggled with financial difficulties. An act of 1646, for example, openly states that the rents of the *fábrica* were insufficient to pay the musicians' salaries; in 1654, the problem probably persisted, since several

[176] They can sometimes disappear from a given inventory and reappear in later one – such as some psalms by Ardanaz – but the tendency is clearly one of loss.
[177] François BERTAUT, 1959, 670-3. These rents are also mentioned – and visually represented in a graph – in Álvaro TORRENTE, 2016, 29-83, at 50. In this graph, representing thirty-nine Spanish cathedrals, Tuy is the one with the lowest income of all.

ministriles and singers suffered cuts to their salaries; in 1659 the *ministril* (dulcian player) Salvador Alonso was dismissed, not because of any misdoing but simply because there was already another one and the *fábrica* could not afford to pay both.[178]

The evidence of musical practice within the diocese of Tuy goes back to the time of the cathedral's foundation.[179] On the other hand, the poor preservation of archival documentation and what was, for an extended period of time, a very badly organised archive means that nowadays the earliest surviving polyphonic sources date from the late seventeenth century, the chant choirbooks survive in 85 different fragments, and it is only possible to find complete Chapter acts from 1625 onwards.[180]

The patron of the cathedral – and indeed of the current diocese of Tuy-Vigo – is Pedro González Telmo,[181] who was buried there in 1246, and is represented through his own chapel and also through his sculpture and in the largest of the two Baroque organs placed just above the *coro*. No extant polyphonic book or medieval and early modern chant fragments[182] include any music for the feast of Telmo, celebrated on 14 April. He was never canonised, but rather beatified, in 1254. His cult was only confirmed, however, in 1741.

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[178] E-TUY, Actas capitulares, volume V, fol.231v, 1 March 1646 and volume II, fol. 382v, 14 February 1654 and fol. 548, 22 August 1659. Transcribed in J. TRILLO and C. VILLANUEVA, 406 and 404 respectively. These are just three of several other examples of financial difficulties throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[179] A fragment from a late eleventh-century notated Breviary, in Aquitanian notation, shows that the Roman rite imposed within the Hispanic region in 1080 and brought mainly by southern-French clergymen, did reach this region. This fragment - E-TUY fragment 3 - is described and available in digital format at the Portuguese Early Music database: http://pemdatabase.eu/source/35895. In the Middle-Ages, the diocese of Tuy included the Portuguese northwest region of Valença do Minho.

[180] The 1978 description of the archive, as made by Ernesto Iglesias de Almeida, gives a picture of utter neglect. E. I. ALMEIDA, 2004, at 404.

[181] Telmo's mortal remains were moved to his chapel, built in the sixteenth century.

[182] Diogo Veiga, a member of CESEM's early music research group, has been studying the chant fragments of Tuy for his own doctoral dissertation and found no music for beato Telmo. Having photographed all the music sources of Tuy for CESEM'S project 'Levantamento Digita'l, he informed me that there are later chant books – eighteenth century and beyond - but those were not within the chronological time frame of the project (1100-1650) and were therefore not studied or photographed.

From the reading of the available acts, it is possible to establish, that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Tuy's *capilla* corresponded to the standard Iberian model: it included singers, *mozos de coro*, at least one organist – on occasion, two[183] – and several *ministriles*, all under the charge of the *maestro de capilla*. Performance practices would not have been, thus, immensely different from the ones usually found in other institutions of the Peninsula, although probably with a much more limited number of performers. An act from 1653 refers to a punishment fee given to the chapel master Tomás de Portillo, for having 'subido a cantar al organo' with other musicians without permission of the Chapter.[184] As mentioned in the Glossary, this expression usually refers to accompanied solo singing, which indicates that the cathedral of Tuy was aware of and adopted at least some musical practices developed in the seventeenth century. From the mid-1600s we also begin to find, through the hiring of *ministriles*, the choice of a broader range of instruments, including such as the harp.[185]

The archive of the cathedral of Tuy currently holds five manuscript polyphonic *cantorales*, the earliest of which dates from 1696. Of these, three include settings for Vespers.

[183] An act of 14th June 1646 refers specifically to two organists – Antonio Fernandez Vega and Juan Darroga – their obligations and their salaries. Chapter acts, volume V, fol. 356v, 14 June 1649. Transcribed in TRILLO and VILLANUEVA, 1987, 406. The number of singers and *mozos de coro* is not specified in documents, and we know of them essentially when they were hired, fired, or there was any issue related to them (misconduct, or disagreements with the chapel master, for example).

[184] 'Multa de 15 días al M.de C. por haber subido a cantar al órgano con otros músicos sin expresso permisso del Cabildo/ 15 days fine to the chapel master for having gone up [to the *coro*] to sing with organ accompaniment, with other musicians, without permission of the Chapter.' Chapter acts, volume I, fol. 162, 24 October 1653. Idem, 403.

[185] '12r[eyes] a Francisco Marcos para cuerdas de arpa /12 *reis* to Francisco Marcos for harp strings.' Chapter acts volume X, fol. 138v. 2 December 1690. Idem, 409.

Table 2.9:[186] Extant choirbooks with polyphonic repertory for Vespers in the cathedral of Tuy

MANUSCRIPT CHOIRBOOKS						
Sigla	Composers	Contents/Title	Date	Material	Dimensions (mm)	Acquisiton
E-TUY 2	M. G. Benayas Morales	Magnificat settings	1696	Parchment	400 x 550	Copy
E-TUY 4	Anonymous M. G. Benayas	Hymns	Second-half 18th c.	Parchment	420 x 540	Copy
E-TUY 5	Psalms Magnificat setting	Anonymous Benayas	17th-18th c. with additions from 1903	Parchment Paper	410 x 510	Copy

E-TUY II consists of a collection of Magnificat settings, in all eight tones, by local chapel master Matías Garcia Benayas (fl. 1690-1737), and also by Morales. In this source, the scribe has identified himself, and also left the date of copy: 'Scripto mihi Francisco Gondiçalbo Rebelo 1696'.[187] In some of the folios it is possible to find lightly drawn bar lines in all the voices.

The second choirbook E-TUY IV, is a polyphonic hymnal, with most (if not all) hymns by the same composer, Benayas, and possibly copied in the second half of the eighteenth century. All the hymns were written according to the textual version of the reformed 1632 Breviary, all are for four voices, and include, as in any Iberian church, some for the celebrations of Spanish saints but also for St Elizabeth of Portugal. This source also displays later addition of bars in all the four voices. One curious feature of this source concerns precisely the Sanctorale section, with the inclusion of hymns for all the three archangels, and also for the Dedication of St Michael Archangel. There is not any historical connection of Tuy, or of the region of Galicia, with the three archangels, and

[186] Table S is based on the LPH database, on Barrionuevo's catalogue and also in the sources themselves, photographed during the project of the Portuguese Early Music database. All five polyphonic choirbooks are now available at the PEM database. E-Tuy IV and V were only added in June and July 2020 respectively, after the first submission of this dissertation.
[187] At the bottom of fol. 47.

this is a unique occurrence among the polyphonic hymnals of the institutions approached in the present study.[188]

E-TUY V is a choirbook of mixed contents which includes, among other settings,[189] seven anonymous Vespers psalms and a Magnificat setting by Benayas, clearly the most prolific chapel master represented in these surviving sources. This manuscript results from the collation of different quires from previous choirbooks, as can be seen from the different foliations from the originals which are still visible. The most recent section was copied in 1903, from a choirbook copied by Evaristo Bargiela Martinez, while Manuel Martinez Posse was a chapel master.[190] This musician took the post in 1882, which makes the date provided plausible. The oldest sections were probably copied around the late seventeenth-early eighteenth centuries.

A common factor to all these choirbooks is their material: parchment. This investment – especially in a cathedral with little financial means and in sources copied in as late as the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries – is again very telling of the desire for the prolonged use of the repertory they contain.

The earliest extant settings of *música a papeles* for Vespers from Tuy date from the eighteenth century. This is a time when the cathedral seems to be more financially stable,[191] and it is also a time when *música a papeles* really flourishes in many Iberian

[188] Indeed, of the choirbooks which have been indexed in the *Libros de polifonia hispana* database, none includes more than one of these hymn settings in a single choirbook.
[189] This choirbook also includes two mass antiphons, two masses, one passion, an *Officium Defunctorum*, and a Requiem mass.
[190] 'Canto de Atril. S.I.C. de Tuy. Mag. EMM. MARTÍNEZ POSSE/BARGIELA me fecit. Anno MCMIII.' The title 'Mag.' may refer to the fact that Martinez Posse had been 'professor de música' and organist at the Santiago Seminary before applying for the chapel master position at Tuy in 1882. 'Martinez Posse, Manuel', in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, 10 vols, Emilio Casares, dir. (Madrid: 1999-2002), vol. 7, 302-3.
[191] From the 1700s onwards, there seems to be some - even if isolated - moments of relative prosperity, such as in 1714, with the decision to have a new organ built and at the same time of fixing one of the pre-existing ones. 'Encargo al maestro organero Antonio del Pino de hacer un nuevo organo y componer el actual…Se le pagará a plazos / The organ builder Antonio del Pino was instructed to build a new organ and

churches.[192] It is not inconceivable, however, that, as with many other sources, such music would have been copied and performed earlier, but was lost.

The picture of Tuy as given by Mário de Santiago Kastner in the 1950s is that of a institution not only financially but also musically poor, mainly closed in on itself, with no awareness of international or even national musical developments, and therefore insular and quite out-of-date when compared to other Iberian ecclesiastical institutions, especially from the 1600s onwards.[193] The remaining musical and archival sources allow us to have a more nuanced perspective. The cathedral was indeed poor but musically active. The Vespers repertory was essentially based on two names – Morales and Benayas. The *cantar al organo* by the chapel master described in the above-mentioned 1653-Chapter act shows an awareness of performance practices other than the mere *stile antico* represented in the surviving choirbooks.

Tuy's repertory and musical practices were, thus, within its limited means, not that much different from what an average Iberian cathedral would do at this time. In fact, the repertory and the sources where it is copied display some characteristics which are common to many Iberian religious institutions, even if its financial and geographical situation is so contrasting with the two previous case-studies: the preservation and continued use of a certain repertory and sources (seen in the choice of composer – Morales; in the material for the copy of choirbooks: parchment or in the late annotations, such as the late-drawn bar lines); the continuation of the *stile antico* associated with a certain genre (hymns) even in settings composed as late as the eighteenth century and

to fix the current one. He shall be paid in instalments.' Chapter acts, volume XII, fol. 69, 8 June 1714. J. TRILLO and C. VILLANUEVA, *La música*, 412. See also Pablo Pérez CONSTANTI, 'Los organos de la catedral de Tui', *La Vanguardia* newspaper (4 August 1925), 12.

[192] Seventeenth-century's settings of *música a papeles* found in Seville, Toledo and El Escorial, for example, represent only a small part of the full collections of this music. The greatest portion corresponds works from the eighteenth century.

[193] KASTNER, 1958, 195-200.

even when documentary sources show that other options of performance (namely soloist singing) were being practised at the time and finally the preference, in Vespers, for the works of local composers.

2.2.2. Monastic institutions:

The issue of the use of polyphony, either at Vespers or other celebrations, is less straightforward in monastic institutions than in secular ones. This is essentially related to the rules established by the religious orders themselves – or even by institutions within a given order – and the extent to which they were followed or not. The result is a great variety of scenarios. One example is the case of three Iberian Cistercian monasteries: in the female monastery of Arouca, in Portugal, one single polyphonic manuscript choirbook, copied c. 1615, with (mostly anonymous) settings for the Mass, Office and processions, is found among its invaluable collection of chant manuscripts (P-Ar 32); another Cistercian monastery of nuns, Santa Ana in Ávila, on the other hand, has a collection of ten polyphonic choirbooks, mostly from the sixteenth century, including printed editions of Palestrina's motets and Magnificat cycle, Guerrero's motets, Lassus's *Sacrae Cantiones* and manuscript choirbooks with settings for the Mass and Vespers by contemporary Spanish composers; in the male monastery of Alcobaça, the head House of the Cistercian order in Portugal, there is no evidence whatsoever of regular polyphonic practice.[194]

[194] For more on music in the Cistercian order in Portugal (and particularly on the music at Alcobaça) see Solange CORBIN, (1952); Manuel Pedro FERREIRA 'Dating a fragment: A Cistercian Litany and its Historical Context', *'Quod ore cantas corde credas: Studi in onore di Giacomo Baroffio Dahnk* (Roma, Libreria Vaticana, 2013) and Mara FORTU 'The Medieval Musical Manuscripts of the Cistercian Order in Portugal and Galicia', *Cantus Planus: Papers read at the 15th meeting of the IMS study group* (Ottawa: The institute of Medieval Music, 2013); *Idem* 'Um estudo sobre os hinos da Ordem de Cister', *História das Ordens e Congregações Religiosas em Portugal, na Europa e no Mundo* (Lisbon: Paulinas, 2014).

The monastic institutions approached in this study are also particular cases. This can be related to their own specificity as a religious order (such as the Monastery of Santa Cruz, whose inhabitants were not monks but Canons Regular, following the Rule of St Augustine) or the complexity of the interpretation and practical application of their own internal policy about musical performance practices – such as the Hieronymite monasteries of El Escorial and Guadalupe. In all, the result – at different times within the chronological timeframe of this thesis – is one of rich collections of polyphonic music for Vespers, mostly copied and composed in their own Houses.

c) The monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra

The monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra was founded in 1131 and was, since its origins, linked to the Portuguese crown. This obviously meant prestige, as well as a series of privileges. D. Afonso Henriques, the future first king of Portugal, donated the land for the building of the monastery, which was the last resting place for both him and his son, D. Sancho I. Under the papal protection it received in 1135, Santa Cruz was always able to cope with rivalries with other local ecclesiastical institutions, namely with the cathedral of Coimbra and with the Order of Jesuits. During the reign of D. Manuel I (1495-1521), the monastery started a process of reforms. Under the reign of following King, D. João III, these reforms continued, and the process was especially linked to friar Brás de Barros, placed by D. João himself in Santa Cruz, in 1527. This year is something of a mark in the life of the monastery, and its effect was that of a cultural and musical flourishing which would last throughout the whole of the sixteenth century.

The above-mentioned liberal revolution of 1834 meant a very significant impairment to the archive of Santa Cruz. The Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra (henceforward BGUC) holds music sources not only from this monastery but also from a

variety of religious institutions in Coimbra and other parts of the country. This means it is not always obvious or even possible to identify the origin of certain musical sources.

Most of the manuscript polyphonic choirbooks kept in BGUC are identifiable, by various means, as having been copied at Santa Cruz.[195] When it comes to Vespers, almost all the manuscripts which include settings for this service were almost undoubtedly copied and used there. There are, however, important exceptions. Among them is a mid-sixteenth-century polyphonic hymnal, clearly identified as having belonged to the cathedral of Coimbra (P-Cug MM 221) and a 1665 choirbook entitled *Livro da Quaresma e Somana Santa* copied at the Convent of São Francisco de Santarém (P-Cug MM 47) which includes a final section with anonymous psalms and a first-tone odd-verse Magnificat by Morales. As for printed editions, the difficulty in identifying the origin of the sources is still greater, not the least because there is no surviving inventory of the musical sources of Santa Cruz. The only clues come, on one hand, from an inventory from Coimbra's cathedral which mentions some polyphonic prints now kept in BGUC[196] and, on the other, four printed books which contain the indication of having belonged to the monastery of Santa Cruz.[197]

[195] O. REES, 1995, 6.

[196] This inventory is found on fols. 99-99v of Inuentario de todas as pecas de prata Ornamentos e mais couzas que há no tesouro da see de Coimbram, o qual fez o doutor Fernandes de Carvalho Conego da mesma see, e obreyro o anno 1635. Musicologist Manuel Joaquim mentions this document in his 'Os livros de coro da Sé de Coimbra em 1635' (Coimbra, 1957). The inventory of musical books was certainly made after this date, since it includes Filipe de Magalhães's printed cycle of Magnificat settings (1636). It was photographed and transcribed in J. Abreu and P. Estudante, 2012. My own transcription, made from this facsimile, is included in Appendix II.

[197] These are P-Cug MI 16, 20, 22 and 25. A fifth printed book - Morales's *Liber primus Missarum* (1546) – sold at an auction in New York in 17 October 2011, had the indication of having belonged to the Monastery of Santa Cruz. It is currently the property of Boston College.

Table 2.10[198]: Extant manuscript polyphonic sources with Vespers repertory kept in Coimbra

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES AT BGUC							
Sigla	Composers	Contents	Date	Material	Dimensions (mm)	Origin	Acquisition
P-Cug MM 6	Morales Moran	Magnificat settings Psalms B. Domino	1540-55	Paper	545 x 400	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 7	Anonymous	Psalm B. Domino	c. 1550	Paper	545 x 390	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 8	**Pedro de Cristo** Anonymous	Psalms Magnificat settings B. Domino	1610-20	Paper	558 x 405	Santa Cruz	Copy (authograph)
P-Cug MM 9	Morales Moran Anonymous	Magnificat settings Hymns Ben. Domino	1545-50	Paper	560 x 418	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 12	Moran Peñalosa Vasco Pires Urreda Mouton Anonymous	Magnificat settings Psalm Hymn Ben. Domino	1540-50	Paper	523 x 39	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 18	**Pedro de Cristo** Anonymous	Psalms Hymns Magnificat settings Psalms Hymn *Ut queant*	1610-20	Paper	473 x 375	Santa Cruz	Copy (authograph)
P-Cug MM 31	Anonymous	Psalms Magnificat settings	Late 16th c.	Paper	436 x 288	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 32	Peñalosa Vasco Pires Moran Anonymous	Magnificat settings 1 hymn setting	1540-55	Paper	388 x 278	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 33	**Pedro de Cristo** Aires Fernandez Anonymous	Psalms Magnificat settings B. Domino B. Domino Psalms B. Domino	1580s	Paper	421 x 275	Santa Cruz	Copy (autograph)

[198] This table is based on O. REES, 1995, P. ESTUDANTE, 2007, B. NELSON, *Pure Gold*, 2011, PEM database and my own research on the Cartapácios made in the above-mentioned CESEM digital database.

P-Cug MM 36	**Pedro de Cristo** Anonymous	2 Psalms Hymn *O lux beata* Magnificat setting Psalms Hymn Magnificat setting B. Domino	1570s-80s	Paper	412 x 278	Santa Cruz	Copy (autograph)
P-Cug MM 44	Diego Ortiz **Francisco Sta. Maria** **Pedro de Cristo** **Francisco Sta. Maria** Airez Fernandez Anonymous	Psalms Psalms Magnificat settings B. Domino Psalms Fabordões	1580s	Paper	335 x 227	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 47	Anonymous Morales	Psalms Magnificat setting	1665	Paper	370 x 255	Convento of S. Francisco	Copy
P-Cug MM 48	Anonymous	Fabordões Magnificat settings	1556-9	Paper	320 x 205	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 49 Cart. 18	Anonymous	Psalms Magnificat settings	1648-50?	Paper	311 x 214	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 51 Cart. 19	Anonymous	Psalms Hymn	1649-50	Paper	311 x 214	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 52[199]	Anonymous	Psalms	1640-50	Paper	307 x 212	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 53	Anonymous	Psalms Magnificat B. Domino	1585-1600	Paper	312 x 220	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 70	Anonymous	Hymn Magnificat settings Mag. antiphon	After 1570	Paper	132 x 198 (oblong)	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 221	Ceballos (*Ave maris stella*) Anonymous	Hymns	c.1550	Paper	400 x 255	Cathedral of Coimbra	Copy
P-Cug MM 228 Cart. 4[200]	Anonymous	Psalms	1643-5	Paper	360 x 240	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 229 Cart. 21	J. Lourenço Rebelo	Psalm	1649	Paper	320 x 210	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 234 Cart. 11	Anonymous	Psalms	1646-7	Paper	320 x 210	Santa Cruz	Copy

[199] Probably a book for *ministriles*.
[200] MM 228 compiles two Cartapácios, numbers 4 and 6. The psalms are found at Cartapácio 4.

P-Cug MM 238 Cart. 14	Anonymous	Psalm	1645-6	Paper	320 x 210	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 239 Cart. 10	Anonymous	Psalms	1646-7	Paper	320 x 220	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 242	Anonymous	Psalms Hymns	1575-1600	Paper	282 x 199	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MM 243 Cart. no number attributed	Anonymous	Psalms	1648	Paper	310 x 215	Santa Cruz	Copy
P-Cug MJ1[201]	Navarro	Magnificat setting	1600-50	Paper		Santa Cruz	Copy
PRINTS AT BGUC							
P-Cug MI 2	Duarte Lobo	*Cantica B. Mariae*	1605	Paper		?	?
P-Cug MI 7	Victoria	*Cantica B. Virginis*	1581	Paper		?	?
P-Cug MI 8	Victoria	*Hymni totius anni*	1581	Paper		?	?
P-Cug MI 12	Manuel Cardoso	*Cantica Beatae Mariae Virginis*	1613	Paper		?	?
P-Cug MI 16[202]	Filipe de Magalhães	*Cantica beatissimae Virginis*	1636	Paper		Santa Cruz	Purchase
P-Cug MI 19	Navarro	*Psalmi, hymni ac Magnificat*	1590	Paper		?	?
P-Cug MI 25	Palestrina	*Hymni totius anni*	1589	Paper		?	?

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES AT IGREJA DE SANTA CRUZ							
Sigla	Composers	Contents	Date	Material	Dimensions (mm)	Origin	Acquisition
P-Cs LC s/c	J. Lourenço Rebelo Anonymous Navarro Anonymous Guerrero Anonymous Aires Fernandez Anonymous	Psalms Hymns Magnificat settings B. Domino	1632-1650 + 18th c. additions	Paper	488 x 365	Santa Cruz	Copy

[201] Probably a book for *ministriles*.
[202] MI 17, also Magalhães's Magnificat collection, might have belonged to the cathedral.

Among the manuscript sources from Santa Cruz, a group of twenty-three choirbooks have been described, dated and fully indexed by Owen Rees.[203] Of these, fourteen contain settings for Vespers, including all the items traditionally set in polyphony: psalms, hymns, Magnificat settings, and a significant collection of Benedicamus Domino. Most of the settings are anonymous, but the ones which are identified, either by ascription or concordances, are all by Iberian composers, and especially by musicians from the monastery itself, where these books were in all likelihood produced. Monastic institutions did not receive 'paid donations' and relying on works from musicians of their own house is an aspect which Santa Cruz shares with, for example, the monastery of El Escorial.

The polyphonic manuscript sources from the mid-seventeenth century copied at Santa Cruz demonstrate that, just as in other Iberian institutions of similar size and rank, the musical texture and style were evolving in a similar manner. In this case, this is demonstrated through a collection of sixteen choirbooks in open score format, all dated from around the mid-1600s, which form a group denominated as Cartapácios. In eight of these books, it is possible to find 27 Vespers psalms and two Magnificat settings. All settings except one – Rebelos's four-voice *Confitebor tibi*, in MM 229 - are polychoral (mostly for eight voices) and include an instrumental accompaniment of *guião*.[204] Until very recently, the Cartapácios have been almost completely overlooked,[205] for all the reasons mentioned in the Introduction and also, possibly, by the very bad publicity given to them by Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro.[206] They are, nevertheless, a very important

[203] O. REES, 1995. All these sources are available in digital format at the PEM database.

[204] *Guião* is, in all likelihood, used in the sense of Basso Continuo in the Cartapácios and not in its original meaning. See Glossary.

[205] The Centro de Estudos Artísticos of the Universidade de Coimbra is currently developing a project which focuses on the study of these sources. The first published result of this is the doctoral dissertation of Tiago SIMAS FREIRE, 'Musique et liturgie au monastère de Santa Cruz de Coimbra'.

[206] 'Now the canons regular, starting with Dom Gabriel de São João, would put their efforts into producing true monuments to bad taste…/ Agora os cónegos regrantes, com Dom Gabriel de São João à testa, esmeravam-se na produção de verdadeiros monumentos de mau gosto.../. Mário de SAMPAYO RIBEIRO, 'El rei D. João, o Quinto e a música no seu tempo', *D. João V -Conferências e estudos comemorativos do*

testimony of seventeenth-century musical writing and practice in Portugal. The only Portuguese printed exemplar of polychoral liturgical music in the 1600s is the Vespers edition of João Lourenço Rebelo.[207] The Index of the Library of King D. João IV, does not list any of the polychoral settings of these Coimbra manuscripts, which makes the contents of these Cartapácios still more relevant, as it provides more evidence of this practice by (in all likelihood) Portuguese composers.

None of the above-mentioned manuscripts can be considered as a Vesperal in the standard designation of the term, since they can all be classified under the 'mixed contents' category. There is, however, one polyphonic Vesperal, copied in all likelihood at Santa Cruz, which somehow escaped the pillage of 1834 and is currently kept not in BGUC but in the archive of the Church of Santa Cruz (originally the chapel of this monastery), being, at present designated by the siglum P-Cs LC s/c.[208]

Most of the polyphonic books from the monastery of Santa Cruz were meant for the use of its *capilla*. The highest-ranking feasts, where musical investment would be greater, were designated as 'feasts of four cantors'.[209] These celebrations would be those where the polyphonic settings would be performed.

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segundo centenário da sua morte (1750-1950), (Lisbon: Publicações culturais da Câmara municipal de Lisboa, 1952), 68.

[207] João Lourenço REBELO, *Psalmi tum Vesperarum tum Completorii. Item Magnificat, Lamentationes et Miserere* (Rome: Balmonti, 1657).

[208] The study of this source and analysis of five of its hymns are included in Chapter 3. Full indexation and transcription of these hymns are in Appendixes I and II, respectively. This sigla was attributed by José Abreu and Paulo Estudante. I thank them for the information on this source's measurements. I equally thank my supervisor, Owen Rees, for having allowed me access to this source in digital format. Luis Toscano is currently studying this Vesperal in his (yet unfinished) doctoral dissertation, a project developed in the Universidade de Coimbra, and supervised by José Abreu and Paulo Estudante.

[209] These designations appear both in the 1531 Breviary of Santa Cruz as well as in their Ceremonial. *Breviarium secundum usum insignis monasterii sancta crucis colibriensis ordinis divi augustini* ([Coimbra]: Germão Galharde, 1531) and *Ordinario e ceremonial da Ordem dos Conegos regulares da ordem do bem-aventurado nosso Padre Sancto Augustinho, & da congregacam de sancta Cruz de Coimbra* (Coymbra: Canonicos regulares do Moesteyro de sancta Cruz, 1563).

The cycles of psalms which are identified are the ones by Pedro de Cristo, precisely in the books which have been partly or almost fully copied by the composer himself.[210] Pedro de Cristo (c.1550-1618) was, from the 1590s until his death, the chapel master of the monastery, and is its most famous composer. The anonymous polychoral psalms in the Cartapácios do not cover the necessary cycle for all festal Vespers, and therefore the *capilla* would have had to rely on complementary sources, among the extant - and also probably some currently-lost – manuscripts, such as the above-mentioned Vesperal. This includes three psalm cycles, which would allow for the celebration of Sundays, Christmas and Corpus Christi, Marian feasts, Commons of Saints and of Martyrs, Apostles and Evangelists.

Pervasive to Iberian institutions we find the Magnificat settings by Morales. Nevertheless, unlike what we usually see elsewhere – the copy in full cycles, ordered by tone, of even and odd-verse settings – these settings are spread throughout different choirbooks in the Santa Cruz manuscripts (although mostly concentrated in MM 6). If the full cycle was ever copied, it has not survived. Other prolific composer of Magnificat settings is Luis Moran, of whom almost nothing is known.[211] Rees suggests that the models for the copy of the settings by this composer as well as the ones by Morales would have firstly reached Santa Cruz in manuscript form.[212] The purchase in 1560, of a part book edition of the Magnificat settings of Morales (M3590), by two canons of Santa Cruz is registered, and it would have served as model for the copy in MM 9.[213] Regarding the remaining Magnificat settings in Santa Cruz sources, the composers we find are Urreda, Peñalosa, Vasco Pires (fl. 1481-1509 – a local Coimbra composer linked to the cathedral), Guerrero

[210] See O. REES, 1994, 261-6 and 269-77 and 1995, the description of MMs 8, 18, 33 and 36.
[211] Rees suggests he might have been of Spanish origin. O. REES, 1995, 160.
[212] Idem.
[213] Maria José Azevedo SANTOS and Helena da Cruz COELHO, *De Coimbra a Roma* (Coimbra: Coimbra editora, 1990), 105 and O. REES, 1995, 182.

and João Lourenço Rebelo (1610-61) a composer linked to the Portuguese ducal palace of Vila Viçosa and to king D. João IV. The richest source for hymns is, again, the polyphonic Vesperal, with thirteen settings, five of which are by Juan Navarro, and the remaining eight anonymous. Most of these settings are for feasts of the Temporal.

As explained before, it is difficult to know nowadays which printed books currently kept in BGUC would have belonged to the Santa Cruz. P-Cug MI 16, the cycle of Magnificat settings by Filipe de Magalhães is identified as such. BGUC currently holds two exemplars of this print: MI 16 and 17. As mentioned by José Abreu and Paulo Estudante, it is tempting to think that one would belong to the cathedral of Coimbra (not the least since it is mentioned in its inventory) and the other to the monastery. However, the authors alert to the risk of making claims without sufficient evidence.[214] This library also holds the Magnificat collections of Cardoso and Duarte Lobo, the Vespers 1590 print by Navarro and Palestrina's *Hymni totius anni*. Finally, paired with Victoria's *Hymni totius anni*, BGUC holds the composer's collection of Magnificat settings.

d) The monasteries of Guadalupe and El Escorial

The monasteries of Guadalupe and El Escorial constitute interesting cases of study, not only for their extensive musical collections but also for the apparent paradox between what was, in theory, established in these houses regarding the use and performance of polyphony and what happened in practice. This issue itself raises other questions, in particular how much, in the writing and performing of polyphonic music, was the decision of the Hieronymite monks themselves, and how much was the result of external influence. Both monasteries bear the title 'real' (royal), making clear their link to the Spanish Crown and especially to king Phillip II. This is particularly true of El Escorial. The monarch

[214] J. ABREU and P. ESTUDANTE, 2011, 100.

founded this monastery and his influence was tangible at many levels – including crucial decisions related to musical issues, from the building of the *coro* to the choice of the set of four organs and to the copying of music books. The king had a residence built for himself, next to the main altar of the basilica, from where he could, through a window, observe the various services that were celebrated during the extensive periods of time which he spent at El Escorial.

The letter of foundation (*Carta de Fundación*) of the monastery, bestowed by Philip II himself in 1567, and specifically its item 38, specifically, states the following:

38. And as regards the other masses, and hours, and divine offices which are continuously to be celebrated in the said monastery, we want them to be said and celebrated according to what is ordered in the *Constituciones* and customs of the Order, and regarding these it is neither our intention nor will to change or alter anything, except that they be said and celebrated with the solemnity, ceremonies, and form and authority which is customary, with which we want and explicitly order that they are said and celebrated with plainchant and let there not be, in any way, nor in any day, nor feast, polyphony...[215]

The policy of the Hieronymite Order regarding polyphony does not stray from this, and is clearly stated in their Constitutions, printed for centuries: The Divine Office should be recited or sung in plainchant. The only exception comes from an amendment (extravagante'), introduced at least as early as 1513, when *canto de organo* would be

[215] '38. Y en cuanto a las otras misas, y horas, y oficios divinos que en el dicho Monasterio se han de hacer celebrar continuamente, queremos que aquéllos se digan y celebren si y según y conforme a los que en las Constituciones y costumbre de la Orden está ordenado, que cerca de esto no es nuestra intención ni voluntad mudar ni alterar cosa alguna, sino que aquéllas se digan y celebren con la solemnidad, ceremonias y forma y auctoridad que sea costumbre, con que queremos y expresamente ordenamos que se digan y celebren en canto llano e non haya en ninguna manera, ni en ningún día, ni fiesta, canto de órgano…' M. NOONE, 1998, translates this passage into English. Nevertheless, as Owen Rees points out in his review of the book – in *Notes* 55/3 (1999), 652-54, at 653 - 'there are some errors and infelicities of translation'. These happen at several points other than the ones indicated by Rees. I therefore opted to provide my own translation.

allowed on certain occasions, and within certain circumstances, namely with the permission of the prelate and exclusion of any secular singers.[216]

What documentary and musical sources present, however, is a very different scenario, with *canto de organo*, secular singers and *ministriles*, not least in the presence of Philip II. The answers to this paradox vary radically according to different musicologists. Two completely opposing views are represented in the publications of Michael Noone and José Sierra Perez, both from the same year (1998). According to the former, the monks would have obediently conformed to the supposed wishes of the king, to the point of creating an 'Escorial-type' of polyphony, which was not truly *canto de organo*. This style would have been shown in the works of local composer fray Martin de Villanueva: very basic, chordal-like harmonisations, in what could almost be considered a written version of the improvisational practices which indeed took place at this monastery. This repertory would have been created specifically to comply with the extremely austere style which the king would have envisaged for El Escorial: a consistent universe within the monastery's walls, in which everything, from its decoration to its music, would be the materialisation of a style – *estilo desornamentado* – representing the strictest of Tridentine ideals.[217] Perez, on the other hand, expresses the view that the king had no wish whatsoever to interfere with the performance of polyphony, and that the monastery's music simply reflects

[216] 'In any monastery of our Order, the Divine Office must be sung or recited, by the friars in the *coro*… slowly and in chant…We give the opportunity that, in our choirs, *canto de organo* may be sung (with permission of the prior) in very specific feasts, and not with secular singers/ En qualquier monesterio de nuestra Orden, sea dicho por los frayles en el choro el officio diuino cantado, o rezado… espaciosamente y a punto… E permitimos que en nuestros choros se cante (con licencia del prelado) canto de organo, en fiestas precípuas, no con cantores seglares…'. *Constituciones de los frayles de la Orden del glorioso doctor nuestro padre San Hieronymo* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1597), p. 27. The marginalia note 'Extrav. 1513' can be found next to this passage. Book available at: https://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb11228664_00001.html. In the early eighteenth century, the statement of these Constitutions and its 1513 'extravagante' remain exactly the same, even at a time when the evidence from the musical sources shows an extremely rich production of polyphonic music at Gudalupe and El Escorial. *Constituciones y Extravagantes de la Orden de N.P.S Geronymo* (Salamanca: Eugenio Antonio Garcia, 1716), 17-18. Book available at Google books.

[217] M. NOONE, 1998, 8, 87-100 and 108.

Hieronymite values: sobriety, and avoidance of anything that hindered devotion. As such, the Order itself did not admit the type of polyphony that obscured the text (such as *canto de organo*). Exceptions would, nevertheless, be allowed to take place in very special circumstances, such as the highest-ranking feasts and with the approval of the 'prior', or the king, in his lifetime.[218]

In the case of Vespers, testimonies of *canto de organo* at Guadalupe and El Escorial are present in musical sources only from the seventeenth-century onwards, but much evidence from the sixteenth century shows that it was performed, not only by monks of these houses but by professional secular singers, with organ and instrument-playing by *ministriles* – although how regularly it is not made clear.

The monastery of Guadalupe came into being from the rebuilding of a small chapel, dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe, a project undertaken by King Alfonso XI. The occupation by Hieronymite monks took place in 1389. The monastery enjoyed, for centuries, periods of great prosperity, particularly between the late fourteenth and the mid-sixteenth century. It was a common visiting site for Spanish monarchs. Its prestige was maintained until the nineteenth century when, after suffering under the French invasion of 1808, it underwent a period of 'slow agony'[219] until its closure in 1835.

Guadalupe maintained its own *capilla* since at least the third quarter of the sixteenth century.[220] Its maintenance seemed to depend mostly on the availability of funds, which

[218] J. SIERRA PÉREZ, 1998, 183-224.

[219] The phrase 'larga agonía' is used by Enrique LLOPIS AGELÁN in 'Una gran "empresa" agraria y de servicios espirituales: el Monasterio Jerónimo de Guadalupe', *Documentos de Trabajo de la Facultad de Ciências Ecomónicas y Empresariales*. Consulted online at: webs.ucm.es/BUCM/cee/doc/3010010.htm.

[220] The text which describes the 1576 Christmas Vespers at Guadalupe, with Phillip II and his nephew, Portuguese king D. Sebastião, specifically mentions the monastery's own *capilla* ('The chapel of this House/ La capilla de esta casa'). For this special service, singers were brought from Toledo and Plasencia, as well as an organist and a cornet-player. This episode is narrated by archivist of the monastery friar José de Alcalá, in his manuscript History of Guadalupe. José de ALCALÁ, *Notícias y adiciones que se deben añadir a las Historias de Guadalu*pe (1801): E-GU, Codex 14, fol 16. This passage is quoted by A.

came mainly from external donations. One document which shows this quite clearly is the testament of D. Diego Lopez de Rivadeneira, who donated 1500 *ducados* so that the monastery could have *ministriles* at its service. His wish came into effect by decision of the Chapter in 1595, as shown in the Chapter act quoted by the Guadalupe prior Gabriel de Talavera.[221]

El Escorial was the monumental and very personal project of King Philip II for over twenty years of his reign. Its first stone was laid in 1563, and the building was fully completed in 1584. The link between El Escorial and Philip II is inextricable and this building cannot be thought of without recalling the monarch who conceived it.

Regarding polyphonic musical performance, textual documents from this monastery mention Christmas Vespers of 1575 in the presence of the king and his son, with the clear mention not only of *canto de organo* but also of instrumental participation.[222] One other occasion when *canto de organo* was sung was on the 9 August 1586, the eve of the feast of St Lawrence. Friar Jerónimo de Sepúlveda mentions that First Vespers and Compline were celebrated with the same performers as on the Mass of that day, which he had previously described as having had much *canto de organo* and use of organs. He equally mentions Second Vespers, celebrated in the same way as First Vespers.[223] In this same

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ALVARÉZ, *Guadalupe: Arte, História y devoción mariana* (Madrid, 1964), 262; G. RUBIO, *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (Barcelona, 1926), 147; A. BARRADO, 1947, 16 and D. CRAWFORD, 1977, 146.

[221] '… in order to create again, and sustain the music of ministriles, shawms, sackbuts, dulcian, horns and other musical instruments/…para criar de nuevo y sustentar la música de ministriles, chirimías, sacabuches, baxón y cornetas y de los demás instrumentos músicos.' Fray Gabriel de TALAVERA, *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (Toledo: Thomas de Guzmán, 1597), fol 207. This book is available on Google books.

[222] This passage, described by Fray Jerónimo, is written at the opening quote of the Introduction to this dissertation, See p. 1.

[223] [The mass]… 'With much *canto de organo* and beautiful voices, with the organs, which sounded heavenly/ [C]on mucho canto de organo y muy lindas voces con los órganos que sonaban celestialmente'; 'Second Vespers and Compline were [celebrated] as were First Vespers/ 'Las vísperas segundas y completas fueran como las primeras..' Jerónimo de SEPÚLVEDA, *Historia de varios sucesos y de las cosas notables que han acaecido en España y otras naciones desde el año de 1584 hasta el de 1603*, Documentos

text, there is evidence that musicians from the *capilla real* had been brought to perform at these services. Tess Knighton's study of the books used by Philip II's *capilla real*, based on a 1600 inventory made by Pedro del Bosque, shows the kind of music that would plausibly have been performed at El Escorial on those occasions. This inventory lists more than 300 volumes in total, organised in different groups. Group 2 ('Singing books for the service of the chapel') and 4 ('Books kept by the chapel master') are quite telling of the type of repertory performed by the king's chapel.[224]

Table 2.11: Choirbooks with Vespers repertory from Philip II's chapel (1600)

Group 2: Song books for the service of the chapel ('Libros de canto del serviçio de la capilla')		
Number (Knighton's transcription)	Composers	Contents
65	Several, not specified	Hymns and Magnificats
90	Divitis and others, not specified	Hymns and Magnificats
96	Morales	Hymns and Magnificats
102	Pedro Pastrana	Psalms (opens with *Dixit Dominus*)
Group 4: Books kept by the chapel master (Libros que tiene el maestro de capilla)		
Number (Knighton's transcription)	Composers	Contents
12	Several, not specified	Motets and Magnificats
13	Guerrero	Hymns and Masses
14	Guerrero	Fabordones and Magnificats
15	Ceballos	Hymns and Magnificats
45	Benedictus	Magnificats
46	Benedictus	Hymns (opens with *Conditor alme siderum*)

One other example of polyphonic performance at Vespers is given at the ceremonies of translation of eighteen bodies of deceased members of the royal family to a crypt beneath the altar of the new basilica in October 1586. On the second of the three days which the ceremonies lasted, Sepúlveda says that there was much *canto de organo*. It is not specifically mentioned that it took place at Vespers, although the service is described as

para la Historia del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial 4 (Madrid: Imprenta Helenica, 1924), 114 and 132-3.

[224] Luis Robledo ESTAIRE, Tess KNIGHTON and *al.*, eds, *Aspectos de la Cultura Musical en la Corte de Felipe II* (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, 2000), Appendix 22, 380-94.

having been very solemn and the last response is said to have been sung, again, in *canto de organo*.[225]

In the seventeenth century, the musical sources testify the true explosion in the production of musical works in Guadalupe and at El Escorial, materialised in choirbooks and especially in *música a papeles*.

Table 2.12: Extant choirbooks with polyphonic repertory for Vespers in the monastery of Guadalupe[226]

MANUSCRIPT CHOIRBOOKS					
RISM Sigla	Composers	Contents/Title	Date	Material	Dimensions (mm)
E-GU II	Navarro Boluda R.Salamanca Torrentes Guerrero Ceballos Urreda B. Ribera B. Gonzalez Morales	Psalms/Hymns Psalms/Hymns 1 psalm 1 psalm 1 psalm Hymn/Magnificat setting B. Domino 1 hymn Magnificat setting 1 hymn 1 hymn	1603-75	Paper	550 x 390
E-GU III	Vivanco	Psalm Hymn	1603-75	Paper	555 x 395
E-GU IV	Morales	Magnificat settings	Early 17th century	Paper	555 x 400

In Guadalupe, three of the four extant polyphonic choirbooks contain repertory for Vespers. One of them, number II,[227] contains almost exclusively Vespers settings,

[225] 'There was much canto de organo. Vespers were said very solemnly, and the last response [was sung] below, in the church, with canto de organo…/ Hubo mucha música de canto de organo. Dijéronse las vísperas muy solemnes, y después el último responso abajo en la iglesia a canto de organo…' J. SEPÚLVEDA, 1924, 163.

[226] This table is based on D. Crawford, 1977; F. RODILLA LEÓN, 2013 and the LPH database. All the extant sources kept or originated at Guadalupe and El Escorial were, in all likelihood, produced by in-house copying. As such, the 'Acquisition' column is not included in these tables, unlike what happens with the tables for the other four study-case institutions.

[227] This is the number attributed to this source in the monastery of Guadalupe, and therefore the one chosen to use in this dissertation. In his article, David Crawford decides to attribute numbers 1 and 2 to choirbooks which had been given, in the monastery's archive, numbers 2 and 3 respectively. D. CRAWFORD, 1977,

including psalms, hymns, Magnificat and Benedicamus Domino settings. This choirbook was clearly meant to suit a wide range of liturgical feasts as can be demonstrated by the psalm settings on the first few folios. *Lauda Jerusalem*, the final psalm on First and Second Vespers of all Marian feasts,[228] as well as on Common of Virgins, Circumcision and Corpus Christi appears in all eight tones, which is telling of its frequent use. *Laudate Dominum*, copied in all but the second and third tones, is the last psalm on First Vespers of Apostles and Evangelists, Common of Martyrs and Common of Saints. The custom of performing polyphonically (at least) the final psalm at Vespers is consistent with what is stated in sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries' Ceremonials.[229] The hymns would serve the most important feasts of the liturgical calendar, and include some *unica*, by Morales, Gines de Boluda and Ceballos. There are only two Magnificat settings, by Ceballos and Bernardino de Ribera. Polyphonic settings of this canticle, however, would be provided in choirbook IV, with the manuscript cycle of the sixteen settings by Morales. E-GU III was, originally, part of one single large volume which started with the current book II, something made clear in the foliation. This book contains mainly repertory for the Mass, and one Officium Defunctorum, but it equally includes settings of psalm *De profundis* and of the hymn *Vexilla regis*, both by Vivanco.

A large percentage of the composers in these sources were, at some point, chapel masters at Toledo. The link to this cathedral is not surprising, given the geographical proximity and the fact that they both belong to the same ecclesiastical province. In 1597, Talavera

145-74. This error has persisted in later studies and in international catalogues, such as the *Census Catalogue* and the database Libros de polifonia hispana. It has been detected and explained in Francisco RODILLA LEÓN, 'El "canto de organo" en el real monasterio de Santa Maria de Guadalupe: fuentes, repertorio y compositores', *Musicología local, musicología global*, Javier Marín Lopez, German Gan Quesada, Elena Torres Clemente and Pilar Ramos López eds. (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicologia, 2013), 1887-1910, at 1897-9. The database DIAMM gives the correct numbering for these codices.

[228] The statue of the Virgin – Our Lady of Guadalupe – kept in this monastery is possible its most famous and valuable possession and it gives the institution its name: monastery of Santa Maria de Guadalupe. Marian devotion was, naturally, cultivated there.

[229] Matters of performance and prescriptive liturgical sources are developed in Chapter 4.

writes, in fact, of this link, stating that the singing, ceremonies, rites and customs of Guadalupe were learnt from Toledo.[230]

Guadalupe's works of *música a papeles* were collected and organised by the above-mentioned Arcángel Barrado, who compiled an inventory of no fewer than 947 'concertados' from the seventeenth and (mostly) eighteenth century.[231]

Table 2.13: Extant settings of *música a papeles* kept in the monastery of Guadalupe[232]

Catalogue number	Composers	Contents/Title	Voices	Instruments	Dimensions (mm)
31 Leg. 14-20		Benedicamus Domino (+ Alleluia)	2x SATB	B.C.	215 x 290
32 Leg. 14-99		Benedicamus Domino	2x SATB	1st and 2nd violins + B.C.	180 x 250
39 Leg. 14-26		Dixit Dominus	SSAT SATB	1st and 2nd violins + 2 B.C.	215 x 290
47 Leg. 1-14		Decora lux	2x SATB	Organ *obligato*	215 x 305
48 Leg. 1-15		Decora lux	SSAT SATB	B.C.	180 x 250
49 Leg. 1-18		Caelestis urbis	S (solo) 2x SATB	2 B.C.	215 x 290
62 Leg. 16-15		Lauda Jerusalem	SS SATB	1st and 2nd violins + 2 B.C.	240 x 350
174 Leg. 33-33	**Aniceto Bailón** (d. 1684)	Magnificat	ST SATB	Horns + organ	295 x 215
475 Leg. 13-16	Carlos Patiño	In exitu Israel	2x SATB	B.C.	250 x 350

[230] 'Let it be proof of the highly privileged worship of this place, that its singing, ceremonies, rites and customs are the ones taught by the church of Toledo, having this house as its special intent to always diligently imitate the primatial church of our Spain/ Sea pues confirmación del culto auentajadisimo deste lugar, ser su canto, ceremonias, ritos y costumbres, enseñanza de la iglesia de Toledo, teniendo siempre por especial intento esta casa, imitar con diligencia todo lo que avia de hacer, la más principal iglesia de nuestra España.' G. TALAVERA, 1597, fol 205.

[231] A. BARRADO, 1947, 25-170. There are no dates provided for these specific works. The selection made for this table was based on composer identification and, in the case of anonymous works, on the instruments used.

[232] This table is based on the catalogue by A. BARRADO, 1947. All the works are by seventeenth-century composers. Monks from Guadalupe are indicated in bold font.

Regarding El Escorial, its extant polyphonic sources are at the moment fully catalogued on the website of the monastery's library.[233] The richness of polyphonic sacred music is well demonstrated in the more than 2000 entries in this catalogue, more than 300 of which are works for Vespers by seventeenth-century composers, practically all polychoral, as can be seen in the table below. Michael Noone, on the other hand, focused more exclusively on polyphonic choirbooks from Escorial provenance, currently kept at the monastery and also in other locations. Regarding Vespers, Noone located three seventeenth-century manuscript copies of the Magnificat cycles of Morales, two of which are currently kept in the Hispanic Society of America in New York, and one in the collegiate church of Pastrana. These were probably copied by local monk Fray Pedro de Estremera in the first decade of the seventeenth century. According to Noone, these were probably not intended for El Escorial but for the collegiate church of S. Pedro in Lerma, where a number of choirbooks of Escorial provenance had arrived by 1632, the year of Estremera's death.[234] Apart from that, two sources now preserved in New York and in the monastery of Monserrat, respectively, were both also probably copied by Estremera, and include concordant settings of psalms in *fabordón*, in all eight tones, which Robert Snow attributed to Ceballos.[235]

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[233] http://rbme.patrimonionacional.es/Busqueda-en-Catalogo.aspx. This catalogue uses the same numbering as the one made by Samuel Rubio in 1976, but with updated and more detailed information. S. RUBIO, 1976. The numbering used in this table is therefore the one use in Rubio's work. All the works are by seventeenth-century composers (except where indicated, with the date of death in the early eighteenth century). Escorial monks are indicated in bold font.

[234] M. NOONE, 2005, 148.

[235] Robert SNOW, *The extant music of Rodrigo de Ceballos and its Sources*, Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography 44 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1980), 32-3 and 79-81.

Table 2.14: Extant choirbooks with polyphonic repertory for Vespers originating at the monastery of El Escorial[236]

MANUSCRIPT CHOIRBOOKS					
RISM Sigla	Composers	Contents/Title	Date	Material	Dimensions (mm)
E-MO 0750	Anonymous/ Ceballos?	Fabordones	c. 1600	Paper	400 x 280
E-PAS s.s.	Guerrero Morales	Doxology Magnificats	1587-1632	Paper	559 x 396
US-NYhsa 253a	Guerrero Anonymous	Doxology Fabordones[237]	Early 17th century	Paper	584 x 370
US – Nyhsa 869	Morales	Magnificats	Early 17th century	Paper	590 x 410
US – NYhsa 870	Morales Anonymous	Magnificats	1608	Paper	590 x 400

Table 2.15: Extant books with polyphonic repertory for Vespers kept in the library of the monastery of El Escorial[238]

BOOKS IN SCORE FORMAT ('LIBROS DE PARTITURAS' – LP)					
Catalogue number	Composers	Contents/Title	Date	Material	Dimensions (mm)
LP 16	Grassi	*Dixit Dominus* Magnificat	18th -19th c.	Paper	315 x 220
LP 27	Anonymous	Psalms Magnificat settings	17th c.	Paper	222 x 160
	Carlos Patiño	*Laudate Dominum*			
	Diego de Torrijos (1653-91)	Psalms Magnificat settings			
LP 28	Acosta	Two psalms (Of an incomplete set for Vespers)	18th c.	Paper	305 x 210

[236] This table is based on M. NOONE, 1994, M. NOONE 1998, and on the LPH database.
[237] Concordant with the ones in E-MO 0750.
[238] Tables 2.15 and 2.16 are based on S. RUBIO, 1976 and on the online catalogue of the monastery's library. The way in which they are organised varies slightly from Rubio's. Whereas Rubio puts certain works of *música a papeles* (where one work or booklet are put in each folder - 'Collecciones en carpetas'- CC) and score-format books in one same group, and then creates a separate group for *música a papeles* where several different works are put in one same folder - 'Carpetas – C), I have opted for simply organising one table for books (E1) and one table for all *música a papeles*, following the same criterion used for the cathedrals of Seville and Toledo.

LP 29	**Diego de Torrijos** Anonymous	Fabordones glosados *Pange lingua* (All for the organ) *Fabordones* Psalms *Pange lingua* (All for the organ)	17th c.	Paper	220 x 155
LP 30	Anonymous **Diego de Torrijos** **José Perandreu** (fl 1605-46) Anonymous	*Pange lingua* (18 settings) (All for the organ) *Lauda Jerusalem* (for the organ)	17th c.	Paper	300 x 205

Table 2.16: Extant *música a papeles* for Vespers kept in the library of the monastery of El Escorial

MÚSICA A PAPELES IN FOLDERS OR BOOKLETS ('COLLECCIONES EN CARPERTAS' - CC)						
Catalogue number	Composers	Contents/Title	Tone	Voices	Instruments	Notes
CC 2-1	Carlos Patiño	Magnificat	4	SSAT SATB		Modern edition[239]
CC 2 -2	**Diego de Torrijos**	Domine probasti me	5	SSAT SATB	B.C.	C 1938 is concordant
CC 7 - 1		Pange lingua	5	SATB	B.C.	Hispanic melody Concordant with CC 7-2, with text 'Tantum ergo'
CC 11 - 1	Santiago[240]	Magnificat	5	SS 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
CC 11 - 2	B. Escudero	Magnificat	1	SSAT 2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
CC 11 - 3	Gaspar Diaz?[241]	Magnificat	8	SSAT 2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
CC 11- 4	S. Lopez de Velasco	Magnificat	1	SS 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
CC 11 - 5	Martinez Velez	Magnificat	7	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	

[239] Lothar SIEMENS, ed., *Carlos Patiño, Obras musicales recopiladas*, (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicologia, 1999), vol 4.
[240] This could be Bartolomé de Santiago (d 1630, singer at El Escorial); Miguel de Santiago (1611-74, organist at El Escorial) or Francisco de Santiago (c. 1578-1644, chapel master at several Spanish cathedrals, including Seville)
[241] Possible confusion with Gabriel Besón.

MÚSICA A PAPELES IN FOLDERS ('CARPETAS' – C)						
Catalogue number	Composers	Contents/Title	Tone	Voices	Instruments	Notes
C 1	Aguilera de Heredia	Magnificat	1	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 53	Miguel de Ambiela	Dixit Dominus	6	SSAT 2 x SATB	B.C.	
C 74	Anonymous	Ave maris stella	1	2 x SATB	Organ, BC	
C 75	"	Benedicamus Domino	1	2 x SATB	1st, 2nd violins, organ	
C 76	"	Benedicamus Domino		2 x SATB	Harp, organ	
C 78	"	Deus tuorum militum	8	SA SATB (doubled)	Organ, B.C.	17th c. copy,
C 81	"	Exultent modulis 'a 12'	6	SSAT SATB ?	1st, 2nd violin organ, B.C.	17th c. copy, St Jerome Choir III missing
C 82	"	Janitor coeli	1	SSAT 2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 83	"	Jesu nostra redemptio	1	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 84	"	Pange lingua	5	SATB	Organ	Hispanic melody
C 88	"	Urbs Jerusalem beata	1	S solo SATB (doubled)	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 129	"	Lauda Jerusalem	1	SSAT SATB	Organ[242]	
C 413	Pedro Ardanaz	Dixit Dominus	1	SSAT SATB	B.C.	
C 414	"	Common Vespers + Credidi		SSAT SATB	B.C.	Dixit Dominus Beatus vir Laudate Dominum Magnificat Credidi (inc.)
C 415	"	Laudate Dominum	8	SSAT SATB	B.C.	
C 416	"	Magnificat	4	SSAT SATB	B.C.	
C 420	"	Beatus vir	1	SSAT SATB	B.C.	
C 421	"	Credidi	1	SSAT SATB	B.C.	Copy from 1785
C 446	Alfonso Bas de Acosta	Beatus vir	8	2 x SATB	Organ	
C 447	"	Beatus vir	1	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	

[242] Note on choir II's organ part: 'Está privado por varios decretos por la repetición de la letra en medio del salmo/ The repetition of the text in the middle of the psalm is forbidden by various decrees.

C 448	"	Beatus vir	8	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 451	"	Dixit Dominus	7	2 x SATB	B.C.	Bass part of choir II missing
C 452	"	Dixit Dominus	1	SSAT SATB	Organ	
C 456	"	Lauda Jerusalem	1	SSAT 2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 457	"	Lauda Jerusalem	8	SSAT SATB	Organ	
C 458	"	Laetatus sum	1	SSAT SATB (doubled)	Organ, B.C. 'al arpa'	
C 459	"	Magnificat	4	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 460	"	Magnificat	4	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 461	"	Magnificat	6	SA, ST SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 462	"	Magnificat	2	SA, ST[243] 2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	B.C. from choir II and IV missing
C 472	**Juan Bautista de Orche** (1583-1653)	Beatus vir	5	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 473	"	Laetatus sum	1	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 474	"	Dixit Dominus	1	SSAT SATB	Double bass B.C.	
C 487	Benito Bello de Torices (d 1717)	Lauda Jerusalem	8	SSAT SATB	Organ	'año 1757' possibly year of copy[244]
C 541	Bermeja	Magnificat	4	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	Choir II textless
C 606	Juan Bautista Comes	In exitu Israel	6	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 606	"	Memento Domine	6	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 625	Gabriel Dias Besón	Magnificat	1	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 626	"	Magnificat	8	S solo 2x SATB[245]	Organ	
C 627	"	Beatus vir	3	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	2 copies of bass, choir I
C 628	"	Dixit Dominus	2	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 629	"	Dixit Dominus	1	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 630	"	Dixit Dominus	8	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	

[243] 'Tiene muchos solos', S. RUBIO, *Catálogo*, vol. 2, 220.
[244] Idem, vol. 2, 226, dated 1700.
[245] Title indicates 'a 10' but there are only nine vocal parts. Rubio asks 'Es a nueve?'. S. RUBIO, *Catálogo*, 258.

C 631	"	Credidi	8	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	3 copies of bass choir II
C 632	"	Laetatus sum	8	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 633	"	Laudate Dominum	2	2 x SATB	Organ	
C 639	**Juan Durango** (1632-96)	Benedicamus Domino	3	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ	
C 640	"	Benedicamus Domino, alleluia	5	2 x SATB	Harp, organ	
C 641	"	Exsultent modulis	6	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	Melody: Hispanic *Pange lingua*
C 642	"	Hostis Herodes 'a duo'	1	S1 S2	Harp	
C 645	"	Magnificat	4	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 646	"	Magnificat	8	S solo T solo SATB (doubled)	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 647	"	Magnificat	7	SST 2 x SATB	Harp, organ	
C 648	"	Magnificat	3	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 649	"	Magnificat	6	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	C 650 is a (perhaps autograph) copy
C 657	"	Beatus vir	3	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 658	"	Beatus vir	1	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 660	"	Credidi	8	SST 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 661	"	Credidi	2	S solo 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 662	"	Dixit Dominus	7	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 663	"	Dixit Dominus	6	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 664	"	Dixit Dominus	7	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 665	"	Laetatus sum	2	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	Bass of choir II textless
C 666	"	Laudate Dominum	6	ST 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 667	"	Laudate Dominum	2	2 x SATB	Organ	
C 668	"	Laudate Dominum	7	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ	
C 669	"	Laudate Dominum	8	S1 S2 duo	Harp, B.C.	
C 706	Sebastián Durón (d 1716)	Credidi		SSAT SATB	B.C.	Two copies of choir II
C 707	"	Laetatus sum Lauda Jerusalem Credidi	1 8 8	SSAT SATB	B.C.	

C 708	“	Laetatus sum	1	SSAT SATB	B.C.	Two copies of choir II
C 710	“	Lauda Jerusalem		SSAT SATB	B.C.	
C 714	“	Common Vespers		SSAT SATB	B.C.	Dixit Dominus Beatus vir Laudate Dominum (psalms concordant with C 717) Magnificat
C 715	“	Common Vespers		SSAT SATB	B.C.	Dixit Dominus Beatus vir Laudate Dominum Magnificat B. Domino
C 716	“	Common Vespers and Vespers of Our Lady		SSAT SATB	B.C.	Dixit Dominus Beatus vir Laudate Dominum Magnificat ‘de batalla’ Laetatus sum Lauda Jerusalem Ave maris stella Credidi
C 732	Pedro Ventura Enciso	Magnificat	2	SAT SATB	Organ	
C 950	Vicente Garcia	Dixit Dominus	1	2 x SATB	Organ,	Bass choir I: text added later; Bass choir II:textless
C 951	“	Credidi	8	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 980	Francisco Gonzalez de Mena (17^{th}-18^{th} c.)	Laudate Dominum	8	SS SATB	Organ, B.C	
C 981	“	Common Vespers		SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 984	“	Magnificat	8	SA 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 985	“	Laetatus sum	7	SSAT SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 1058	**Jaime de Valencia** (1637-59)	Credidi	8	2 x SATB	Organ	
C 1059	“	Laetatus sum	8	S solo SAT SATB	BC (Organ)	SAT of choir II doubles SAT of choir III
C 1123	Juan de León	Laetatus sum	8	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	Bass of choir I: textless

C 1124	**Manuel de León** (1580-1632)	Magnificat	2	2 x SATB	Organ	Both bass parts: text incipit only
C 1126	"	Magnificat	2	2 x SATB	Organ	Alternatim with *coro*
C 1127	"	Lauda Jerusalem	1	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1137	S. Lopez de Velasco	Laudate Dominum	6	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	Note on organ part, choir I[246]
C 1138	"	Beatus vir	1	8?	?	Very incomplete[247]
C 1139	"	Credidi	2	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	Both bass parts: textless
C 1150	Agustin Martinez	Credidi	5	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1159	Alessandro Melani (d 1703)	Dixit Dominus	?	?	Organ	Very incomplete Only organ of choir II
C 1198	**Melchor Montemayor** (1588-1678)	Magnificat	7	S 'al organo' SATB	Organ	
C 1199	"	Dixit Dominus	8	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1200	"	Credidi	8	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	Altus and organ of choir II missing
C 1201	"	Magnificat	2	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1203	"	Beatus vir	6	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1246	Juan Padilla	Lauda Jerusalem	3	2 x SATB	B.C.	
C 1251	Juan de Paredes (d 1710)	Magnificat	4	SSAT SATB	B.C.	No indication of parts or instruments.[248]
C 1253	Carlos Patiño	Ave maris stella	1	SSAT SATB	Organ	
C 1255	"	Magnificat	7	SSST SSAT	B.C.	
C 1256	"	Magnificat	7	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ	
C 1257	"	Magnificat	8	SSAT SATB	B.C., 'con ministriles', shawm (SAT of choir II)	
C 1258	"	Magnificat	7	SSAT SATB	No instruments	
C 1259	"	Magnificat	8	SSAT SATB	Organ	Bass choir II missing Ms badly damaged

[246] 'But it is worthless/ Pero no bale nada'; 'It belongs to S. Lorenzo [de El Escorial]/ Es de S. Lorenzo'.
[247] Only three sheets survive, with S2, A and T.
[248] A note reads 'Magnificat that is not used/ Magnificat que non sirve'.

C 1260	"	Magnificat	8	SSAT SATB	Organ	Bass choir I missing. Ms badly damaged
C 1270	"	Beatus vir	5	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 1271	"	Beatus vir	6	SSAT SATB	Organ	B choir II and organ parts missing. Ms badly damaged
C 1273	"	Dixit Dominus	1	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	Bass choir II, Organ choir I and B.C. parts missing. Ms badly damaged
C 1274	"	Dixit Dominus	1	SSAT 2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1275	"	Laetatus sum	1	2 x SSAT SATB	Harp, organ	
C 1276	"	Lauda Jerusalem	7	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	Modern edition[249]
C 1277	"	Lauda Jerusalem	4	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 1278	"	Laudate Dominum	7	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 1279	"	Laudate Dominum	7	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 1280 a	"	Lauda Jerusalem	7	SSAT SATB	B.C.	Fols 1v-4
C 1280 b	"	Magnificat	8	SSAT SATB	B.C.	Fols 4v-5v
C 1281	"	Vespers		SSAT SATB	B.C.	Dixit Dominus Beatus vir Laudate Dominum Magnificat
C 1282	"	Common Vespers		SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	Dixit Dominus Beatus vir Laudate Dominum Magnificat B. Domino[250]
C 1334	Juan Perez Roldan	Magnificat	1	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	All vocal parts of choir III missing
C 1339	"	Dixit Dominus	1	2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 1340	"	Lauda Jerusalem	6	A SATB	B.C.	Front leaf reads: 'bautizado';

[249] Lothar SIEMENS, ed, *Carlos Patiño: Obras musicales recompiladas* vol. 2 (Cuenca: Instituto de música religiosa, 1987).
[250] According to Rubio, the Benedicamus is certainly not by Patiño, and possibly neither some parts of the Magnificat. S. RUBIO, *Catálogo*, vol 3, 414.

						'Jesus, Maria, Joseph'
C 1356	Diego Pontac	Magnificat	3	SST…	?	All other parts missing
C 1361	"	Dixit Dominus	2	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1408	Mateo Romero	Magnificat	1	SATB SSAT	Organ, B.C.	
C 1409	"	Magnificat	8	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1410	"	Dixit Dominus	1	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1411	"	Laudate Dominum	7	SSAT 2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1458	Manuel de San Jerónimo (d 1714)	Credidi		SST SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1459	"	Ave maris stella	1	SS SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1469	**Antonio de Santa Maria** (d 1632)	Credidi	4	S T[251] 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	The organ for tenor choir II can be replaced with a lyre
C 1497	Juan Sanz	Laudate Dominum	6	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1871	**Pedro Tafalla** (1605-60)	Magnificat	8	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1872	"	Magnificat	8	2 x SATB	Organ	Alternatim with *coro*
C 1873	"	Magnificat	3	2 x SATB	Organ	Alternatim with *coro*
C 1875	"	Ave maris stella	1	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	Alternatim with *coro*
C 1876	"	Christe redemptor omnium	8	SA SATB SAT	Organ	Note in S and A choir I[252] C 1877 is concordant
C 1878	"	Veni creator spiritus	7	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1886	"	Dixit Dominus	8	SSAT SATB	Organ	
C 1887	"	Dixit Dominus	8	SSAT SATB	Organ	
C 1888	"	In exitu Israel	1	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1889	"	Laetatus sum	8	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C	
C 1890	"	Laetatus sum	2	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C	
C 1891	"	Laetatus sum	8	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C	
C 1892	"	Laudate Dominum	5	SS duo	B.C	
C 1894	"	Vespers		SS SATB (doubled)	Harp, organ, B.C.	Dixit Dominus Beatus vir Laudate Dominum

[251] This tenor is either part of choir I or a solo tenor, representing choir II, it is not clear.
[252] 'Superius (altus) solus in organo, et cum alia voce simul'.

						Laetatus sum Lauda Jerusalem Magnificat[253]
C 1910	**Diego de Torrijos**	Benedicamus Domino	5	SSAT SATB	Organ	C 1911 is concordant
C 1912	"	Benedicamus Domino	5	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ	Bass choir III missing
C 1913	"	Jesu nostra redemptio[254]	1	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ	Alternatim with *coro*
C 1915	"	Veni creator spiritus	1	ST 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 1916	"	Aurea luce	1	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	Alternatim with *coro*
C 1917	"	Aurea luce	1	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	Alternatim with *coro*
C 1931	"	Beatus vir	1	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 1932	"	Beatus vir	1	SSAT 2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1933	"	Credidi	4	ST 2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1935	"	Dixit Dominus	6	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1936	"	Dixit Dominus	1	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1937	"	Dixit Dominus	2	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 1938	"	Domine probasti me	5	SSAT SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 1939	"	In exitu Israel	4	SS SATB doubles	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 1940	"	Laetatus sum	6	SSAT SATB	Organ	
C 1942	"	Lauda Jerusalem	4	SSAT SATB	Organ	
C 1943	"	Laudate Dominum	6	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1944	"	Laudate Dominum	1	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp, organ, B.C.	
C 1945	"	Laetatus sum	6	SSAT SATB	Organ	
C 1947	"	Ordinary Vespers of Our Lady		SSST SATB	Organ, B.C.	Dixit Dominus Beatus vir Laudate D.num Magnificat Laetatus sum Lauda Jerusalem
C 1948	"	Ordinary Vespers and Vespers of Our Lady		SSTT SATB	Organ, guión	Dixit Dominus Laetatus sum Lauda Jerusalem

[253] These Vespers are part of a larger setting, which also includes Compline and a Mass for seven voices, by the same composer.

[254] Despite clearly composed in the second half of the seventeenth century (Torrijos was born in 1640), this hymn does not use the 1632 Breviary text (*Salutis humanae sator*) but the previous version.

						Magnificat B. Domino
C 1950	"	Magnificat	6	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1951	"	Magnificat	2	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1952	"	Two Magnificat settings	8 4	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1986	Juan Valdaracete	Lauda Jerusalem	1	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 1987	Jaime Valencia[255]	Beatus vir	8	SSAT SATB	Organ	
C 2128	**Manuel Valle** (1637-76)	Magnificat	2	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 2129	"	Magnificat	2	SSAT SATB	B.C.	
C 2130	"	Domine probasti me	6	SSAT SATB	Organ	
C 2131	"	Lauda Jerusalem	4	2 x SATB	Organ	
C 2132	"	Lauda Jerusalem	4	2 x SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 2141	Matias Juan Veana	Magnificat	3	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 2143	"	Beatus vir	2	SSAT SATB	B.C.	
C 2144	"	Dixit Dominus	8	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 2145	"	Laetatus sum	7	SSAT SATB	B.C.	
C 2146	"	Laudate Dominum	7	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 2160	Pedro Martinez Velez	Credidi	3	SSAT 2 x SATB	Harp. organ, B.C.	
C 2161	"	Beatus vir	3	SSAT SATB	Organ	
C 2181	Domingo Zaragoza (17^{th}-18^{th} c.)	Lauda Jerusalem	5	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 2182	"	Laetatus sum	3	SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	
C 2183	"	Common Vespers		SSAT SATB	Organ, B.C.	Dixit Dominus Beatus vir Laudate D.num Magnificat B. Domino

[255] According to El Escorial's online library catalogue, this is the same author as in numbers C 1058 and 1059.

As can be seen from the table above, this is quite possibly the richest collection of extant polychoral music from the seventeenth century in the whole of Spain and Portugal. It has, nevertheless – other than in Rubio's inventory – never been approached in musicological publications. Noone's depiction of the music in El Escorial, although mentioning in detail the chapel masters and musicians of this monastery during the reigns of the seventeenth-century Spanish monarchs – Philip III, Philip IV and Charles II, does not do justice to the wealth of this type of music at this monastery, focusing on choirbooks only and disregarding this immense collection of *música a papeles*. Regarding Vespers, this collection includes all the genres usually set in polyphony, almost all in polychoral scoring (with a great predominance of the eight-voice arrangement SSAT-SATB, just as we find in Santa Cruz) and including written instrumental parts.[256] The psalms are the predominant genre, followed by Magnificat settings, hymns and Benedicamus Domino. Again, the prevalence of Vespers polyphonic repertory is by Spanish composers, some of which quite prolific, such as Gabriel Diaz Besón, Juan Durango, Carlos Patiño, Pedro Tafalla or Diego de Torrijos. In the case of this institution especially, most of the works are by composers or singers linked to the monastery itself, yet another common factor with Coimbra, despite the much more prolific production of El Escorial.

In both monasteries of Guadalupe and of El Escorial, there is plenty of evidence that polyphonic Vespers were performed, both in the late 1500s and the whole of the seventeenth century. It is difficult, for sixteenth century, to judge how regularly. The number of settings in the following century leaves little place for doubt: such amount of polychoral settings implies very regular need for this type of music. Despite the fact that polyphony would, at least in theory, be the subject of stricter rules than the ones applied to secular churches, the Hieronymites of these two institutions (unliked what happened

[256] Voice-arrangements in polychoral settings in the case-study institutions are discussed in Chapter 3.

in their Portuguese equivalent in Belém) overlooked whatever internal or external constrictions would have been placed on them, as seen in the examples above.[257]

2.2.3. Broadening the sample: collections of polyphonic sources in thirty-eight Iberian religious institutions

The tables below attempt to draw an overall picture of what sources were a part of the collections of polyphonic music for Vespers in the thirty-eight Iberian institutions listed, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[258] This does not necessarily concern their use – although, as discussed above, manuscript and, especially, late manuscript copies of certain works were, in all likelihood, put to use – but still provide a relevant idea of what was kept.

Each table represents a given category of sources. Table 2.17 refers to a group I call 'Classic prints', works published between the mid-sixteenth century and the first third of the seventeenth century, pervasive in Iberian institutions. The works are indicated by their RISM sigla, identified on p. xii of the dissertation. These include the prints themselves (either extant (E) or documented (D)) and also full or partial manuscript copies of these works (as indicated in the letters a) and b) below the table). In the manuscripts where a date of copy is known, a colour indication is given relating to date: the ones copied after 1700 are coloured in orange, the ones copied after 1750 in red and the ones copied after 1800 are coloured in red and are signalled with an asterisk. This can help provide an idea of the permanence of this repertory.[259]

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[257] Just like El Escorial, the monastery of Belém near Lisbon, was a Hieronymite monastery devised as a mausoleum for the members of the Royal Family. It was inaugurated by king D. Manuel I in 1495 – although it was only finished in 1601. See Nuno SENOS, 'A coroa e a Igreja na Lisboa de quinhentos', *Lusitania Sacra* 15 (2003), 97-117.

[258] These include the six case studies approached in sections 2.2.1. and 2.2.2.

[259] There is no intended claim that the extended use of these prints was exclusive to the Iberian Peninsula. A similar phenomenon of the listing of prints by sixteenth-century composers in inventories up to at least

The institutions are listed by alphabetical order and next to each, a letter indicates the type of institution: C stands for cathedral, M for monastery, CC for collegiate church and PC for Parish church.[260] The institutions in bold capital letters are the ones where most information was available, coming both from historical and from current inventories and other documentary sources, such as Chapter acts. The institutions in lower case letters are the ones for which information on current catalogues only was found. The institutions in italic lower-case letters indicate information gathered from historical inventories only.

Table 2.18 refers to the works for polyphonic Vespers by non-Iberian composers, either in print or manuscript format. The institution, source, composer and listing of works are provided. The institutions are ordered from the ones with the most to the least number of sources and, within each group, in alphabetical order.

Table 2.19 refers to the (usually manuscript) works of chapel masters or singers working in these institutions. The table is divided into two sections (sixteenth and seventeenth century composers). The columns indicate the (Vespers) genre and within each, the name of the composer is given. A (p) next to the title, within each genre, indicates a polychoral work.

the early seventeenth century – and indeed of the rebinding of some of these works in 1641 – took place in several churches in Rome. Noel O' REGAN, *Pure Gold*, 2011, 113-131.

[260] Of the five monasteries included in this sample, one is a Cistercian monastery of nuns (Arouca); two are Benedictine male Houses (Monserrat and Santo Tirso) and the other two the Hieronymite case-studies: El Escorial and Guadalupe.

Table 2.17: Classic prints in the collections of sources of Iberian religious institutions

INSTITUTIONS		Mor 16[261]	G1563	G4873	V1427	V1428	V1430	V1435	N283	A450	V2249	C1038	L2590	M123
Arouca	M	E b)												
ÁVILA[262]	C	D - a)?	D	E b)	D	D?	D?	D[263]	E b)[264]	E b)	D	D?		
BARCELONA	C	D[265]				D		D	D					
Basa	CC								E+ E b)					
BADAJOZ	C	D + D a) E b)			D									
BURGOS	C	D	D						E + E a)*		D			
Cádiz	C		E	E						E b)				
COIMBRA	C	E d)[266]												
DAROCA	CC	D[267] + D a)			D									

[261] It is not possible, in most cases, from the information provided, to identify from which specific edition of Morales's Magnificat cycle these works were copied from. I therefore simply use the abbreviation Mor 16.

[262] The archival sources of this institution (in Appendix II) do not give enough information to identify certain choirbooks with certainty. The Morales's Magnificat settings are described as sixteen, but not stating whether it is a print or a manuscript copy. As for Victoria's works, chapter acts dated 1581 and 82 state that the composer sent a polyphonic book which was accepted by the chapter and could be either *Hymni totius anni* or *Cantica Beatae Virginis*. In J, Ruiz Jiménez, 2012, the author indicates in tables 3 and 4 that this book would be the Magnificat collection, but the Lopez-Calo work which he indicates as his source – *Catálogo del archivo de la catedral de Ávila* - simply reproduces the contents of the chapter acts without any more detail.

[263] It was sent by Victoria to Ávila's chapter but returned after the chapel master – Vivanco –determined that these books were not appropriate 'non son a propósito' for Ávila. See Appendix III.

[264] This cycle of hymns is an eighteenth-century copy of a pre-tridentine cycle, composed by Navarro in 1566, while working as a chapel master in Ávila. Some of these were reused in the 1590 print. See T. THOMAS, 1990, 232-34.

[265] The 1626 inventory states the title of this source is *Magnificat omnium tonorum cum quatuor vocibus Christofori Moralis, hispani* which probably would correspond to the 1562 Gardano's edition.

[266] The exemplar preserved at BGUC is the 1562 Gardano's edition. It could have belonged to the cathedral, the monastery or other nearby religious institution (see Chapter 2).

[267] A 1635 inventory describes this as 'un libro grande de imprenta con magníficats y salves, de mano, de Morales, Richafort y Jacquet'. It is, therefore, the 1562 Gardano edition.

Escorial	M	E a)							E d)				E d)	E d)
Évora	C								E + E b)	E				
GRANADA	C	D a) or b)						D		D + E b)			D	
GRANADA (ROYAL CH.)		D a) or b)	D	b)				D						
Guadalupe	M	E a)							E b)		E b)			
Iglesia Parroquial de Valdemoro	PC	D a) or b)						D	D a) or b)					
JAÉN	C	D a)	D	D b)		E	D	D				E	D	
Málaga	C			E[268]				D		E+ E b)				
Mondoñedo	C								E b)*					
Montserrat	M								E b)					
ORIHUELA	C[269]	D		E b)			E b)							
Pamplona	C									E b)				
Plasencia	C			E + E b)				D	E b)	E b)				
Sacra Capilla de Úbeda	PC	D					D							D
Salamanca	C							D	E a)		E b)			
SANTA CRUZ	M	E b)				E d)	E d)					E d)	E d)	E
Santiago el Mayor (Saragossa)	CC			E b)					E b)					
Santo Tirso	M	E b) d)												

[268] This print includes handwritten, added hymns by chapel master Juan Francés de Iribarren (1699-1767) using the empty staves following each voice.
[269] In 1562 – *terminus post quem* for the consulted inventory – Orihuela was still a collegiate church, being promoted to head of the diocese only in 1564. None of the sources listed in it are extant. This table takes into account both the inventory and the extant sources of the current cathedral of Orihuela.

SARAGOSSA	C	D												
Segovia	C			E + E b)					E + E b)	E	E			
SEVILLA	C	D a)		D	D	D	D	c)	D	E+ E b)		D	D	
TARAZONA	C	D a)				E	E		E + E b)	E				
Tarragona	C									E				
TOLEDO	C	E a)				D	D	D	E+ E b)	D	E+D	D	D	
TUY	C	E b)												
Valencia	C			E b)						E + E b)				
Valladolid	C	E[270]		E b)	E			E (x 2)			E		E	
Viseu	C													
ZAMORA	C	D a) or b)	D			D								

E – Extant print
D – Documented print (listed in historical inventories, no longer extant)
a) Manuscript copy of all settings of printed source
b) Manuscript copy of selected settings of printed source
c) Work sent by composer to the institution, but it does not appear in its inventories
d) Source currently not kept in its original place of use. It may, therefore, have belonged or not to the mentioned institution

[270] The 1597 reprint by Gardano, now only surviving at Valladolid. Only ATB are extant.

Table 2.18: Foreign repertory

INSTITUTION	SOURCE	COMPOSER	WORK
Tarazona	Non-extant (Item 14 in 1581)	Josquin	In exitu
		Mouton	Magnificat - 2
	Non-extant (Item 82 in 1591)	Palestrina	Beatus vir
	E-TZ 9 (1575-1600)	Vincenzo Ruffo	Domine ad adjuvandum
		Vincenzo Ruffo	Magnificat - 8
	E-TZ 10 (1575-1600)	Palestrina	Magnificat - 16
	E-TZ 16 (1575-1600)	Anibale Stabile	In convertendo
		Giovanni B. Nanino	Beati omnes
		Giovanni B. Nanino	Laetatus sum
		Rugiero Giovanelli	Dixit Dominus
		Rugiero Giovanelli	Confitebor tibi
		Prospero Santini	Laudate pueri
		Palestrina	Magnificat
	E-TZ Impr. 1	Palestrina	*Hymni totius anni* (P 738)
	E-TZ Impr. 15	Felice Anerio	*Sacri hymni et cantica* (A 1081)
	E-TZ Impr. 24 A	Asprilio Pacelli	*Motectorum et psalmorum* (P 24)
	E-TZ Impr. 24 B	Agazzari	*Psalmorum ac Magnificat* (A 367)
	E-TZ Impr. 32	Willaert	*Hymnorum musica secundum* (W 1113)
Jaén	Non-extant (Item 32 in 1657)	Flaccomio	*Liber primus concentus*[271] (F 1100)
	E-JA 5	Agazzari	*Psalmorum ac Magnificat* (A 367)
	E-JA 6	Antonio Cifra	*Vesperae et motecta* (C 2178)
	E-JA 68/4	Fabio Constantino	*Selectae cantiones* (1614/3)
Valladolid	E-V Impr.018/819 E-V Impr.018bis/819[272]	Flaccomio	*Liber primus concentus*
	E-V 24	Antonio Mortaro	*Messa, salmi, motteti* (M3741)
	E-V 25[273]	Giovanni D. Ripalta	*Missa, Psalmi, ad Vesperas, Magnificat* (R 1733)
	E-V 93	Giulio Belli	*Psalmi ad Vesperas*….(B 1752)
Segovia	E-SE 2 (1607-28)	Palestrina	Pater superni
		Palestrina	Defensor alme siderum
		Palestrina	Proles de coelo prodit
		Palestrina	Iste confessor
	E-SE 4 (1599-1625)	Palestrina	Pater superni
		Palestrina	Defensor alme siderum
	E-SE s.s. (1498-1500)	J. des Prez	Magnificat

[271] When this book was published (1611) the Sicilian composer Flaccomio was Director of the Royal Chapel of Phillip III of Spain, and, just like many other Iberian composers, sent copies of this work to a series of Spanish cathedrals, including Jaén, Granada, Seville and Valladolid. J.R. JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 198.
[272] There are two extant exemplars of this print at Valladolid.
[273] This print (and possibly) others belonged to the private collection of Jerónimo de León. See section 2.1. above.

Orihuela	Non-extant (Item 3 in 1562)	Pierre Colin	Magnificat
	Non-extant (Item 10 in 1562)	C. Festa	Magnificat
	Non-extant (Item 11 in 1562)	Vincenzo Ruffo	Magnificat
Seville	Manuscript choirbook (c. 1555) Non-extant (Item 22 in 1724)	Carpentras	Hymn
		C. Festa	Hymn
	Manuscript choirbook (c. 1553) Non-extant (Item 32 in 1724)	J. des Prez Carpentras	Magnificat settings
	Non-extant (Chapter act 10/07/1613: E-Sc Ms 7095, fol 54)	Flaccomio	*Liber primus concentus*[274]
Montserrat	E-MO 769[275] (1540)	B. Appenzeller	Magnificat - 11
		Clemens non Papa	Magnificat - 8
		J. Jacotin	Magnificat - 1
		P. de la Rue	Magnificat - 1
		A. Divitis/ Richafort?	Magnificat -1
		Mouton/Willaert?	Magnificat - 1
		R. Patie/B. Appelenzer?	Magnificat - 1
		Anonymous	Magnificat - 1
Santa Cruz	P-Cug MI 25	Palestrina	*Hymni totius anni*
	P-Cug MM 9 (1545-50)	Mouton	Magnificat
Toledo	E-Tc 18 (1543)	L'Heritier	Magnificat
	E-Tc 23 (1520-35) Fully indexed in Appendix I		
Zamora	Non-extant (Item 75 in 1582)	Carpentras	*Liber cantici Magnificat* (G 1574)
	Non-extant (Item 85 in 1582)	Lassus	*Magnificat octo tonorum* (1576b) [276]
Badajoz	Non-extant(Item 10 in 1631)	Palestrina	*Hymni totius anni*[277]
Daroca	Ñon-extant(Item 2 in 1635)	Palestrina	*Hymni totius anni*
Granada	Non-extant(Item 32 in 1667)	Flaccomio	*Liber primus concentus*
Saragossa	Non-extant (Item 22 in 1594)	Palestrina	*Hymni totius anni*

[274] This work was never incorporated in Seville's inventories. See 'Prints' in table 2.2.

[275] This book was originated copied at the court of Mary of Hungary. It was brought to Spain with the regent. It travelled within Spain, from Valladolid to Guadalajara, it became part of Phillip II's collection of music books (listed as nº 11 in his 1602 and 1620 inventories) and was purchased in 1620 by the Real convento de la Encarnación in Madrid (founded by Margaret of Austria). See DIAMM: E-MO 765 and 769. In 1932, Montserrat's librarian, Antoni Tobella I Guixà, purchased this book (along with a vast collection of other musical manuscripts). See Daniel CODINA, 'L'Arxiu musical del Monestir de L'Encarnación de Madrid a Monserrat', *Anuario Musical* 71 (2016), 45-56.

[276] This volume was part of the donation to Zamora's cathedral of Bernardo García, a canon at this cathedral and a music theorist, sometime between 1577 and 1582 (given the dates at which it appears in inventories. See Appendix II). Among the printed Magnificat settings by Lassus, this is the only edition prior to 1582. Among Garcia's rich collection are included motets by Lassus, Phinot, Pierre Colin, Gombert, Vicente Lusitano, Masses and motets by Josquin, and other works where the composer is not identified. It is not certain which of these, if any, were incorporated in the repertory performed by the *capilla*.

[277] This book was part of a collection of choirbooks donated to Badajoz by canon Pedro de Vergara in 1602. Other items of this collection included masses and motets by Palestrina, motets by Clemens non Papa, masses, motets and Magnificat settings by Morales.

Table 2.19: Settings by local chapel masters

SIXTEENTH CENTURY					SEVENTEENTH CENTURY		
INSTITUTIONS		**Psalms**	**Hymns**	**Magnificat**	**Psalms**	**Hymns**	**Magnificat**
Ávila	C		Navarro				
BARCELONA	C				Joan Pujol	Joan Pujol[278]	Joan Pujol
BADAJOZ	C				Pinheiro (p)[279] Miguel de Cañas		
Basa	CC			Luis de Cozar			
Burgos	C				Juan G. Salazar	Juan G. Salazar	Juan G. Salazar
Cádiz	C						
DAROCA	CC	Sebastián Ponce		Melchor Castrillo Jerónimo Abadía			
ESCORIAL	M				Juan Bautista (p) Juan Durango (p) Manuel León(p) M. San Jerónimo (p) P.Tafalla (p) D. Torrijos (p) Manuel Valle (p)	Juan Durango (p) M. San Jerónimo (p) Pedro Tafalla (p) D. Torrijos (p)	Juan Durango (p) Manuel León (p) P.Tafalla (p) D. Torrijos (p) Manuel Valle (p)
GRANADA (CATHEDRAL)	C	Santos de Aliseda			G. Portero (18th c.)	G. Portero (18th c.)	
GRANADA (ROYAL CH.)		Ceballos	Ceballos				
GUADALUPE	M						Aniceto Bailón
Málaga	C	Estêvão de Brito	Estêvão de Brito	Estêvão de Brito		Juan Francés de Iribarren (18th c.)	
Orihuela	C		G. Perez de la Parra		Matías Navarro		Matías Navarro

[278] The historical inventories of these no-longer-extant works do not specify the number of voices. The extant Vespers works surviving at E-Bbc are all for four voices.
[279] These are no longer extant but documented in a 1631 inventory. They were copied in eight partbooks and were therefore, in all likelihood, polychoral.

Pamplona	C	Miguel Navarro		Miguel Navarro			
SANTA CRUZ	M	Franc. S^{ta} Maria P. Cristo	P. Cristo	P. Cristo	Gabriel de S. João? (p)	Gabriel de S. João? (p)	P. Cristo (p) Gabriel de S. João? (p)
Santiago el Mayor (Saragossa)	CC						
SARAGOSSA	C		M. Robledo	M. Robledo			
Segovia	C				S. Lopez de Velasco (p)		S. Lopez de Velasco (p)
SEVILLE	C	Guerrero	Guerrero Pedro H. Castilleja	Guerrero Pedro H. Castilleja	Diego Salazar (p) C. Patiño (p) L.B. Jalón (p) A. Xuárez (p)	L. B. Jalón	Diego Salazar (p) C. Patiño (p) L.B. Jalón (p) A. Xuárez (p)
TARAZONA	C	Joan Arnalte	Joan Arnalte Juan G. Basurto	Joan Arnalte Juan G. Basurto			
TOLEDO	C	Morales G. Boluda Torrentes	Morales G.Boluda Torrentes	Morales B. Ribera Torrentes	T. Micieces (p) J. Padilla (p) P. Ardanaz (p)	Tejeda	T. Micieces (p) P. Ardanaz (p)
TUY	C					Benayas (18th c.)	
Valencia	C					G. Babán	
Valladolid	C				Juan R. Robledo (p)	M. Gomez Camargo	Juan R. Robledo (p)
Viseu	C				E. Lopes Morago	E. Lopez Morago	E. Lopes Morago
ZAMORA	C	Rodrigo Ordoñez	Rodrigo Ordoñez	Rodrigo Ordoñez	Juan G. Salazar	Joan Pujol[280]	

[280] The historical inventories of these no-longer-extant works do not specify the number of voices. The extant Vespers works surviving at E-Bbc are all for four voices.

2.3. REPERTORY, USE AND PERMANENCE OF SOURCES

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the production of music for Vespers in the Iberian Peninsula grew exponentially, particularly in the form of printed editions. For a considerable number of Iberian institutions – especially secular churches - this meant a whole new output of affordable, easily-obtainable polyphonic music for Vespers (not least since many of these exemplars were sent by the composers themselves, in exchange for a monetary reward). These were the works which would be used in many institutions until at least the early 1600s – and in some cases even much later, either by the continued use of the printed copies (testified by the signs of use in these exemplars themselves) or through seventeenth-eighteenth- and even nineteenth-century manuscript copies of these prints. Manuscript copies are, in fact, one of the most reliable ways of knowing whether or not a certain print – or parts of it – were incorporated in the repertory of a certain institution. This was the beginning of the establishment of certain canonical works (such as the ones by Morales, Navarro, Guerrero, Vivanco).[281] These canonical works were complemented with manuscript works, copied in choirbooks, by chapel masters of each institution, in particular for the genre of hymns. Hymns constitute a particular case within the repertory of institutions, which is related to the variety of local liturgical traditions. These were materialised both in terms of a specific melody or of a certain locally celebrated saint. It is common to find, in historical inventories, besides the 'canonic' prints, a manuscript book of hymns: the cathedrals of Ávila, Badajoz, Coimbra, Évora, Málaga, Seville, Tarazona, Toledo, Tuy and Zamora and even the parish church of Valdemoro, all show this.[282] Most of these manuscript choirbooks show signs of

[281] Victoria is a particular case in that, although many institutions did have his printed works, there are very few cases of manuscript copies of these, in particular in Vespers works. For more on Victoria's reception in Castille, see J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2012.

[282] The cases of the monastic institutions approached in this dissertation regarding hymns – and the inexistence of any manuscript polyphonic hymnal - are quite particular, for different reasons. In both El Escorial and Guadalupe, there is a quite blatant lack of (extant) polyphonic sources for Vespers for the

prolonged use, such as alterations to their texts (in order to comply with several alterations to the Breviary made throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) , addition of new folios or marginalia annotations made long after the date of copy.[283] This genre is the one for which – unlike psalms and Magnificat settings – we find hardly any new settings in seventeenth-century sources.

Toledo and Seville were, respectively, the first and second richest secular religious institutions in Spain at this time – as can be seen from the rents received – and have therefore certain particularities, although the main guiding principles for their sources of Vespers music remain the same: production of local chapel masters complemented by print donations from other composers.

Just before the mid-sixteenth century, there is clearly a desire to renew the repertory at these two cathedrals, probably in the wake of a new style of polyphonic writing – made clear, for example, in the words of theorist Juan Bermudo's *Declaración de instrumentos musicales.*[284]

This desire is materialised not so much in the purchase of prints but rather in the large-scale copying of new manuscript choirbooks, beginning in the 1540s and 50s using parchment aiming therefore at their frequent and, quite possibly, prolonged use.[285] Chapel masters, or other people perceived as accomplished for this job, selected the works which were to be copied.

1500s. Regarding Santa Cruz, many of the institution's choirbooks were lost after 1834. The scattered hymns found in surviving choirbooks from Coimbra show, however, in most cases, signs of local composition, either through the authorship (Pedro de Cristo) or through local melodic variants (such as the institution's own melody for *Pange lingua*, for example).

[283] E-Tc 25 and E-Sc 2 represent some of the best examples of this. The permanence of hymns is further discussed in Chapter 3.

[284] See Chapter 1.

[285] From the books copied at this time for Seville, only one survives E-Sc 1, also made of parchment.

The repertory which was copied was essentially works by these chapel masters themselves (or composers known or close to them in some way), including all polyphonic main genres for Vespers: psalms, hymns, Magnificat settings. In the case of Seville and Toledo, however, these are some of the same composers who produced the prints which would come to be used in institutions all over the Peninsula: Guerrero and Morales. What we often find in these two cathedrals, however, is the manuscript copy - sometimes in earlier versions than the printed editions – of these works. Other than very few selected works by composers of the fifteenth or first half of the sixteenth century (the ones that had become 'canonical' in these institutions), usually – again – by composers connected to these institutions, as chapel masters or canons (such as Peñalosa, Pedro do Porto, Pedro de Escobar or Juan Valera).

In both Toledo and Seville, as well as in other Iberian institutions, the settings for Vespers repertory are essentially by Spanish and Portuguese composers. The only Vespers genre where it is possible to find works by non-Iberian composers in a more consistent manner is the Magnificat and that usually in inventories and works from no later than the mid-sixteenth century. The copies concerned do not necessarily disappear from inventories but new settings of this genre by Franco-Flemish or Italian composers are essentially not copied or purchased after 1550.[286] Some factors may partly explain this in different institutions. In Toledo and Seville, the presence of their own chapel masters and their own works would be quite overwhelming. Tuy reflects this same tendency although, even its financial constrictions would vastly limit the importation of foreign works. As for the monastic institutions where there was musical production, the policy seemed to be one of

[286] The large number of sources for Vespers by Italian – especially Roman composers - found in the cathedral of Tarazona constitute a very particular case and – as can be seen from Table 2.18 – not the standard norm for Iberian institutions. It is a phenomenon to which a full answer has not yet been given. See O. REES, *Early Music*, 1995.

privileging composers from their own house. There seems to be, nevertheless, an overall tendency in Iberian institutions to purposely choose local and Spanish composers for their celebrations of Vespers, and this is true not only of the sixteenth but of the following century as well, despite the vast production of music for this service that was taking place abroad, particularly in Italy.

From the late sixteenth century, in the institutions with available means, and where the celebrations would justify it, we start seeing local chapel masters producing music which displayed the new polychoral language, although mostly applied to psalms and Magnificat settings since the hymn repertory continued to be the one from the previously mentioned sixteenth-century choirbooks. The inventories *of música a papeles* or of Seville, Toledo, or El Escorial, or the Cartapácios of Santa Cruz, include almost exclusively the genres of psalms and Magnificat. The newly added hymns were usually either written in a 'classic' sixteenth-century style, even in the newly-composed settings for the feasts of the Sanctorale added to the liturgical calendar in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The very rare examples of newly-composed hymns for the Temporal can display elements as ancient as pre-Tridentine melodies.[287] In Seville, polychoral writing was not only applied to new works but also as a way of modernising certain settings (which this institution itself 'canonised') of hymns by their own former chapel master Guerrero (*Pange lingua* and *Ave maris stella*) and of the very specific – and extremely popular setting – of Urreda's *Pange lingua*.[288]

[287] The polyphonic hymnal from the cathedral of Tuy, with almost (or possibly all) its settings by eighteenth-century composer Benayas are all for four voices and in a 'classical' sixteenth-century style. In Santa Cruz, only hymn in the Coimbra's Cartapácios, the eight-voice *Christe redemptor,* is a good example of the use of previous material, with the melody (and text) from the 1550s chant Tonary P-Cug MM 37.

[288] This also shows the importance and multiplicity of uses of these two hymns, as discussed in Chapter 3. Urreda's setting of *Pange lingua* is a particularly illustrating case of the prolonged use of a particular work whose popularity overcame its geographical and chronological borders, although without the addition of voices and basso continuo seen in Seville.

In other institutions, there is evidence – through late manuscript copies, and historical inventories – of the continued use of 'canonical' prints, complemented, again, by the works of local chapel masters, in a style representative of their means and human resources. The eighteenth and nineteenth-century manuscript copies of prints included in Table 2.17, or Tuy's manuscript book of Magnificat settings (with its four-voice Magnificat settings by eighteenth-century chapel master Benayas, alongside the classical Morales's settings) are good examples of this.

2.4. Conclusion

The religious institutions approached in the current study, whether secular, monastic or of canons regular, of different rank and size, in different locations of the Iberian Peninsula, show evidence of having performed polyphony at Vespers, at the very least in the highest-ranking feasts of the liturgical calendar. In all the study-cases approached, there is evidence for instrumental participation, whether institutionalised in the church itself, or through a process of external hiring. Another common factor is the idea of a classical repertory which continued to be performed for centuries and which resisted time and liturgical reforms. Musically, some of these classic settings could, in some cases, undergo a process of transformation which followed the seventeenth-century stylistic trends, such as the polychoral style or the addition of instruments, as seen, for example, in Seville; others could go on being performed without any significant alterations, at least in what can be gathered from the musical sources, as is the case of the cathedral of Tuy.

The forms of acquisition of these sources varied but, in terms of contents, there seems to be, for Vespers at least, an overall preference for Iberian composers, something related to a variety of factors. One of the most important of these would certainly be the specificities

of services in Spanish and Portuguese churches, both in terms of liturgical customs and of music.

The preservation of these sources varies substantially in different places and, for some, the only knowledge we have is that the extant ones are only a part of what would have been a larger collection. Other differences are the direct consequence of factors such as the monastic or secular rite of each church, local liturgical customs, annual income and the size and prestige of each institution.

The overall scenario is, therefore, not one of an Iberian paradigm of polyphonic music for Vespers – despite some overall global tendencies – but far richer and varied than this, in the distinctiveness of different regions and different churches, something which no attempt at liturgical uniformity managed to eradicate.

CHAPTER 3. MAIN POLYPHONIC ITEMS AT VESPERS

… quod vel in hoc opere, opinor, me utique prastisse; quo per musicos modos variatam damus sacram psalmodiam, hymnodiamque celebrioribus quibusdam officiis ex Ecclesiae ritu accomodatam; ad haec incomparabilis Virginis Matris canticum, quo Deum ipsa magnifice extollit…[289]

This chapter looks at the four genres most commonly set in polyphony at festal Vespers, and the ones most frequently found in manuscript and printed musical sources. Each genre is approached from the aspects considered as most pertinent in their specific case. Thus, psalms are discussed not so much in their (straightforward) liturgical context, but rather in their evolution in texture, to accompanied solo singing and especially to polychorality in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Specific examples are given, using polychoral settings of seventeenth-century sources, namely the Cartapácios from the monastery of Santa Cruz. Voice combinations (with clefs) are presented and compared with a representative sample of psalm settings in Italian printed sources, showing that the specific combination SSAT-SATB so commonly found in polychoral psalm settings of Iberian sources does seem to be more common in this region. Hymns, on the other hand, are especially good examples of both the preservation of a certain repertory and also of the tension between a compliance with Rome (by adopting the texts of Roman Breviaries) *versus* the cultivation of a certain localism (through the use of local melodies, the celebration of local saints or the permanence of certain settings or melodies stretching as far back as the pre-Tridentine period). These traits can be found in many musical sources,

[289] '… I have striven toward the same goal [to predispose the mind toward a right regard for the sacred mysteries] in the present work: in which are to be found psalms in the several tones together with hymns suitable for the several seasons esteemed of greatest consequence in the year. To these have been added settings of the canticle of the Blessed Virgin in which she magnificently magnifies and praises God…'. Preface to Francisco Guerrero's *Liber Vesperarum* (Rome: Gardano, 1584), in his dedication of the work to Seville's Chapter. Transcribed in Joseph LLORENS CISTERÓ, *Francisco Guierrero, Opera omnia: vol 10: Magnificat per omnes tonos* (Institución Milá y Fontanals: Barcelona, 1999), 73-74. Translation by R. SNOW, 1961, 184.

and some of the most striking cases are represented in two of the case-study institutions, Seville and Toledo. The preference for certain 'canonical' composers is also quite well represented in hymns, and one of the most noticeable cases is that of Juan Navarro. The particular case of five hymn settings by this composer in a source from Santa Cruz shows not only his canonical status in Iberian churches but also how flexible the process of copying, adaptation and use of these settings could be, namely by juxtaposing strophes of different composers in one same hymn setting. Regarding the Magnificat, this chapter discusses the cultivation of certain 'privileged' tones in manuscript polyphonic Magnificat settings, (something which represents a contrast with the typical sixteen-setting cycles normally found in printed sources). The attempt at establishing a single pattern on this cultivation, however, as seems to be the case in the work of John Sargent, or to attribute certain verse scheme (odd or even) to a certain ranking of liturgical feasts, as we find in Timothy Thomas, can lead to incorrect conclusions, as demonstrated below.[290] The polychoral settings of Magnificat are also a significant part of the production of seventeenth-century *música a papeles* by Spanish composers. Comparisons with the Italian scenario are again made regarding the voice scheme of these settings, as well as the texture in terms of the alternance (or lack of it) between choirs. The inclusion of isolated verses of Magnificat settings in instrumental sources does not necessarily mean their exclusive use in an extra-liturgical context and, even in that case (such as tablatures or didactical methods for domestic use), it is not exclusive to the genre of the Magnificat. Furthermore, the choice of these verses was possibly more likely related to the popularity of certain settings than the fact that these were parts of the specific genre of the Magnificat. These assertions, implied in the publication of Eva Roldán, are reviewed in the final section dedicated to this canticle. The polyphonic Benedicamus

[290] J. SARGENT, 2009 and T. THOMAS, 1990.

Domino is commonly found in Iberian musical sources in the chronological period of this dissertation and it certainly was an important musical element at Vespers even before that, as testified not only by musical but also by documentary sources. The comparison with the Italian contemporary scenario reveals a striking contrast, in that there is a lack of examples of this music in Italian sources.

3.1. PSALMS

Thirty-five psalms were sung or recited at the Hour of Vespers in secular churches and cathedrals each week. Of these, thirty were used (without any repetition) on ferial days: Monday to Saturday. On Sundays and feast days, the remaining five psalms were sung, plus some of the ones which had been used during the week. These were, unsurprisingly, the ones most often set in polyphony. This means there is a fairly limited range of texts, which, on the other hand, contrasts with the number of settings and the variety of textures which are displayed in the sources.[291] The setting which is by far most often found in polyphonic sources is, quite predictably, of psalm 109, *Dixit Dominus*, given its use as the very first psalm on every Sunday and feast which would involve polyphonic music. Others also quite often set in polyphony are the remaining other psalms of Sunday Vespers, especially psalm 113, *In exitu Israel*. This relates to the standard procedure, so often found in Ceremonials, of having the fifth and final Vespers psalm performed in polyphony. Psalms 121, *Laetatus sum* and 147, *Lauda Jerusalem*, are also among the most commonly found settings, related to festivities of Our Lady and Corpus Christi. The way polyphonic settings of psalms are organised in sources varies considerably. They can simply be found in textless cycles of *fabordón* in all eight tones, be copied in one or more

[291] A table of the psalms used on Sundays and festive days is included in Chapter 1. The Spanish Hieronymites used, at least during this period, the Roman Breviary (adapted for their own Order), as can be seen in the several exemplars available at the Spanish National Library. The choice of psalms is therefore the same as the one for the Roman secular rite.

specific cycles according to feast (Sunday, Corpus Christi, for example) or simply appear isolated in choirbooks with mixed contents, although the latter case is less frequent.

As seen in Chapter 2 the tendency was, regarding psalms in Iberian churches, to rely mainly on the production of local, contemporary chapel masters. The composition of new psalm settings was therefore done on a regular basis, as demonstrated in the (extant) musical sources and historical inventories. This continuous production of polyphonic psalms thus resulted in a continuous update of musical style. Whereas sixteenth-century settings are predominantly written in a four-voice texture, either in simple, textless *fabordón* or in *canto de organo*, by the end of this century the sources start to display an increase in the number of voices – through polychorality – as well as solo singing and written instrumental parts.[292] Indeed, the taste for seventeenth-century Iberian polychorality is quite well represented in polyphonic psalms.

Polychorality was, naturally, not exclusively applied to polyphonic Vespers items. Regarding Vespers, however, certain genres, given some of their particular characteristics, suited polychoral scoring quite well. José Abreu describes antiphonal exchange as 'the major compositional tool in polychoral writing.'[293] The typical antiphonal performance of psalms adapts itself therefore naturally to this genre. Another aspect given as typical of polychoral writing is the variety of rhythmic values, namely the use of short note-values on consecutive syllables which, again, would suit the texts of psalms quite appropriately.[294] The considerable amount of psalm texts in total that was recited at

[292] There are obviously cases of seventeenth and even eighteenth-century manuscripts with earlier repertory of psalms, such as E-GU II (copied c. 1603-75 with psalms by sixteenth-century composers such Navarro, Boluda, Torrentes and Guerrero); E-SA 4 (copied between 1717-26, with four psalms by Navarro) and others. In smaller institutions with modest rents, where the number of singers of the *capillla* would have been quite limited – such as, for example, Tui – even late settings are written for four voices only, as is the case with the psalms in E-TUY V.

[293] J. ABREU, 2002, 156.

[294] Idem, 165, 66. The recitation in itself does not obviously address the issue of the speed of declamation, but the syllabic recitation of psalms would, in theory, suit this rhythmic variety.

Vespers was certainly an encouraging factor for this concise treatment. Besides this, the rhythmicization in the declamation of psalms, already coming from *fabordón* tradition, is something which may have had an influence on the rhythmic and declamatory approaches in, for example, polychoral settings of psalmody.[295] Psalms were, in fact, the most common genre to be set in the early stages of polychoral writing[296] and they became, among the Vespers genres in Iberian sources, the ones most frequently set using such textures, as the extant and documented music in this dissertation shows quite clearly.

The sources discussed in the previous chapter show that this was, indeed, the genre most cultivated using this texture. Many of these works are extant only in manuscript copies, frequently materialised in visually unappealing 'work-manuscripts', such as the Cartapácios, and on loose sheets of paper. They have therefore been quite neglected until very recently. The musical style itself has been perceived, at least by some researchers, as quite unworthy of exploration and study.[297] This means that there are still many sources of this kind, with this repertory, which are either just beginning to be studies or which still remain completely left aside.

The inventories of the cathedral of Seville show this renewal of repertory and the musical development towards new textures. By far, the majority of *música a papeles* by seventeenth-century chapel masters is represented by this genre, especially in the works of Luís Bernardo Jalón and Alonso Xuaréz. Unfortunately, all we know of these settings

[295] Regarding both the subjects of antiphonal exchange and the use of short note-values in psalms, these are discussed below, using examples from sources from Coimbra, and from two Spanish sources (a print and a manuscript).

[296] One famous example is the publishing of Willaert's famous Vespers psalm settings for double-choir: *Di Adriano e di Jachet. I salmi appertinenti alle vesperi per tutte le feste dell'anno parte a versi, et parte spezzadi accomodati da cantari a uno e duoi chori* (Venice: Gardano, 1550).

[297] Musicologist Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro, classifies the contents of seventeenth-century's Cartapácios as 'true monuments to bad taste' ('verdadeiros monumentos de mau gosto'). M. S. RIBEIRO, 'El-Rei D. João, o Quinto e a música no seu tempo', *D. João V – Conferências e estudos comemorativos do segundo centenário da sua morte (1750-1950)*, (Lisboa: Publicações culturais da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1952), 67-89, at 68.

is the number of voices and, on occasion, the presence of instruments, since none of these settings survived to the present. In the inventory of 1724, the only sixteenth-century psalms mentioned are the ones by Guerrero, in E-Sc 2. These were probably kept in use in the 1600s since, according to two seventeenth-century Ceremonials, the third psalm in lower-ranking feasts which still required polyphony, should be sung at the lectern (i.e. from a choirbook). In the highest-ranking feasts, these Ceremonials prescribe polychoral psalms, and the ones used would in all likelihood correspond to the ones listed in the above-mentioned inventories.[298]

One curious example of a new style in composition and performance practice – the singing of psalms by a soloist with instrumental accompaniment – equally comes from Seville's archives. Two entries in the 1724 inventory mention two (no longer extant) booklets, one with eight settings and one with ten, of psalms 'por letra para cantar versos solos al organo'.[299] These were listed for the first time in 1603. It is, of course, impossible to know the exact musical contents of these booklets. The way to perform them is, however, made clear: by a solo singer, with organ accompaniment. The expression 'por letra' has led to the theory that these sources might have included the text of the psalms only, without any musical notation, thus inviting to improvisation on the part of the performer.[300] This assumption is very much based on the listing of a paper booklet in a 1618 inventory (number 33), where it is clearly stated that there is no musical notation: 'un librete de cantar en el organo salmos. Sin música'. ('a booklet to sing psalms at the organ. Without music').[301] On the other hand, Seville – as any church – would possess multiple sources with the text of psalms, not to mention that the constant repetition of

[298] The prescriptions of these Sevillian Ceremonials are further detailed and discussed in Chapter 4.
[299] 'With text, to sing psalms with organ accompaniment.' See Table 2.5. 'Cantar al organo': see Glossary.
[300] T.S. FREIRE, 2017, vol. 1, 65 and SUAREZ MARTOS, 2006, 45-6.
[301] This disappears from inventories after this date, so it is not the same source mentioned in the 1724 inventory.

these, week after week, would necessarily imply that their text would have been largely known by memory. A possible explanation is that these booklets, in the 1724 inventory, would have merely had the psalm-tone, over which the singer would indeed have improvised. This taste for improvisation can equally be found at certain settings of the Coimbra's Cartapácios, although none of these is for Vespers.[302]

The psalms *a papeles* by seventeenth-century composers in Toledo have disappeared at a (at least) an equally-fast rate as those in Seville, and only a handful of settings are mentioned as extant in recent catalogues.[303] They represent, just as in the Sevillian case, the Vespers genre in which composers were most prolific and where most polychoral settings can be found. The production of chapel master Pedro de Ardanaz (1638-1706), for example, shows not only the multiple occasions on which these psalms would be required, but equally confirms Toledo's status both as a very wealthy institution with a sufficient number of singers in its *capilla* to perform these settings, and as a centre of composition which kept up with the times in terms of musical style. Evidence from accompanied solo singing of psalms with instrumental accompaniment comes from a document of the *fábrica*. In December 1591, the *ministril* Alonso Gascón is paid for the copying of a book of psalms 'for a tiple with instruments'.[304] Again mirroring Seville we find, at the opposite end of this spectrum, the presence of late *stile antico* psalm settings,

[302] It is the case of the 'Calenda de Natal' of P-Cug MM 51, fols 2v-6.
[303] See table T2. The work of Carlos Martinez Gil may hopefully soon shed some light on the surviving settings of Toledan *música a papeles* copied between 1600-1900, although the author does mention that seventeenth-century works correspond to only a fraction of the total of surviving settings (with less than thirty amongst a total of 1200 works). GIL, 2018, 136.
[304] 'On the 3 December of the said year [1591] Alonso Gascón, *ministril* was paid 414 reales for 138 sheets which he wrote and notated, that is 104 sheets in a book of psalms for a tiple to sing with instruments… /En tres de x [diciembre] del dicho año se libro a alonso gascon ministril a quatro cientos y catorce reales por çiento y treinta y ocho hojas q[ue] [h]a escritpo y puntado es a saber çiento y quatro hojas en un thomo de psalmeria para cantar un tiple con ynstrumentos' E-Tc OF 892, 178v, 3 December 1581. The facsimile of this entry and its transcription are included in M. NOONE, 2006, 581 and also transcribed in F. REYNAUD, 1996, 130.

with the copy of four psalms by Navarro in the mid-eighteenth century choirbook E-Tc 24, which demonstrates the need and use of these settings even at that time.

The catalogue of 'concertados' made by Arcángel Barrado Manzano shows only three examples of seventeenth-century polychoral psalm settings preserved at the monastery of Guadalupe, all for two choirs: the anonymous eight-voice *Dixit Dominus* and six-voice *Lauda Jerusalem* and one eight-voice *In exitu Israel* by Carlos Patiño. These are, however, exponentially multiplied in the eighteenth century, as shown in this catalogue.[305]

In none of the study-case institutions, however, are the seventeenth-century psalms' characteristics better portrayed than in the monastery of El Escorial. Over 100 Vespers psalm settings survive, all polychoral, all copied in loose papers and almost all by contemporary local members of this institution. This very wide sample of extant sources allows for more information on these psalm settings than we have for Seville and Toledo, for example. Unlike these, we are actually made aware not only of the number of voices but also of how these are arranged. The combination most commonly found is for eight voices, distributed in two choirs, one with upper voices (SSAT) and one with lower (SATB). This combination is not exclusive to the Escorial but also very frequently used in another of this dissertation's case-studies: The monastery of Santa Cruz.

The Cartapácios of Santa Cruz originated at the monastery, and were all copied around the 1650s, possibly all by the same copyist.[306] Most of them are identified by a number,

[305] A. BARRADO MANZANO, 1945, 25-170. All the examples mentioned are given in the tables of Chapter 2.

[306] Until now, the codicological and contents study of these sources has been made by S. FREIRE, 2017. In a paper at the Encontro Nacional de Investigação em Música (ENIM) 2018, Andrew Woolley equally presented his first codicological approach to this group of manuscripts. Both researchers seem to agree that indeed the copy of this group of manuscripts was made by a single scribe. Simas Freire points to the Santa Cruz monk Dom Gabriel de São João (*d* 1658), whose musical talents were praised long after his death. 'vol. 1, 310.

the highest one being 'Cartapácio 21', which indicates that the present collection of sixteen exemplars is incomplete, with the remaining volumes either permanently lost or still in private hands. These manuscripts include not only sacred Latin repertory, but also vernacular *vilancicos* and *romances* in Castilian language. A substantial number of works in this collection are anonymous. This collection is the most important testimony of seventeenth-century musical production at the monastery of Santa Cruz, and indeed the only extant manuscript sources with polychoral music in Portugal. In this collection, no fewer than eight choirbooks contain psalms, in a total of twenty-eight Vespers settings, of which only two are not polychoral.[307] Almost all include an instrumental line of *guião.* For some psalms, other instrumental parts are written apart from the *guião*, although the instruments themselves are not specified.[308] The case of a soloist voice can be seen in several settings in the Cartapácios, such as three psalms in P-Cug MM 234 (Cartapácio 11), and two in P-Cug MM 239 (Cartapácio 10), all for nine voices, distributed in two four-voice choirs plus a soloist.

Table 3.1: Vocal distribution in the psalms of the Cartapácios

SIGLA	WORK	PARTS	CLEFS
P-Cug MM 49	Dixit Dominus	SSAT-SATB-Guião	g2 g2 c2 c3 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - c4
	Beatus vir	SSAT-SATB-Guião	g2 g2 c2 c3 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - c4
	Laudate Dominum	SSAT-SATB-Guião	g2 g2 c2 c3 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - c4
	Laetatus sum	SSAT-SATB-Guião	g2 g2 c2 c3 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - c4
	Lauda Jerusalem	SSAT-SATB-Guião	g2 g2 c2 c3 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - c4

[307] These two exceptions are an incomplete four-voice *Confitebor tibi*, by João Lourenço Rebelo (identified by concordance) in P-Cug MM 229 (Cartapácio 21) and an anonymous *Credidi* for two and six voices, in P-Cug MM 238 (Cartapácio 14). All these settings are specified in the indexation of these sources, in the Appendix. The psalms in P-Cug MM 51 are described in detail and also edited in Simas Freire's dissertation, vol. 1, 99-113 and vol. 2, items 26 and 27.

[308] This is the case, for example, with a sixteen-part *Dixit Dominus*, in MM 228. Its list of parts consists of: 'Tiple só e a 15/ guião do Primeiro Coro/Altus 2º Coro a 15/ 3º Coro/ 4º Coro de Instromentos/ Instromento/ Instromento/ Tiple 2º, 4º Coro/ Altus 1º, 4º Coro'. A fifth 'Coro' is added in the following folio.

	Dixit Dominus	SSAT-SATB-Guião	g2 g2 c2 c3 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - c4
	Confitebor tibi	SSAT-SATB-Guião	g2 g2 c2 c3 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - c4
P-Cug MM 51	Credidi	SSAT-SATB-Guião	g2 g2 c2 c3 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - c4
	Beati omnes	SSAT-SATB-Guião	g2 g2 c2 c3 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - c4
P-Cug MM 228	Dixit Dominus	SAGuião-SAT-SATB-SSA 2 Instr-Guião	c1 c3 f4 -c1 c3 c4 -c1 c3 c4 f4 - c1 c1 c3 c1 c4-f4
	Dixit Dominus	SSAT-SATB-Guião	g2 g2 c2 c3 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - c4
	Beatus vir	SSAT-SATB-Guião	g2 g2 c2 c3 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - c4
P-Cug MM 234	Credidi	SATB-SATB	g2 c2 c3 c4 - g2 c2 c3 c4
	Lauda Jerusalem	S-SATB-SATB-Guião	g2 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - g2 c2 c3 c4 – c4
	Confitebor tibi	S-SATB-SATB-Guião	g2 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - g2 c2 c3 c4 – c4
	Laudate pueri	S-SATB-SATB-Guião	g2 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - g2 c2 c3 c4 – c4
P-Cug MM 238	Credidi	SA-SAT-Guião	c1 c3 – c1 c3 c4 – f4
P-Cug MM 239	Beati omnes	SSAT-SATB-SATB-Guião	g2 g2 c2 c3 - g2 c2 c3 c4 – g2 c2 c3 c4 - c4
	Beati omnes	S-SATB-SATB	g2 – g2 c2 c3 c4 - g2 c2 c3 c4
	Nisi Dominus	S-SATB-SATB-Guião	g2 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - g2 c2 c3 c4 – c4
	Credidi	SSAT-SATB-SATB	g2 g2 c2 c3 - g2 c2 c3 c4 – g2 c2 c3 c4
	Credidi	S-SATB-SATB-Guião	g2 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - g2 c2 c3 c4 – c4
	Laetatus sum	S-SATB-SATB-Guião	g2 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - g2 c2 c3 c4 – c4
P-Cug MM 243	Beatus vir	SSAT-SATB-Guião	g2 g2 c2 c3 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - c4
	Laudate pueri	SSAT-SATB-Guião	g2 g2 c2 c3 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - c4
	Laudate Dominum	SSAT-SATB-Guião	g2 g2 c2 c3 - g2 c2 c3 c4 - c4

As can be seen from the table above, the most common combination of voices in polychoral psalms in the Cartapácios is SSAT-SATB, just as what we find in El Escorial. In his dissertation on Portuguese sacred polychoral music, José Abreu mentions two specific voice combinations on which Iberian polychoral practice settles (SATB-SATB and SSAT-SATB), making the point, however, that the latter becomes increasingly more

prominent than the first during the seventeenth century, not only in Latin sacred works but also in vernacular polychoral *villancicos*. In comparing this scenario with the contemporary Italian one, Abreu states that Roman composers mostly used one specific type of voice combination - SATB for all choirs – while in Venice and elsewhere in Northern Italy, composers used a wider diversity of voice combinations, namely Andrea Gabrieli and his followers, usually with two contrasting choirs.[309]

In addition to the manuscript examples given above, there are a series of important seventeenth-century editions of printed music for Vespers by Portuguese and Spanish composers which equally testify to this polychoral style. Possibly the best-known of these is Victoria's 1600 *Missae, magnificat, motecta* (with its specifically written instrumental parts and organ open score), but other publications of a similar type equally saw the light of day, such as Lopez de Velasco's *Libro de Misas, motetes, salmos, magníficas* (L 2822) or João Lourenço Rebelo's *Psalmi tum Vesperarum tum Completorium* (R 508).[310]

For purposes of comparison with an international scenario, in the specific case of polychoral psalms in this dissertation, the online catalogue Gaspari, of the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della música di Bologna was consulted. My search of this catalogue was quite specific: polychoral psalms within the thesis chronological frame only. The results, as can be seen in the forty-two examples listed in the table below, show that the absolutely predominant voice combination is SATB-SATB, unlike the Cartapácios's and most of the Escorial's psalms.[311] The specific voice combination SSAT-SATB does indeed seem to be the most common voice combination for polychoral psalms

[309] J. ABREU, 2002, 126-27.
[310] All of Rebelo's polychoral psalms in this print (except one ten-voice fifth-tone *Laudate Dominum*, with SSATB-SSATB) display the combination SSAT in the first choir. Velasco's settings for eight voices have the following voice arrangement: SSAT-SATB.
[311] Unlike José Abreu, the combination SSAT-SATB was not found in this search (with the exception of one choir in Viadana's 1612 print). Abreu's dissertation approached all sacred genres while this one regarded psalm settings only. Perhaps for that reason, the findings do not match exactly.

in the Iberian region and this practice contrasts with what is found in the sample of musical settings from Italian sources.

Table 3.2: Psalms: voice combinations in Italian printed sources

NR	COMPOSER AND WORK	RISM	PARTS
1	Antegnati Constanzo, *Salmi a otto voci*… (Venice: Gardano, 1592)	A/I: A-1264	SATB – SATB
2	Asola, Matteo, *Psalmodia ad Vespertinas omnium solemnitatum Horas octonis vocibus infractis decantanda* (Venice: Scotto, 1574)	A/I: A-2517	SATB – SATB
3	_____, *Nova vespertina omnium solemnitatum Psalmodia*… (Venice: Amadino, 1587)	A/I: A-2568	SATB – SATB
4	Avanzolini, Girolamo da Rimini, *Salmi a otto voci con il Basso per l' Organo*… (Venice: Vincenti, 1623)	A/I: A-2900	SATB –SATB – Organ
5	Bacilieri, Giovanni, *Vesperae octonis vocibus unà con parte Organica concidendae*… (Venice: Gardano, 1610)	A/I: B-0565	SATB – SATB – Organ
6	Bellazzi, Francesco, *Psalmi ad Vesperas octonis vocibus*… (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1618)	A/I: B-1719	SATB – SATB
7	Bernardi, Don Stefano, *Psalmi octonis Vocibus vna cum Basso continuo pro Organo*… (Venice; Vincenti, 1624)	A/I: B-2057	SATB – SATB – B.C.
8	Cavalli, Francesco, *Vesperi a otto voci di Francesco Cavalli*… (Venice: Gardano, 1675)	A/I: C-1566	SATB – SATB – Organ (B.C.)
9	Cazzati, Maurizio, *Salmi per tutto l'anno a otto voci breui, e commodi per cantate con vno, ò due Organi, e senza ancora se piace* (Bologna: Pisarri, 1660)	A/I: C-1611	SATB – SATB –Organ (B.C.) – Organ (B.C.)
10	Cifra, Antonio, *Vesperae, et Motecta Octonis Vocibus decantanda. Auctore Antonio Ciffra Romano* (Rome: Zanneti, 1610)	A/I: C-2187	SATB – SATB – Organ (B.C.)
11	_____, P*salmi Sacrique Concentus octo vocibus, et Organo concinendi, nunc primum editi*… (Assisi: Salvi, 1620)	B/I: 1620-05	SATB – SATB – Organ (B.C.)
12	Colonna Gio, Paolo, *Salmi brevi per tutto l'anno à otto voci, con vno ò due Organi se piace*… (Bologna: Monti, 1681)	A/I: C-3459	SATB – SATB – Organ (B.C.) – Organ (B.C.)
13	_____, *Psalmi Octo vocibus ad ritum Ecclesiasticae Musices concinendi, & ad primi & secundi Organi* (Bologna: Monti, 1694)	A/I: C-3473	SATB – SATB – Organ (B.C.)
14	Cortellini, Camillo, *Salmi a otto voci per i Vespri di tutto l'anno di Camillo Cortellini*… (Venice: Vincenti, 1606)	A/I: C-4164	SATB – SATB
15	Cossoni, Carlo Donato, *Salmi a otto voci Pieni, e Breui, per li Vespri di tutte le solennità dell'anno di Carlo Donato Cossoni*… (Bologna: Monti, 1667)	A/I: C-4203	SATB – SATB – Organ (B.C.)
16	Cozzolani Donna Chiara Margherita, *Salmi a otto voci concertati et due Magnificat, a otto*… (Venice: Vincenti, 1650)	A/I: C-4362	SATB – SATB – B.C.

17	Croce, Giovanni da Chioggia, *Vespertina omnium Solemnitatum Psalmodia octonis vocibus decantanda* (Venice: Vincenti, 1597)	A/I: C-4449	SATB – SATB
18	Florimi P. Gio, Andrea, *Salmi Pieni a otto voci con il Te Deum del P. Gio. Andrea Florimi…* (Bologna: Monti, 1669)	A/I: F-1188	SATB – SATB – B.C
19	Gallo, Vincenzo, *Salmi del Re David che ordinariamente canta Santa Chiesa ne i Vesperi…* (Palermo: Maringo, 1607)	A/I: G-0267	SATB – SATB – B.C.
20	Girelli, Santino, *Salmi Brevi di tutto L'anno à Otto Voci…* (Venice: Gardano, 1620)	A/I: G-253	SATB – SATB – B.C.
21	Grandi, Alessandro, *Salmi a otto brevi con il primo choro concertato…* (Venice, Vincenti, 1629)	A/I: G-3453	SATB – SATB – B.C.
22	Graziani, D. Bonifazio, *Psalmi vespertini Binis choris, Vnà cum Organo Certatim…* (Rome: Belmonti, 1670)	A/I: G-3684	SATB – SATB – Organ
23	Graziani, Tommaso da Bagnacavallo, *Vesperi per tutto l'anno, di Tomaso Gratiani da Bagnacauallo Maestro di Capella di Concordia. A otto voci…* (Venice: Amadino, 1603)	A/I: G-3706	SATB – SATB
24	Lipparino, Guglielmo, *Salmi Concertati a otto voci con il suo Basso continuo di F. Guglielmo Lipparino…* (Venice: Vincenti, 1637)	A/I: L-2579	SATB – SATB – B.C.
25	Monferrato, D. Natale, *Salmi Concertati a Tre, Quattro, Cinque, Sei, Sette, & Otto voci, con instromenti, & senza, di D. Natal Monferrato Vice Maestro di Capella della Serenissima Republica di Venetia…* (Venice: Gardano, 1671)	A/I: M-3044	SATB – SATB – 1st violin – 2nd violin – viola – organ
26	Mortaro, Antonio, *Psalmi ad Vesperas, Triaque Cantica Beatae Virginis, octo vocibus. Antonii Mortarii Brixiensis In Ecclesia Diui Francisci Mediolani Organistae…* (Venice: Amadino, 1599)	A/I: M-3743	SATB – SATB – B-C.
27	Olivi, Simpliciano, *Salmi per li Vesperi di tutto l'anno con il Cantico della B. V. à otto voci correnti, e breui, diuisi in due Chori con il Basso Continuo per l'Organo…* (Bologna: Monti, 1674)	A/I: O-0059	SATB – SATB – Organ
28	Polidori, Ortensio, *Salmi a doi Chori parte concertati e parte pieni di Ortensio Polidori da Camerino Mastro di Cappella della Metropoli di Chieti…* (Venice: Vincenti, 1646)	A/I: P-5027	SATB – SATB – Organ
29	Porta, Costanzo, *Psalmodia vespertina omnium solemnitatum octo vocibus decantanda… cum quattuor canticis B. Virginis itidem octo vocum…* (Venice: Gardano, 1605)	A/I: P-5185	SATB – SATB – Organ
30	Rossi, Emidio, *Psalmi ad Vesperas octonis vocibus una cum organo concinendi…* (Loreto: Paolo & Giovanni Battista Serafino, 1638)	A/I: R-2735	SATB – SATB – Organ
31	Rovettta, Giovanni, *Salmi a Otto voci di Gio: Rovetta Maestro di Capella della Serenissima Republica…* (Venice: Vincenti, 1644)	A/I: R-2972	SATB – SATB – B-C.

32	Sances, Giovan Felice, *Salmi a 8 Voci Concertati, con la comodità de suoi Ripieni per chi li desiderasse…* (Venice: Magni, 1643)	A/I: S-0773	SATB – SATB – B-C.
33	Sartorio, Antonio, *Salmi à otto voci a due chori accomodati all'vso della Sereniss.ma Capella Ducale di S. Marco*… (Venice: Giuseppe Sala, 1680)	A/I: S-1074	SATB – SATB – Organ (B-C.)
34	Signoretti, D. Aurelio, *Vespertinae omnium Solemmtatum Psalmodiae Quinis, seu Nouenis Vocibus concinendae Vna cum Bassus ad Organum*… (Venice: Vincenti, 1629)	A/I: S-3425	SATB Quintus – SATB – Organ
35	Stefano, Agostino, *Psalmodia Vespertina Volans Octo Plenis Vocibus Concinenda…* (Rome: Muti, 1674)	A/I: S-4738	SATB – SATB – Organ
36	Tarditi, Orazio, *Salmi a Otto Voci per cantare nell'Organo. Di Horatio Tarditi Maestro di Capella del Duomo di Faenza*… (Venice: Vincenti, 1649)	A/I: T-0203	SATB – SATB – B-C.
37	Tarditi, Paolo, *Psalmi Magnif. cum quatuor Antiphonis ad Vesperas Octo Vocib. Vna cvm Basso ad Organum decantandi*… (Rome; Soldi, 1620)	A/I: T-0225	SATB -Violin – Lute – Theorbe - SATB - cornetto – Organ
38	Ugolini, Vincenzo, *Vincentii Vgolini Pervsini Psalmi ad Vesperas Octonis Vocibus cum Basso ad Organum concinendi*… (Venice: Vincenti, 1628)	A/I: U-0037	SATB – SATB – Organ
39	Valla, Pellegrino, *Psalmorum Davidis cum octo vocibus totius anni solemnitatibus decantantium*… (Venice: Vincenti, 1639)	A/I: V-0154	SATB – SATB
40	Vesi, Simone, *Salmi a Otto Ariosi di Simon Vesi da Forlì Maestro di Cappella di Monsignor Cornaro, Vescouo di Padoua*… (Venice: Magni, 1663)	A/I: V-1317	SATB – SATB – Organ
41	Viadana, Ludovico, *Salmi a Quattro chori per cantare, e concertare nelle gran Solennità di tutto l'Anno, con il Basso continuo per sonar nell'Organo di Lodovico Viadana*… (Venice: Vincenti, 1612)	A/I: V-1400	SATBQuintus– SATB – SSAT – ATBarB - Organ
42	Villani, Gasparo *Psalmi omnes, qui per annum ad Vesperas Decantari consueuerunt…* (Venice, Gardano, 1610)	A/I: V-1552	SATB – SATB – SATB- B-C.

Regarding the treatment of texture in settings for eight-voice psalms (by far the most common settings found in printed and manuscript sources) there was, for a composer of the first half of the seventeenth century, a reasonable range of choice. The first one would

have been pure contrapuntal treatment of all voices.[312] If the choice was of polychoral approach, a psalm could present entire verses alternately sung by a single choir – thus emulating the traditional antiphonal exchange of psalmody. Other possibilities would include making this alternation more frequent (and thus quicker), by alternating every half verse, or even small textual phrases between choirs, or between a certain choir and all the voices. These alternations could imply the singing with or withour the use of repetition.[313]

What we find in the Cartapácios is a quite quick alternation between upper choir/ lower choir/both choirs, which often happens not only between verses but within one verse, either half or even less than that (sometimes – not always – with the repetition of the text). The upper choir typically starts the verse. There are never large sections (a full verse, for example) with one same texture. This practice of quick alternation between groupings of voices is found not only in the Cartapácios but equally in other sources. From the monastery of Coimbra, Pedro de Cristo's seven-voice setting of *Dixit Dominus* (MM 18) shows this quick alternation.[314] We can likewise find this approach in settings by Spanish composers from the early seventeenth century. Three possible examples are two *Dixit Dominus* settings (for eight and ten voices) from Sebastián de Velasco's 1628 print (listed in Table 1.1) and also a manuscript eight-voice setting of *Lauda Jerusalem* by Carlos Patiño.[315] The alternation between different choirs or between a single choir and tutti is obvious in both composers. In the case of Velasco, we find the tendency to start the verse with the upper choir. This is equally found in virtually all the psalms in the Cartapácios,

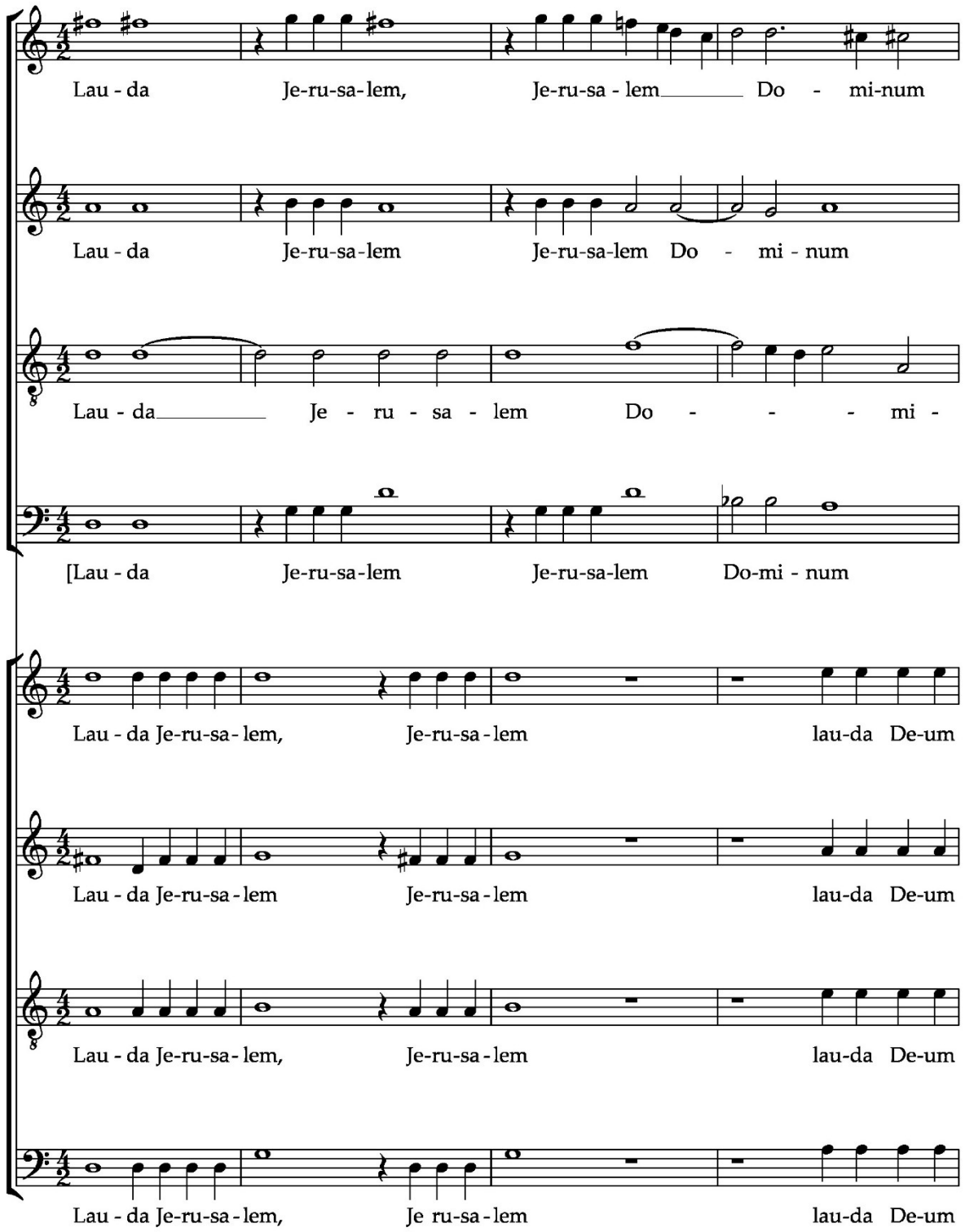
[312] This texture was not found in any of the consulted sources for seventeenth-century psalm settings.
[313] The same possibilities were applicable to the Magnificat, and we can find examples of all these approaches in different Magnificat settings (see below).
[314] This is very clearly shown in the study of Pedro de Cristo's polychoral works and their text distribution between choirs, made by J. ABREU, 2002. This setting is approached on p. 199
[315] Both these sources are available online at the Biblioteca Digital Hispanica: Velasco's print at http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000010860&page=1 and Patiño's manuscript at http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000106521&page=1

in what it almost seems to be a formal option regarding the choice for antiphonal exchange in the composition of these settings.

In Patiño's setting there is a clear emphasis on parts of the text, sung by all the voices, from the beginning of the psalm, which outdoes the option of starting with just the first choir.[316] This emphasis on the text can work either by using homophony in all the voices ('Quoniam confortavit') or in a certain kind of extremely quick alternation using the same text ('Lauda Jerusalem') alternately sung by upper and lower choir. In here, however, instead of pauses (as we find in the Cartapácios and in Velasco), the composer used longer note values (semibreves, on 'Lauda') for one choir while the other sings 'Jerusalem' in semiminims.

[316] This does not imply that the settings in the Cartapácios or in Velasco's print disregard the text – the process for highlighting certain words or phrases is usually achieved by using homophonic texture in all the voices and, very often, shorter note-values.

Musical example 2: *Lauda Jerusalem*, Carlos Patiño, E-Mn MC/4106/11




2
5
lau da Deum tu - um Si - on, quo ni am con for ta -
lau da Deum tu - um Si - on, quo ni am con for ta -
num lau - da Si - on quo ni am con for ta -
lau da Deum tu - um Si - on, quo ni am con for ta -
tu - um quo - ni am con-for-ta - vit se-raspor-ta__rum tu
tu - um quo - ni am con for ta vit se-raspor ta - rum tu
tu - um quo - ni am con- for - ta - vit se-raspor ta - rum tu
tu - um quo - ni am con - for - ta - vit se-raspor ta - rum tu


9
vit
vit
vit
vit
a - rum be - ne - di - xit fi - lis tu - is in te
a - rum be - ne - di - xit fi - lis tu - is in te
a - rum be - ne - di - xit fi - lis tu - is in te
a - rum be - ne - di - xit fi - lis tu - is in te

The antiphonal treatment of psalms (when chanted) is thus reflected in the polychoral texture of psalms, although in the polychoral examples of the seventeenth century this antiphonal alternation works in faster and more complex ways than it did in chant (with the mere alternation between verses), sometimes even giving expression or highlighting certain parts of the text.

Other than the musical sources, one of the most important testimonies to the very rich production of polychoral music in Portugal and Spain – especially psalms – is the catalogue of the Library of Portuguese king D. João IV, an inventory of the king's own musical library, which reflects the monarch's cultivation of music, as a composer, music bibliophile and theorist.[317] The number of polychoral works listed in this inventory (most of which are by Iberian composers) is indeed proof of the seventeenth-century's peninsular taste for this kind of texture. In the listing of all the polychoral works from this inventory made by José Abreu, it is possible to find no fewer than 165 Vespers settings, mainly among psalm and Magnificat settings. The catalogue includes no fewer than 106 polychoral psalms, more than half (above sixty percent) by Iberian composers or composers working mainly in the Iberian Peninsula.[318]

As mentioned above, most of the contents of the Cartapácios consist of polychoral settings. These could not, in practical terms, be performed directly from these books – the Cartapácios were in all likelihood not meant for the lectern. This is made obvious, on the

[317] The catalogue of the Royal Library in Lisbon published by D. João IV in 1649 is a crucial document for the study of the music in the Royal Chapel and indeed in the Iberian Peninsula in the 1500s and 1600s and has been the object of multiple studies. Among others, a facsimile edition was published by Mário de SAMPAYO RIBEIRO: *Livraria de música de El-Rei D. João IV: Estudo musical, histórico e bibliográfico* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1967). Rui Vieira Nery's 1990 doctoral dissertation was on the manuscript musical sources listed in this catalogue. Rui Vieira NERY, 'The music manuscripts in the Library of King D. João IV of Portugal (1604-1656): A Study of Iberian Music Repertoire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', (PhD dissertation, University of Texas-Austin, 1990).

[318] José Abreu lists all the polychoral works in this *Index* and Tiago Simas Freire all its polychoral psalms – including 106 psalms for Vespers – in the appendices of their respective dissertations. J. ABREU, 2002, 156-70, and T.S. FREIRE, 2017, 403-7. The psalm settings of non-Iberian authorship are almost all by Italian composers.

one hand, by the impracticability of (at least) two groups of singers plus instrument-players performing from them, and on the other, by others factors such as numerous corrections, the lack of text in most of the voices, and indications of performance which would be perceptible to nobody except either someone right next to the book itself or the copyist (who would have knowledge of them). Freire mentions the lack of text and the numerous corrections and revisions in MM 51 (which can also be found throughout the whole collection). Some of the relevant features – which demonstrate that this is not a copy for performance – can be found in some of the psalms copied in other Cartapácios other than MM 51. MM 49 is quite rich in examples of this. The psalm *Confitebor tibi* ends with the indication (in very small handwriting, written after the last bar of the *guião*): 'Gloria Patri Canto Cham/ Sicut erat – Orgão' (Gloria patri in chant, sicut erat [performed by the] organ'). This would not be visible to anyone who was more than a few inches away from the book. The intonation of the psalm *Laetatus sum* is literally squeezed in the first two bars of the tenor of the first choir, below the other voices, in which the second part of the verse 'in domum domini' is notated. It makes one think, at first sight, that they are meant to be simultaneous when clearly the intonation needs to come first.[319] The following psalm, *Lauda Jerusalem,* starts with a very similar process of copying the intonation underneath the other voices of the first choir, although the effect is not quite as confusing. One other example is the very first psalm, *Dixit Dominus* textless voice (in G clef) goes from being copied on the bottom stave in the first folio (fol 1) to being copied on the top stave in the following folio (1v). A similar situation where a voice starts being written on a different staff happens in MM 239, in the psalm *Beati omnes*: the staff at the top, belonging to soprano solo in the first folio of the psalm (fol 19) is suddenly meant for tenor 1 in folio 19v and then returns to soprano solo in fol 20. In this same psalm there

[319] A second unfortunate result of this is that this intonation, as notated, is 'more indented' into the score than the remaining upper voices, and thus the bar line does not come straight down, but it is lopsided.

is a staff drawn above the score (meant for soprano solo) with two bars which begin a new section within the psalm ('fili tui'). They were written there clearly because the notes did not fit the (probably previously drawn) bar lines. These are just some of several examples which would make these books essentially impossible to perform from.

A comparison with the sources with polychoral repertory in historical inventories in Spanish institutions do not show anything like the Cartapácios: inventories and catalogues usually list polychoral music as copied either in loose papers (*música a papeles*) or in partbooks (either printed or manuscript) and not in a single book. Freire's theory that this might be a private collection from which copies would be made for performance, brought from his study of MM 51, seems thus confirmed by settings of other Cartapácios.[320]

What the inventories and catalogues show (as demonstrated in the previous chapter), is that despite the immensely rich Italian sacred repertory of this time, printed in large quantities and with large provision for Vespers, Iberian churches still chose to invest predominantly in local works, either newly-composed polychoral settings or, in other churches, the maintenance of (at least some) psalms from the 'classic prints'. This can be seen not only in the *música a papeles* or the Cartapácios found in the case-study institutions but also in the wider sample of churches displayed in the tables of Chapter 2. The lack of psalms by foreign composers in inventories or extant settings (Table 2.18), and, on the other hand, the examples of late copies of psalms from the 'classic prints' is distinctly noticeable, as well as the increase in psalm settings by local chapel masters from the seventeenth century (Table 2.19). This is a curious option – and all the more

[320] T.S. FREIRE, 2017, 311-12. The Cartapácios are not a unique example of this type of source. Carmelo Caballero Fernandez-Rufete mentions the 'Borradores' with *villancicos* by Valladolid chapel master Miguel Gomez Camargo (1618-90), which correspond pretty much to the same type of manuscript as the Cartapácios. The author equally agrees that these would not be sources from which musicians would perform from. Carmelo Caballero FERNANDEZ-RUFETE, *Arded corazón arded – Tonos humanos del Barroco en la Peninsula Ibérica* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2007), 22 and Idem, 'En el princípio era el verso: Textos de villancicos en la catedral de Valladolid (164-1725)', *Revista de musicología* 42/2 (2019), 533-70.

curious since, in the case of psalms, the use of imported Vespers repertory would have caused no problems of liturgical compatibility with Hispanic churches, unlike hymns, for example. This, nevertheless, is not discussed in literature. This option would not be primarily conditioned by financial restraints since we find it in the wealthiest churches in Spain, and it would certainly not happen because of a lack of knowledge of the Italian repertory. It may simply have been a matter of preference and taste, and also a way of encouraging and promoting the musical production of their own chapel masters.

Psalms were the first or one of the first items performed in polyphony in each Vespers service.[321] They would have played a very important role in immediately displaying the musical investment of a certain religious institution, not only in the number of singers and instrument players at its service but also in its ability and willingness to promote a musical style which would keep up to the times.

3.2. HYMNS

Hymns are certainly the most intricate of all the four genres approached in this chapter. Their study involves dealing with a multiplicity of factors, such as text, melody (and local variants of these) or extended use (and its implications). The findings related to them are, in addition, extremely difficult to summarize in a neat fashion, given the different approaches which each religious institution had to them. Several authors publishing on the subject of Iberian hymns mention this complexity, and perhaps one of the most vivid images for this is the one given by Bruno Turner of a donkey surrounded by an equidistant circle of carrots.[322] These 'carrots' are indeed multiple and - even if quite tempting

[321] The opening versicle and response *Deus in adjutorium meum/Domine ad adjuvandum* could be polyphonic.

[322] 'Determined to take up this subject… I soon became overwhelmed with sympathy for the proverbial donkey encircled by an array of equidistant carrots'; 'The subject of the liturgical Office hymn is huge; even narrowed to specifically Spanish hymns during the period c. 1450 – 1630 it is still enormous and (hence my carrot-encircled donkey) multi-faceted'. B. TURNER, 1995, 473-4.

subjects to the author, as the metaphor seems to imply – each of them can itself be approached from various points of view and so raise a series of questions: the melody, the text, the polyphonic settings themselves, the sources in which they are copied, and so on. As pointed out by Turner, even if narrowed down to a specific geographical location and timeframe, the subject of hymns is 'still enormous' and 'multi-faceted'.

Most institutions altered the texts of hymns according to the different Breviaries which Rome prescribed between 1568 and 1632,[323] but there are exceptions.[324] Other than the Breviaries, individual institutions themselves could, after the Council of Trent, create their own (Rome-approved) *officia propria sanctorum*, with specific texts for their own local saints.[325] These texts could be provided with new musical settings or (often) the music of existing settings could be reemployed to set these texts. The melody (very often composed in a mensural fashion, in duple or triple metre)[326] could either be local to a

[323] Twenty years after the 1568 Tridentine Breviary, a new one was published, under the papacy of Sixtus V; the 1602 Clementine Breviary that would follow expanded the *sanctorale* with a *Proprium Sanctorum Hispanorum*; finally, in 1632, the new Breviary of Pope Urban VIII was published, displaying a profound revision of liturgical hymns.

[324] The only hymn setting included in the mid-seventeenth-century collection of Cartapácios – a Christmas hymn copied in P-Cug MM 51 – includes the 1568 text *Christe redemptor* instead of the 1632 version, *Jesu redemptor*.

[325] One of the earliest examples after the adoption of the reformed Breviary is the *Officia Propria Sanctorum Hispalensis Ecclesiae et Diocesis… a Sactisimo D.N. Sixto V Pontifice Maximo Deputatorum Ejusdem sanctiss. jussu recognia & approbata, ac domum ab eodem authoritate Apostolica confirmata; cura, opera & studio Eminentissimi & Reverendiss. D.D. Roderici Cardinalis de Castro, Archiepiscopi Hispalensis* (Seville: 1590). GONZÁLEZ BARRIONUEVO, 2017, mentions this 1590 exemplar, supposedly located in Seville University's Biblioteca de Filología, Geografía e Historia, with the *siglum* Ha 4784. In the online catalogue of this library, I have only found later exemplars.

[326] Bruno Turner, 1995, mentions the *Ordinarium Urgellinum* (Lyons: Gordiole, 1548), where fifty-two hymn melodies are notated mensurally. In his 2011 edition of the *Intonarium Toletanum*, he includes in his study some Portuguese chant hymn sources, equally mensurally notated. All the 115 hymn melodies in a 1543 *Passionarium* by Fernandes Formoso (chapel master at Lisbon's royal chapel) are notated in this manner, as well as the 101 hymns in a chant Lamego hymnal P-Lap, Lv 197, with a cycle very similar to the one in the *Passionarium*. The *Passionarium* and Cardinal Cisneros's *Intonarium Toletatum* are fundamental sources for the study of pre-Tridentine Iberian hymns. All these printed sources are available online: *Ordinarium Urgellinum* at https://classic.europeana.eu/portal/en/record/91911/u___llibimps16_57169.html?utm_source=new-website&utm_medium=button; Formoso's *Passionarium* at: http://purl.pt/14770 and Cisneros's *Intonarium* at http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000012227. One source not mentioned by Turner in the 1550s Tonary from the monastery of Santa Cruz, P-Cug MM 37, which includes (among other items) 78 hymns (for Vespers and other Hours), all copied in mensural notation. At the moment, Carmen Julia Gutierrez's edition of Spanish hymn melodies (*Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi X. Hymnen II*) is still in preparation.

certain institution, adopted in most of the Iberian churches, or even be a Roman melody with variants within the Peninsula.[327] The preservation of this repertory could be made in different ways, from the prolonged use of one same source to the continuous copying of the same settings (with text adaptations) in new manuscripts and from the use of an old melody in new settings, to the addition of voices and instruments to 'classic' settings.[328]

The extension of the sanctoral in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries implied the composition of new settings – which could be copied in new choirbooks (or loose sheets of paper)[329] or added to pre-existent ones. There are some cases, however, of the addition of new settings to choirbooks or of the use of previous settings with the text for the new feast (as shown in the table below). In the latter case, various different texts could be applied to one same previous setting.

Table 3.3: New hymns for Iberian saints in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries[330]

EXTENSION OF THE CALENDAR OF SAINTS (AFTER 1568): APPLICATION IN SOURCES			
Feast	Title of hymn	Composer	Source
Seventeenth-century hymn settings (newly copied)			
St Isidore of Seville	Gentes Hispaniae	Alonso Lobo	E-Sc 16
SS Justina and Rufina	Salvate Clarae	Alonso Lobo	E-Sc 16
St Hermenegild	Regis indigni	Alonso Lobo	E-Sc 16

[327] E-Sc 2 and E-Tc 25 display certain melodies specific to the cathedrals of Seville and Toledo. J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2007 and M. NOONE, 2003. Noone provides facsimiles of each melody in local contemporary chant sources for each setting in E-Tc 25. The settings of *Pange lingua* in polyphonic sources from Santa Cruz all use the monastery's own melody for this hymn (also found in P-Cug MM 37, p. 129). The 'Iberian variants' of the melody of *Ave maris stella* are found in a variety of chant and polyphonic sources. Each of these cases is specifically discussed and demonstrated below. The monastery of Santa Cruz had a specific melody for *Ave maris stella* (MM 37, 135) but for lower-ranking feasts. It is not found in any of the polyphonic settings of this hymn in the sources of Santa Cruz.

[328] Specific examples of all these are given below.

[329] Even hymns composed long after the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries continued mostly to obey to the *stile antico*. This is visible in the (usually) four-voice settings but also in the supporting material: choirbooks (not loose papers), sometimes made of parchment This is the case of choirbooks Tc 24, or E-TUY IV (in Tables 2.7 and 2.9) or even the 1801 Valencia's parchment choirbook E-VAc 5.

[330] Hymns for some of these saints were performed even before there was a specific hymn text for them (using the appropriate text from the Common of Saints). Due to restrictions imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic, certain liturgical books (which are not available online) were impossible to consult and therefore it is not possible to give indication of the exact date of when these offices or specific hymn texts were established.

St Didacus	Sublime mox	Alonso Lobo	E-Sc 16
St James the Apostle	Defensor alme Hispaniae	Alonso Lobo	E-Sc 16
Crown of Thorns	Lauda fidelis concio	Francisco de Santiago	E-Sc 16
St Gabriel Archangel	Mentibus letis jubilemus	Francisco de Santiago	E-Sc 16
Seven Sorrows of Virgin Mary	Stabat mater	Gabriel de Villareal	E-Sc 16
St Anthony of Portugal	Quid lusitanos	Anonymous	P-Cs LC s/c
18th-century settings (additions to pre-existent choirbooks)			
St Joseph	Te Joseph celebrent	Gaspar de Úbeda	E-Sc 16
Translation of relics of St James the Apostle	Defensor alme Hispaniae	Gaspar de Úbeda	E-Sc 16
St Elizabeth of Portugal	Domare cordis impetus	Pedro Rabassa	E-Sc 16
SS Justus and Pastor	Ecce Justus ecce Pastor	José de Salazar	E-Sc 16
SS Justus and Pastor	Ecce Justus ecce Pastor	Miguel de Ambiela	E-Tc 25
St Elizabeth of Portugal	Domare cordis impetus	Anonymous	P-VV MJ 1 (N 283)[331]
Escape of Mary to Egypt	Regem tremendae gloriae	Anonymous	P-VV MJ 4 (V 2123)[332]
St Joseph	Te Joseph celebrant	Anonymous	P-VV MJ 4 (V 2123)
St Joseph	Iste quem laeti	Vitali[333]	P-VV MJ 4 (V 2123)
Purity of the Virgin Mary	Praeclara custus virginum	Anonymous	P-VV MJ 4 (V 2123)
17th and 18th-century feasts in E-Ac 3 (applied to 1566 settings)			
Guardian Angel[334]	Custodes hominum	Navarro[335]	E-Ac 3
St Theresa Ávila	Regis superni	Navarro	E-Ac 3
SS Justus and Pastor	Ecce Justus ecce Pastor	Navarro	E-Ac 3 *(Pange lingua* in N 283)

[331] Manuscript folios added to replace the original first few (torn) folios of Navarro's print.
[332] Manuscript folios added to the end of Vitali's print. The feast is part of the Portuguese proper. Concordant with *Vexilla regis* in P-VV MJ 17.
[333] Concordant with Vitali's *Ut queant laxis.*
[334] The Office of the Guardian Angel was conceded by pope Paul V to the Church in Spain shortly after 1605. R. SNOW, 'Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala', *Nassarre* 3 (1987), 23.
[335] The settings of *Custodes hominum* and *Regis superni* do not have concordances in N 283. It is assumed by Thomas that the original pre-tridentine settings were, nevertheless, by Navarro. T THOMAS, 1990, 242-43. There is a setting of *Regis superni* attributed to both Navarro and Ardanaz in E-Tc 24 (each in one of its two bifolia). It is not concordant with E-Ac 3. I thank Michael Noone for sharing with me the images of these folios in the Toledo book.

The earliest examples of extant polyphonic sources with hymns in the Iberian Peninsula date from around the mid-sixteenth century, although they can include earlier repertory.[336] One of the earliest and most significant examples is the cycle found in manuscript E-TZ 2/3, dated from the middle of the sixteenth century.[337] This manuscript has been the object of numerous studies, and it contains a variety of polyphonic settings, including a cycle of twenty hymns by Pedro de Escobar, Alonso Dalva, Juan de Sanabria, Juan de Urreda and Peñalosa. It is one of the earliest Spanish cycles to include the temporal, sanctoral and common of saints. In Portugal, the only collection for the entire liturgical year is P-Cug MM 221, mentioned in Chapter 2, is also dated from around 1550. It contains thirty-one anonymous hymns for the most important Roman feasts of the liturgical calendar. No local saints are included, although some of its melodies are exclusive to the Iberian Peninsula.[338] As pointed out by Nelson, literally all these melodies in MM 221 correspond to the ones in Formoso's *Passionarium*, which may have had a wider application than just Lisbon's royal chapel.[339]

In Spain, a much larger number of sources survives: both manuscript and printed collections for the entire year, from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards. In 1565, the first printed collection of hymns, by Diego Ortiz, would appear.[340]

Seventeenth-century manuscript Portuguese sources include smaller cycles of Vespers hymns, such as the cycle of eighteen hymns by Estêvão Lopes de Morago (c. 1575-1630),

[336] This is the case with E-TZ 2/3, mentioned below.
[337] The most recent study of this manuscript is by Emilio ROS-FÁBREGAS, 'Manuscripts of polyphony from the time of Isabel and Ferdinand', *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016-17), 404-68. The author proposes this dating for the manuscript, although it contains settings by composers from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.
[338] This source was studied by Bernadette Nelson. B. NELSON, *Pure Gold*, 2011.
[339] Idem, 176-7.
[340] Printed collections of hymns or including hymns are listed in Table 1.1. As seen in Table 2.17, these became pervasive in Iberian institutions either in print or in manuscript copies. In either the catalogues of extant books or historical inventories of almost all the Spanish institutions included in this table, there is mention of at least either a print or a manuscript (or both) containing hymns.

chapel master in the cathedral of Viseu, included in his 1628 (manuscript) Vesperal (P-Va Cód. 4), the cycle of thirteen hymns in the above-mentioned Vesperal kept at the Church of Santa Cruz, or the nine hymns by Francisco Martins (1620/25-1680), chapel master at the cathedral of Elvas, in his manuscript Vesperal (P-Em 1097).[341] Isolated settings in choirbooks with mixed contents are found in sources from the monastery of Santa Cruz. Finally, some settings are found in choirbooks from the ducal palace in Vila Viçosa (P-VV MJ1 and P-VV MJ 4).[342]

One of the most interesting and characteristic aspect of hymns is their use throughout extended periods of time, which could stretch up to centuries.[343] Another important aspect found in hymns is the concurrent compliance with Rome on the one hand – mainly through the adoption of the texts of Roman Breviaries – and, on the other, the different local applications of those texts to music. The different ways in which this permanence and localism took place become perceptible through the study of its main elements: text, melody, the settings themselves and the sources in which they were copied.[344]

The texts of hymns are one of the most useful clues for the dating – or indeed evidence of the prolonged use – of a certain source. A given source can be dated of a certain time

[341] The hymns by Morago and by Martins are edited and by Manuel Joaquim and by José Augusto Alegria in *Portugaliae Musica* vols 4 and 50, respectively.
[342] According to T. S. FREIRE, 2017, footnote 220, several polyphonic sources from the cathedral of Lisbon include polyphonic hymns, most of which anonymous. This research is currently underway, at the moment still without any published results, through the research project *Mundos e Fundos*, coordinated by Paulo Estudante and José Abreu.
[343] Noel O'Regan mentions the rebinding of Victoria's 1581 *Hymni* settings in 1641, in the Roman church of S. Spirito in Sassia and the same phenomenon of Palestrina's hymn cycle in the Papal chapel in 1639, with the revision of the texts made by Allegri. N. O' REGAN, *Pure Gold*, 2011, 121-22.
[344] One curious (and rare) case of flexibility of use and of continued use of sources in hymns by making all these elements (text, melody) as 'unidentifiable' – and consequently adaptable – as possible is the one found in the polyphonic choirbook of the monastery of Arouca. Only three hymns are included in the whole book, and all were left textless – this was clearly intentional, since all the other settings by the scribe of that section include text. The melodies are also not identifiable by comparison with the all main chant sources which would allow for this (listed below). The nuns of Arouca, in all likelihood, applied a multitude of texts to these settings during the time this choirbook was put to use (at least until the early eighteenth-century). Ana GAUNT, 'The Arouca Polyphonic Codex', *Musical Exchanges 1100-1650: Iberian connections* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2016), 430-41.

frame because the text of its hymns corresponds to a certain Breviary or *proprium sanctorum*.[345] On the other hand, one same source can testify to its prolonged use by the inclusion of texts which can range from the pre-Tridentine period (later scrapped and altered) to additions of texts of eighteenth-century hymns.[346]

E-Tc 25 is a very intricate manuscript, whose earliest layer dates from 1546-49 and the latest from the early eighteenth-century.[347] It shows a first stage of alterations in three of its thirty-nine hymns shortly after the adoption of the 1568 Breviary in Toledo, and a second stage in the early 1600s, when the text of the second strophes was replaced with the text of the first strophes in ten of the hymns (including three of the ones which had already undergone a first alteration) in order to comply with the new performance rules, laid out in a 1604 Toledo Ceremonial.[348] Although it does not display any alterations of texts around 1632 (in the wake of the adoption of Urban VIII's Breviary), we find a new addition of folios in the early eighteenth-century and the replacement of damaged folios in 1783, proof that this source was still in use.[349]

[345] This does not imply that the musical settings are not pre-existent to the date of copying, as explained above.
[346] There are obviously cases – such as the above-mentioned seventeenth-century Cartapácios and their use of a pre-tridentine text – in which the date of copying does not correspond to the text or means a source originally copied before the adoption of the Tridentine Breviary. This is why other factors, such as codicological study and the musical style of the settings need to be taken into account in the dating of all sources.
[347] M. NOONE, 2003 and M. NOONE and G. SKINNER, 2009.
[348] More details on this Ceremonial are given in Chapter 4.
[349] M. NOONE, 2003, Introduction. Noone claims that many of these hymns would have been rendered obsolete after the adoption of the Tridentine Breviary by Toledo in 1573 (p. 20). The evidence, however, both from Toledo itself, as well as from other Hispanic institutions – as seen in the previous Chapter – proves that this conclusion may not necessarily be correct.

Table 3.4: Alterations to the text of hymns in E-Tc 25

C. 1579: ALTERATION OF TEXT – ADOPTION OF 1568 BREVIARY		
FROM	TO	AUTHOR OF ALTERATION
'Non ex virile semine', 2nd strophe of Veni redemptor	'Tu lumen splendor', 2nd strophe of Christe redemptor… ex patre	Alonso de Morata
'Transit triumph nobili', 2nd strophe of Hymnum canamus gloriae	'Que te vicit clementia', 2nd strophe of Jesu nostra redemptio	Alonso de Morata
'Qui carne quondam contegi', 2nd strophe of O nata lux de lumine	'Illustre quidam cernimus', 2nd strohe of Quicumque Christum quaeritis	Alonso de Morata
C. 1600: REPLACEMENT OF TEXT OF SECOND STROPHE BY TEXT OF FIRST STROPHE		
FROM	TO	AUTHOR OF ALTERATION
Tu lumen splendor	Christe redemptor	Alonso de Morata (2nd alteration of text)
Que te vicit clementia	Jesu nostra redemptio	Alonso de Morata (2nd alteration of text)
Illustre quidam cernimus	Quicumque Christum quaeritis	Alonso de Morata (2nd alteration of text)
Nova veniens e celo	Urbs beata Jerusalem	Alonso de Morata
Beata quoque agmina	Christe redemptor… conserva	Alonso de Morata
Tu lumen tu splendor	Christe redemptor… ex patre	Alonso de Morata
Sumens illud ave	Ave maris stella	Alonso de Morata
Ibant magi quam viderant	Hostis Herodes	Alonso de Morata
Te mane laudum carmine	O lux beata trinitas	Alonso de Morata Folio replaced with faithful copy by Manuel de Salazar in 1783
Nuncius celso	Ut queant laxis	Alonso de Morata
ADDITION OF HYMNS: EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY		
Ecce Justus ecce Pastor (Miguel de Ambiela)		
REPLACEMENT OF FOLIOS: 1783		
HYMN	REASON FOR REPLACEMENT	AUTHOR OF REPLACEMENT
Ave maris stella	Damaged folios	Manuel de Salazar
O lux beata trinitas	Damaged folios	Manuel de Salazar
Pange lingua	Damaged folios	Manuel de Salazar
Comcinat plebs fidelium	Damaged folios	Manuel de Salazar

From the same cathedral, Vesperal E-Tc 12 also presents alterations in the text of its hymns, also in several stages. The first one, as in choirbook 25, in the early seventeenth century, was the erasure of the second strophes of hymns and their replacement with the

first one. Unlike E-Tc 25, this codex did undergo new interventions in the text of its hymns around 1632. This time the alterations meant the removal and replacing of folios, with the new textual underlay. These hymns would again be replaced and copied once more in the late eighteenth century by the chapel master then serving in the cathedral, Manuel de Salazar.[350] Further proof of the extended use of this choirbook until at least 1795 is given in an inventory written in that year, where it is clearly stated that this choirbook was at the time 'frequently used'.[351]

A third example, coming from Seville, is the polyphonic Vesperal E-Sc 2. This source was copied sometime between 1573-76. Its hymn cycle is mostly composed of settings by Guerrero but it also includes hymns by Navarro and Ceballos. It displays alterations of hymn texts up to the adoption of the 1632 Breviary,[352] but it was clearly used until much later than this. In folio 1, a list is written with the names of the *seises* in the year 1833. Also, in several of the settings, the indication of the duration of rests is given through numbers, showing the number of bars' rest.[353] This is not a phenomenon unique

[350] M. NOONE, *Pure Gold*, 2011, 15. Some of the alterations listed by Noone are confirmed by two photos of this source included in his Chapter, namely the original 1579 *tabula* (p. 8) and the photo of one of the altered hymns (for the feast of St Mary Magdalen, p. 18). The second strophe ('Maria soror Lazari') listed in the index was replaced with the first one ('Pater superni luminis'), the one currently found in folios 49v-50. The decorated and capitalised 'M' and the following letter 'a' of the original 'Maria' were kept and are perfectly visible.

[351] 'Another [choirbook], number 16, by Torrentes, includes *fabordones* for Vespers, hymns and Magnificats… it is commonly used… On 30 October 1795 *racionero* Don Candido Ruano chapel master, handed in the list of polyphonic choirbooks/ Outro del numero 16 de Torrentes contiene favordones de Vísperas Hymnos Y Magnificas… sirve comúnmente…En 30 de octobre de 1795 Entrego el Racionero Don Candido Ruano Maestro de Capilla, la lista de los libros de canto de órgano'. E-Tc MS without siglum, Archive, fol 360 Transcribed in Idem, 13.

[352] The first alterations to the texts of this choirbook were made even before its binding in 1576. The several payments made to the copyist, Diego Dorta made between 1573-76 (registered in E-Sc sección VI, libro 06381, fol 44) include corrections for 'five sheets with staves' (cinco hojas pautadas'). J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 42-43. Seville adopted the Tridentine Breviary and Missal in 07/01/1575, and that is, in all likelihood, the reason for them. The hymns for the Common of Apostles (*Exsultet orbis gaudiis*) and for the Dedication of a church (*Caelestis urbs Jerusalem*) display the 1632 textual version.

[353] Idem, 248. According to Ruiz Jiménez, this is the manuscript choirbook which has undergone the largest amount of scraping and the greatest number of alterations and rebinding among all the extant books of Seville's polyphonic collection. Idem, 41.

to this manuscript but, when it does happen, this indication seems to imply a use of the book at a time when familiarity with mensural notation would be declining.

These are merely three of many more examples of the alteration on text of hymns in a manuscript kept in use for hundreds of years. This phenomenon is not so visible in Portuguese hymn manuscripts because of the sheer lack of polyphonic hymnals or indeed hymn collections, especially from before the seventeenth century. Thus, the only source where a textual alteration is found is the above-mentioned P-Cug MM 221, where the changes resulting from the adoption of the 1568 Breviary are visible only in the hymn for Trinity, *Adesto Sancta Trinitas*, whose text is scraped and turned into *O lux beata trinitas*.[354]

Another possibility was the use of the same process – the application of reformed texts to pre-existent, earlier settings – but made in fresh manuscript copies (instead of the scraping and altering of old sources).[355] One of the most extreme and clear examples of this is a manuscript choirbook kept in the cathedral of Ávila. E-Ac 3 was copied in 1796 and it includes twenty strophes of a hymn cycle by Navarro. These are not just one of the many late copies of the print but rather of a pre-tridentine hymn cycle which Navarro composed during his time as chapel master in Ávila (1564-66).[356]

The melodies of hymns in the Iberian Peninsula could be specific to a certain institution in two ways: either the use of its own melody for a widely celebrated feast or a melody created to celebrate a saint related to that institution alone. Examples of the former are the above-mentioned *Pange lingua*, or the specifically Sevillian or Toledan melodies for

[354] Here again, a photo from the source (B. NELSON, *Pure Gold*, 2011, 174) shows the original capital 'A' of 'Adesto'.
[355] Examples come from Évora (ms 1); Coimbra's Vesperal (studied in detail below); Plasencia (ms 4); Salamanca (ms 4);Toledo (ms 24); Valencia (ms 1) and others.
[356] T. THOMAS, 1990, 275-93 and R. SNOW, 1992, 473-74.

the Trinity hymn *O lux beata*, both found in E-Sc 2; and of the latter, Morales's setting for St Eugene or the anonymous setting (possibly for St Leocadia), both copied in E-Tc 25.[357] Many of these melodies were mostly maintained by the continuous use of the same polyphonic settings. They could, however, be equally used in newly-composed settings. One example of this comes from one of the Cartapácios of the monastery of Santa Cruz. The only polyphonic hymn found in them, the above-mentioned eight-voice setting of the Christmas hymn *Christe redemptor*, includes not only the pre-1632 text but quotes, at several different moments, the intonation from the pre-tridentine melody for this hymn. In all likelihood, this is the melody found in the 1550's Tonary P-Cug MM 37. The melody found in the *Intonarium Toletanum* and indeed in its Roman version, however, also begin with the exact same intonation.[358] Whatever melody the composer of the eight-voice setting in MM 51 was using, it quoted (in a very audible way) material from the pre-tridentine period in a composition from the mid-seventeenth century. [359]

Image 1: *Christe redemptor*, P-Cug MM 37, p. 179



[357] Although the source indicates that the latter hymn is for St James ('Sancti Iacobi') Noone explain that its melody was used in Toledo exclusively for female saints and therefore suspects that, in its original version (before the copy in ms. 25) it would have been a hymn for St Leocadia, patron of the city of Toledo. M. NOONE, 2003, 103.

[358] These melodies are ITHM 004 in B. Turner's edition of the *Intonarium* and 14 in Stäblein's *Monumenta Monodica* I.

[359] Other than the preservation of the 1568 text and the use of the 1550s melody in this hymn, there is also an unusual feature related to the way in which its text is set. This is discussed in Chapter 4.

Musical example 3: *Christe redemptor*, P-Cug MM 51, fols 13-15 [13]



Another example of musical permanence comes in the special form of contemporary versions of earlier 'classic' items of repertory, normally through the multiplication of voices and the addition of musical instruments. The collection of *música a papeles* of Seville's cathedral shows some of these cases very clearly. One is the eighteenth-century copy of Guerrero's *Pange lingua*, whose text alteration (from the second to the fifth-strophe) is the mildest of its changes: the four-voice original hymn is turned into a fifteen-part setting, distributed amongst four choirs.[360] Another copy, from the second half of the nineteenth century (nowadays kept in the same folder), adds to this with the inclusion of violins, oboe and double-bass. The composer's setting of *Ave maris stella* underwent a similar process: an eighteenth-century copy shows a total of three choirs for this hymn, two SATB, and a third with soprano, tenor, and an instrumental bass.[361]

3.2.1. The particular cases of *Ave maris stella*, *Pange lingua* and *Vexilla regis*

The study of hymns in the sources consulted, namely in the study-case institutions considered in this dissertation, makes it clear that three stand out particularly among the settings for the liturgical year. The status of these hymns is essentially materialised in the frequency with which they appear in sources: these can be the already-mentioned extant choirbooks, *música a papeles*, and the settings mentioned in historical inventories, but also in manuscript sources copied for instrumental use.[362] The other is the melodic

[360] E-Sc sig. 51-1-1. See Table 2.5. This manuscript is the copy of a seventeenth-century version (with the same number of voices and the same 'Tantum ergo' text) used in processions during the octave of Corpus Christi. As pointed out in the table, the eighteenth-century setting was meant to be used at Vespers.

[361] E-Sc sig. 51-1-3. Other settings of even earlier composers underwent the same 'modernisation' process in Seville, such as Urreda's famous setting of *Pange lingua*. This setting was, nevertheless, as explained in Chapter 2, used in processions and not at Vespers.

[362] Some examples of the latter are E-GRmf 975, or E-E LP 29 and 30. Regarding MM 242 from Coimbra, Santiago Kastner regarded it as a collection of works to be played at the keyboard, given the music was written out in score. Macário Santiago KASTNER, 'Los manuscritos musicales ns 48 y 242 de la Biblioteca General de Coimbra', *Anuario Musical* 5 (1950), 78-96. Later, Owen Rees challenges this view based on the extremely inaccurate fashion in which the book was copied, and also on the numerous errors and on the (at times) almost illegibly small writing, which would render the source 'all but useless to a player'. According to Rees, this manuscript would be, rather, an extremely varied private anthology of works, gradually collected by its (single) copyist. O. REES, 1995, 342-60.

variants related to particular institutions or regions, and even to different feasts within one same institution.[363]

These hymns have, in fact, particular features which, although not exclusive to the Hispanic region (they are related to the prescriptions of Roman Breviaries) have certainly contributed to this prevalence. The first one is the fact that these hymns are used in a wider range of feasts than the majority of other items of this genre. The second is that they are sung not only as elements of Vespers, but also in processions or other forms of worship, either in part or in their entirety.

The hymn *Ave maris stella* was meant, according to the 1568 Roman Breviary, to be sung at First and Second Vespers of all Marian feasts. These include the Feast of the Purification (2 February); Annunciation (25 March); Visitation (2 July); Assumption (15 August); Nativity (8 September); Presentation (21 November) and Immaculate Conception (8 December).[364] All these feasts implied polyphony at First and Second Vespers, and therefore the occasions – and need – for polyphonic settings of this hymn would be multiple. Also, the sixth strophe of the hymn 'Monstra te esse' could be used in processions. This was the case in Toledo, where this strophe was performed four times, at different stations, during processions in every feast of Our Lady.[365]

The famous melody for *Ave maris stella* has a large number of variations in different Hispanic monodic sources which are, evidently, reflected in the polyphonic settings. These can be the result of different local practices, instrumental variations or, even, simple mistakes from copyists. Bruno Turner, Bernadette Nelson and Michael O'Connor

[363] Specific examples are given below.
[364] As well as in the Office of the Virgin Mary held every Saturday, although not necessarily performed in polyphony throughout the year in every institution.
[365] The details given in Ceremonials regarding these processions (including in Toledo) are given in Chapter 4.

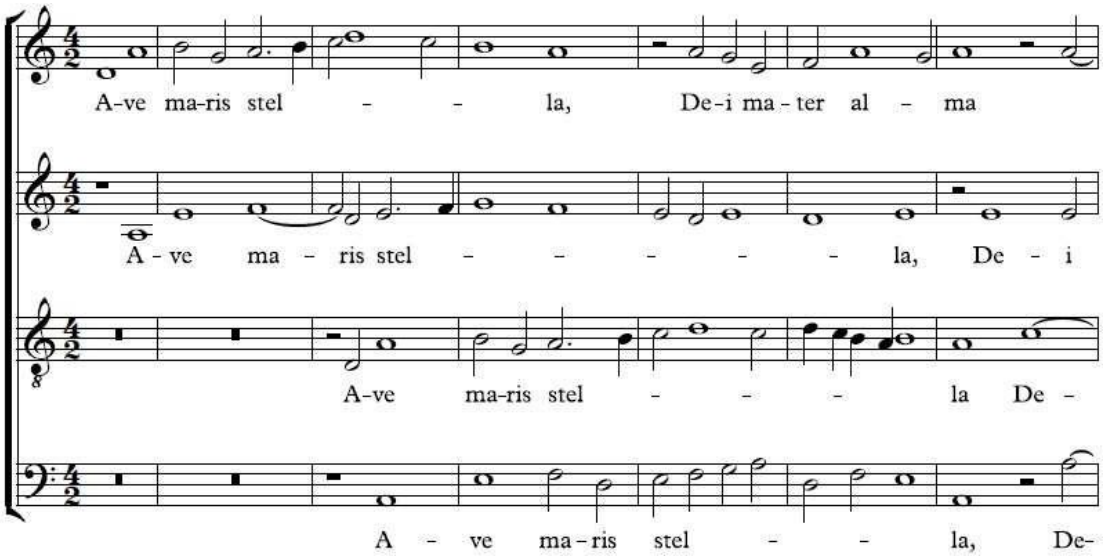
all reflect on this issue when writing about this hymn in Spanish and Portuguese sources. To exemplify this, they provide the melodic variants found in choirbooks from various geographical origins, liturgical uses and chronological periods.[366] One curious aspect comes from the analysis of the polyphonic sources from Coimbra, from E-Tc 25 and from E-Sc 2.[367] All the versions in these choirbooks present a variant in the first part of the melody: the 'filling' of the minor third *b-d* between 'maris' and 'stella'. In his examples of melodies taken from both monodic and polyphonic sources with this hymn, Michael O'Connor refers to this variant as only being found in later Spanish sources (the earliest source included in his list which presents this variant is Victoria's 1581 setting). The fact is that all three settings of E-Tc 25 and at least Guerrero's setting of E-Sc 2 (copied much earlier) include this variant, even if the monodic sources from which they would presumably have taken the melody do not.[368] In the examples presented by Bernadette Nelson of this melody in Portuguese monodic sources, the earliest one in which this variant appears dates from 1640 (P-Cug MM 1, a chant hymnal from the cathedral of Coimbra). Nevertheless, all the polyphonic settings from Coimbra (both from Santa Cruz and the cathedral) equally present this melodic variant, even the ones copied in the 1550s.[369]

[366] B. TURNER, 2011, 33; Michael B. O'CONNOR, *Pure Gold*, 2011, 160 and B. NELSON, Idem, 186.
[367] E-GU II is not included since I have had no access to this source and could not confirm whether this setting also includes this melodic variant.
[368] The melodies provided by Michael O'Connor for chant sources of Toledo and Seville, dated 1542 and 1565 respectively, simply appear with the standard minor third *b-d*. The same 1542 Toledan Vespers psalter is given by Michael Noone as the source for Morales's *Ave maris stella.* M. NOONE, 2003, 83. The first polyphonic strophe by Guerrero (strophe 2, 'Sumens illud') is concordant to the one in the *Liber Vesperarum*, without any variants (according to J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 119) and that is where this variant was found.
[369] Bernadette Nelson does not include MM 37 in her examples for melodic sources of *Ave maris stella*, possibly since MM 221 was associated with the cathedral.

Image 2: *Ave maris stella*, P-Cug MM 37, p. 134



Musical example 4: *Ave maris stella*, P-Cug MM 12, fols 89v-90



It is indeed hard to know where the models or melodic sources for this 'filling' would have come from in these polyphonic settings, some of which were copied in the mid-sixteenth century. One possible explanation is that this variant was already performed before being actually notated in chant sources.[370]

[370] Another variant for this melody is found at the beginning of its second phrase, over the word 'Dei', in the second of the two settings of this hymn in P-Cug MM 221, sung over G-A instead of the usual A-A. This variant also appears in Formoso's *Passionarium* (in quite a peculiar way, nevertheless, owing to an incorrect demarcation of the hymn's phrases), but in no other known chant or polyphonic source. B. NELSON, *Pure Gold*, 2011, 184-85.

The hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi corporis* is associated with Vespers for Corpus Christi, a feast instituted in 1264 by Pope Urban IV and it had an enormous and prominent significance in the whole of catholic Europe.[371] Among the several feasts of the liturgical calendar, this day was celebrated with particular lavishness in the Iberian Peninsula. In both Portugal and Spain, it usually included a procession, at the royal court or, in some cases, on the street, and even small theatrical pieces – *entremeses* – a tradition maintained at least during the first half of the sixteenth century. This feast constituted therefore an significant event not only in the liturgical year but also on the civic calendar.[372] Corpus was also a prime site for the composition and performance of villancicos, not only on the day itself but throughout the whole octave.[373] The celebration of this religious feast with such ceremonies was not exclusive to the Iberian Peninsula. In some cases – like the Spanish royal chapel or the monastery of Escorial – these might have been influenced by ceremonies in other parts of Europe, namely in the Burgundian court of Charles V. The celebration of Corpus Christi in the imperial Chapel always involved an elaborate procession, in which the last two strophes of *Pange lingua* were sung.[374]

The particular features of this hymn start with its use in liturgy. It is not related to a feast, exactly, but to any celebration related to the Blessed Sacrament. Therefore, even though more commonly known as the hymn for Corpus Christi, *Pange lingua* is equally sung on Maundy Thursday, where the bread and wine are translated in procession onto the altar.

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[371] Jean-Baptiste LEBIGUE, *Initiation aux manuscrits liturgiques*, (Paris: IRHT, 2007), 18.

[372] B. NELSON, 2015 and K. KREITNER, 1995, 158-62.

[373] Although a generalised genre throughout Iberian religious institutions, the preponderance of villancicos during the octave of Corpus Christi is particularly well illustrated in the cathedral of Salamanca. During this week, villancicos were not only performed at processions and Matins (the most common contexts in which they usually appeared) but also at Lauds and Vespers. They took place not only on the day of the feast itself but throughout the whole week. On occasions when a high-ranking feast would fall within this octave (such as St John the Baptist or St Peter) there could even be performance of villancicos at the Mass, replacing motets. Alvaro TORRENTE, 'Function and liturgical context of the villancico in Salamanca Cathedral', *Devotional Music in the Iberian World*, eds. Tess Knighton and Alvaro Torrente (Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 99-148 [100-22].

[374] B. NELSON, 2000.

Also, this hymn has the peculiarity of having its final section – the verses 'Tantum Ergo' and 'Genitori genitoque' – used for specific liturgical ceremonies. They are sung at the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, once the host has been placed on the altar on the first day of the *Triduum*. In Portugal, the sixteenth-century Ceremonial of the royal chapel currently kept in Naples (I-Nn Cod. I.E.32), assigns the strophe 'Tantum Ergo' to the procession of the Corpus Christi feast.[375]

The question of the melodies for *Pange lingua* is usually limited to its *more romano* or *more hispano* versions. The triple-meter Hispanic melody is frequently mentioned, not the least due to Urreda's celebrated setting. The great majority of the settings found in Portuguese manuscript sources are based on the latter melody. The earliest monodic source in the Iberian Peninsula where it can be found is a Toledan breviary, dating from the late thirteenth century (E-T 33.4),[376] and therefore shortly after the institution of this feast. In Portugal, it is found in sources from the fifteenth century onwards, culminating with its presence in Formoso's *Passionarium*.[377] The above-mentioned melody from Santa Cruz for the *Pange lingua* hymn is completely distinct from the other two, and, in all likelihood, exclusively linked to this institution. It is the basis for three polyphonic settings of this hymn: one in P-Cug MM 33 and two in P-Cug MM 242. It has been only (briefly) mentioned so far by Bernadette Nelson[378]

[375] José Maria Pedrosa CARDOSO *Cerimonial da Capela Real: Um manual litúrgico de D. Maria de Portugal (1538-1577), Princesa de Parma*, (Lisbon: INCM-Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2008), 114-115 and B. NELSON, 2015, 89-116.
[376] J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2005, 627.
[377] In the fourteenth-century's psalter *Liber Catenatus* from Coimbra (P-Cua Liber Catenatus), the melody for *Pange lingua* still appears in its Roman version.
[378] B. NELSON, 2015, 115.

Image 3: *Pange lingua*, P-Cug MM 37, p. 129



Musical example 5: *Pange lingua*, P-Cug MM 33, fols 87v-90 [87v-88]



Vexilla regis was a hymn used in celebrations related to the Cross: Passion Sunday, but also the Invention, the Exaltation and the Triumph of the Cross.[379] It could equally serve in specific ceremonies in certain Hispanic institutions. This multifunctional character is displayed by its multiple appearances in (extant and non-extant) musical sources, sometimes with as many as three settings in a single choirbook.[380] Just as *Pange lingua*, it has a *more romano* and a *more hispano* version of its melody,[381] but also melodies local to different institutions. The melodies themselves, in this case, signalled not only a distinctive local custom but, especially, a specific function. Thus, we find, on several occasions, that for each different feast a different melody is used, even within the same institution and indeed the same source. E-Sc 2 includes two settings of this hymn by Guerrero, but whereas the one for Passion Sunday (concordant with *Liber Vesperarum*) uses the *more hispano* melody, the one for the Invention of the Holy Cross uses a specifically Sevillian melody.[382] P-Cug MM 221 uses the *more hispano* melody for Passion Sunday and the *more romano* for the Invention of the Holy Cross. Two of the three settings of Tuy use the *more romano* melody, although in different ways: the setting for Passion Sunday puts the melody in the superius voice whereas the setting for the Exaltation places the melody in the tenor and transposed up a fourth. For the feast of the

[379] The Triumph of the Cross was a specifically Spanish feast, related to the Christian Reconquest in the Iberian Peninsula. Its commemoration was allowed in Spain even after the calendar alterations following the Council of Trent and made official in the 1614 *Proprium Sanctorum Hispanorum*. B. TURNER, 2011, 7.

[380] E-TUY IV, for example, includes three different settings of this hymn, for the feasts of Passion Sunday, Invention of Holy Cross and Exaltation of Holy Cross, all by chapel master Benayas.

[381] These correspond to ITHM 12 and ITHM 13 respectively, in B. TURNER, 2011. The *more romano* melody is equally found in B. Stäblein's, *Monumenta Monodica* I, 32.

[382] In Seville, the multifunctional use of this hymn is quite well demonstrated not only in the two settings in E-Sc 2 but in another one in E-Sc 16, by Úbeda and a (no longer extant) setting by Jalón, for a specific ceremony – la seña – the displaying of a flag with a Cross (as explained in the 1724 inventory where this work is listed). The first setting of E-Sc 2 is concordant with the *Liber Vesperarum* and thus it was possible to identify the melody even without access to the source. The second melody is identified by J.R. Jiménez, as part of the Sevillian hymnal *Regla Vieja de la catedral de Sevilla*, copied on fol 221v, specifically for the feast of the Invention of Holy Cross. J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 120.

Invention, the melody does not correspond to either the Roman or the Hispanic version, and it is probably local to Tuy, just as it happened in Seville.[383]

Musical example 6: *Vexilla regis*, E-TUY IV, fols 18v-20 [18v-19]>



[383] As mentioned in Chapter 2, images and full indexation of this source are available online at the PEM database.

Vexilla regis shows, therefore, not only the multifunctional use of a hymn but also a different type of association with hymn melodies with the same text, associated not just to different geographical locations but, simultaneously, to different feasts of the liturgical calendar.

3.2.2. Case-study: five hymns by Navarro in a Vesperal from the monastery of Santa Cruz

In Coimbra, in the church of Santa Cruz, there is a manuscript Vesperal which, as mentioned in the previous chapter, remained preserved in its place of origin.[384] The features which most help to identify this origin are, on the one hand, its present location and, on the other, two of its hymns, namely the settings for St Anthony of Lisbon/Padova and for St Theotonius.[385]

The codicological study of the source – even if made from photographs – allows for some relevant information about this codex. This is a single manuscript (not a composite one), given the similar tracing of staves. There are four hands: one main copyist, working probably around or just after 1632 (given the text used in the hymns) and three additions, in the folios left blank by the main copyist. It is clear from where the blank spaces were left that there was an intention of copying more hymns – perhaps by Navarro? – and more Magnificat settings,[386] but those folios were used by copyists 2, 3 and 4 to copy later

[384] The earliest reference to this source in musicological literature comes from M. JOAQUIM, 1953, 199 and 206.
[385] St Anthony of Lisbon/Padova joined the Order of Canons Regular of St Augustine in the church of São Vicente de Fora (in the -at the time - outskirts of Lisbon). In 1212 he was transferred to the monastery of Santa Cruz, where he stayed until he joined the Franciscan Order. St Theotonius was the founder of the monastery of Santa Cruz and its first prior.
[386] The indexation of this source in Appendix I (pp. 305-07) includes the indication of the blank folios and of different scribal hands.

works, especially the psalms and Magnificat setting by João Lourenço Rebelo and the Magnificat setting by Pedro Vaz Rego.[387]

Table 3.5: Hands in P-Cs LC s/c

Hand 1 – Main copyist • *Custos* • Clefs (especially G clef, fol 47v) • Red calligraphic initials • Indication of feast in hymns and title and tone in Magnificat settings Use of «ij» in Theotonij (fol 63v) and in the indication of repetition of lyrics
Fol 47v 
Hand 2 - Similar aspects to copyist 1 (especially clefs) but with some differences: • *Custos* • Black calligraphic initials • Indication of repetition of lyrics (fol 72)
Fol 70v 
Hand 3 – Black calligraphic initials (like hands 2 and 4) and similar clefs but with some differences: • *Custos* • G clef (fol 122v) • Uses natural sign to cancel bflat (fol 118v) – this is consistent with a late 18th-century addition, which the repertory itself (Vaz Rego) confirms. • The shape of the /s/ at the end of words vs middle of words (fols 118v-119)
Fol 118v 

[387] For more on João Lourenço Rebelo (1610-61) and Pedro Vaz Rego (1673-1736), see Oxford Music online, at https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23003 and https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23083 respectively.

Hand 4 – Black calligraphic initials (like hands 2 and 3) and similar clefs but with some differences:

- *Custos* (especially noticeable in fols 114 and 115)
- Writes 'Qvia' in Magnificat (fols 112v-113) – unlike the 'Quia' of hand 2 (fols 115v-116)

Fol 112v



In the cycle of thirteen hymns included in this source, five are concordant with the 1590 print of Juan Navarro. This is one of many cases of a late copy of Navarro's works, but with some particular features, not found in other sources. The first is that in these five hymns – just like in all other hymn settings of this source except one (*Pange lingua*) – the alternatim scheme clearly obeys to a more complex combination than the mere alternation of chant and polyphony in odd or even strophes, since the first strophe to be set in polyphony is the third. This therefore implies a third element in performance, which could be instrumental participation – of organ or *ministriles* – or solo singing. This is not a unique, but a rare instance. Among all the sources approached in the case-studies of the present dissertation, there is only one other case where this alternatim scheme is found in (some of its) hymns: E-Sc 16, the polyphonic hymnal for Sevillian and Hispanic saints.[388]

The second particular feature relates to two strophes – in the settings of hymns *Jesu redemptor* and *Salutis humanae sator* – for which, insofar as it is known, no concordance exists. In Chapter VI of his dissertation, Timothy Thomas looks at Navarro's hymn settings, mentioning the twenty-four sources in which these survive.[389] The Coimbra source was clearly not known to him at the time. Excluding the manuscripts which are

[388] See Appendix I, E-Sc 16. Polyphonic sources from Guadalupe and Toledo use every three verses, but in psalm settings only.
[389] T. THOMAS, 1990. The author is careful in his wording, not excluding the possibility that other sources might still be found: 'Navarro's hymns survive in, at least, twenty-four sources.' Idem, 229.

nothing but late copies of the print, Thomas proceeds to the discussion and analysis of the sources which might raise the most interesting questions by comparison with the print. One of the sources which Thomas discusses most at length is the above-mentioned 1796 copy of these hymns preserved in Ávila.

The tables below list Navarro's settings in the Coimbra Vesperal and how they compare to the print and to the Ávila source.

Table 3.6: Hymns by Navarro in P-Cs LC S/c, N 283 and E-Ac 3: Text

P-Cs s/c			N 283			E-Ac 3		
Text – 1632 Breviary	Strophe(s)	Vv	Text – 1568 Breviary	Strophe(s)	Vv	Tex – 1632 Breviary	strophe(s)	Vv
Jesu redemptor	1|7	4	Christe redemptor	2|4|7	4|3|5			
Feast: Christmas								
Salutis humanae sator[390]	3|5	4	Jesu nostra redemptio	2|4	4			
Feast: Ascension								
Veni creator spiritus	3|5	4	Veni creator spiritus	2|4|6	4	Veni creator spiritus	1	4
Feast: Pentecost								
Pange lingua	2|4	4	Pange lingua	2|4|6	4	Pange lingua Ecce Justus, ecce Pastor	1	4
Feast: Corpus Christi						**Feasts: Corpus Christi** **SS Justus and Pastor**		
Decora lux	3	4	Quodcumque vinclis	2	4	Decora lux Egregie doctor Paule Miris modis Quodcumque vinclis	1	4
Feast: SS Peter and Paul			**Feast: Chair of St Peter**			**Feasts: SS Peter and Paul** **St Paul** **Conversion of St Paul** **Chair of St Peter**		

[390] A six-voice setting of *Salutis humanae sator* does exist in E-Ac 3, concordant with the print, but not with *Jesu nostra redemptio* – as in the manuscript from Coimbra – and rather with the hymn for Transfiguration, *Quicumque Christum*.

Table 3.7: Hymns by Navarro in P-Cs LC S/c and E-Ac 3: Musical settings[391]

HYMN IN P-CS LC S/C	CONCORDANT SETTINGS IN E-AC 3	E-AC 3 VS N283 (T. THOMAS AND R. SNOW)	P-CS LC/SC VS E-AC 3 MY COMPARISON (FROM THOMAS'S EDITION)
Decora lux 69v-70 - SS Peter and Paul	Conversion St Paul – *Egregie doctor Paule* (13-18) St Peter's Chains – *Quodcumque vinclis* (19-24) Chair of St Peter – *Miris modis* (61-65) SS Peter and Paul – *Decora lux* (41-47)	T. Thomas: 'very different' from print setting Melody:pre-tridentine: 5 musical sentences – corresponding to 5 textual sentences of *O Roma felix*, instead of the Roman, tridentine 4.	Very different from Ávila. Very similar to print setting.
Veni creator spiritus 53v-55	Pentecost, *Veni creator spiritus*, (149-52)	'very different' from print setting	Similar to Ávila in the first few bars, then evolves into very different setting.
Pange lingua 55v-57	SS Justus and Pastor – *Ecce Justus, ecce Pastor* (71-76) Corpus Christi – *Pange lingua* (167-170)	'very different' from print setting	Very different setting. Only the melody is common to both sources. (Coimbra is very similar to print, despite *tempus imperfectum*)

[391] In Ávila, the first strophe of each hymn only is copied. Comparison with the similarities of each setting between Avila and N283 are made by T.THOMAS, 1990, '239-41 and R. SNOW, 1992, 474-77.

What we find through Thomas's work is then essentially a research on the variants of these hymns, and also how the copying in later sources could be adapted, both in terms of their text, the evolution of style (in the case of Ávila, the alterations made by Navarro for his print) and of the choice of which settings to copy for a certain feast (which, as demonstrated, did not have to correspond with the settings of N283). What Thomas does not look at – probably due to his unawareness of the Coimbra source – is how to approach a copy of which a section (one full strophe) is completely different from any in the print. The first question to be raised in this case is, therefore: are these *unica* settings by Navarro or by another composer? And are both these *unica* strophes by the same composer or by different ones? Through my analysis of these strophes, against the background of the hymns which are concordant with the 1590 print, I propose that these two strophes are by two different composers, neither of whom is Navarro.

The table below summarizes some of the main aspects related to cadences and to the treatment of dissonance in the Coimbra strophes which are concordant with the prints and with the ones which are not.[392] These present significant differences, especially in the type of suspension, the filling – or bareness – of the fifth and in other features such as the presence, or not, of parallel fifths. The features in the *unica* strophes show more archaic traits which are not found in the settings by Navarro. In the second strophe of *Jesu redemptor*, one of the most striking features is the frequent occurrence of bare fifths, especially in b. 34 and the beginning of b. 35, whereas only one is found in the second strophe of *Salutis humanae*. The latter uses 7th suspension much more frequently than the former, where we mainly find (with some exceptions) 4th suspension.

[392] The five hymns by Navarro in P-Cs LC s/c are transcribed (with commentary and critical notes) in Appendix III.

Table 3.8: Analysis of *unica* strophes in the hymns by Navarro copied in P-Cs LC s/c

NAVARRO STROPHES CONCORDANT WITH THE PRINT - OVERALL VIEW
• Dissonances: very controlled, uncontroversial. • Frequent use of suspension in cadences, especially 4 – 3 • Usually the full triad is used (except in final chord of cadence) • Some use of cambiata in cadential context: *Jesu redemptor* b. 11 (A) and 13 (S); *Decora lux*, b. 40, (A); *Pange lingua*, b. 5 (T) *Unusual 'consonant fourth', in *Jesu redemptor*, b. 14 – not found in the other four hymns
***UNICA* STROPHES**
***Jesu redemptor*:** • Suspensions: mostly 4 – 3. Also, suspension 4 – 3 and 7 – 6, b. 55 and suspension 9 – 8, b. 59-60 • Bare fifth: b. 26, second beat, b. 34 and beginning of 35 – this one in particular, with two successive semibreve and one minim, *tempora*; b. 37, first two beats; b. 40, first beat; b. 46, third beat; b. 51, third beat; b. 53, third beat; b. 56, fourth beat • Barely avoided parallel fifths: b. 33 and b. 35 • Cambiata, b. 52 (T)
Salutis humanae sator: • Dissonances: not prepared and reached by leap, b. 41[393]; mi contra fa, b. 41 • Suspensions: double suspension 7 – 6 and 4 – 3, b. 37; suspension 7 – 8, b. 41; suspension 7 – 6, b. 42; double suspension 4 - 3 and 2 - 3, b. 49; suspension 9 – 8 b. 51; suspension 2 – 3, b. 53; 9 – 8, b. 58 • Bare fifth: b. 39, 1st beat • Parallel fifths: b. 38 • Cambiata: b. 39 (A); b. 45-6 (S)

This means that one process used in the late copying of this repertory – other than the alterations of text or feast, or more or less striking musical variants – could be the addition of material by other composers in sections of a certain setting. In the case of this Vesperal, the above-mentioned archaic features of this added material seem to indicate that these were not newly-composed strophes but rather re-used settings from compositions far earlier than the date of this manuscript's copying.

The study of these settings in the Vesperal of Santa Cruz reinforces Navarro's statute as a 'canonical' composer in the seventeenth-century Peninsula; it adds to the dissemination of this composer's hymns; it shows an unusual approach to the alternatim performance of

[393] Although the e in the Bassus and the g in the tenor are passing notes.

hymns and it also reveals yet another facet in this (highly flexible) process of hymn copying and preservation: the mixing of musical material of different authorships, origins and dates by its juxtaposition in one same setting. Although it is not a unique case[394] it is, however, certainly not a common procedure: it provides further evidence of this practice and it brings a whole new relevance to the Coimbra source.

Hymns can, as already stated, be approached from many different perspectives. The two main features which this section of the dissertation has mainly highlighted are, on the one hand, how this genre is one of the best examples of the permanence of a certain repertory and, on the other, how it also constitutes fertile ground to explore the dichotomy of localism vs conformity to Rome.[395] The contradiction between the adoption of the Roman texts (and in the case of the Cartapácios not even that) and then deciding locally on almost everything else, shows just how subjective the interpretation of what 'compliance with Rome' was – despite the need for this compliance being so heavily emphasized in liturgical books such as Ceremonials, for example, and seen in the reformation of chant books in the 1570s. The application of the reformed texts to local melodies or to pre-existent settings, the mixing of (originally) different settings creating a unique new hymn,

[394] The setting of *Ave maris stella* in E-Sc 2, for example, is identified in the 1724 Sevillian inventory as being by both Guerrero and Ceballos ('In festo Beatae Mariae. Ave maris stella. Guerrero y Ceballos'). In fact, whereas strophe 2 of this setting and two (of the four) voices of strophe 4 are concordant with Guerrero's *Liber Vesperarum*, the remaining two voices of this strophe 4 and all four voices of strophe 6 are not – which, by exclusion, makes Ruiz Jiménez think they are probably by Ceballos, as indeed is indicated in the inventory – although none of the latter ones are concordant with the *Ave maris stella* by Ceballos surviving in P-VV MJ 8. J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 112. In this case, there would be juxtaposition not only of strophes of different origins but also of voices. In the case of Seville, Ruiz Jiménez's conclusions are derived essentially from the information on the inventory and the concordance with the print. In Coimbra, after establishing the concordance with the Navarro's print, my conclusions were derived from the analysis of the musical material. In E-Sc 16, in the hymn *Regis indigni*, to St Hermenegild, a strophe (strophe number 5) was added in the eighteenth century to the single strophe by Alonso Lobo (strophe number 3) originally copied in 1607. J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2007, and GONZÁLEZ BARRIONUEVO, 2017, attribute this second strophe to chapel master Gaspar de Úbeda.

[395] The reforms in liturgical hymns obviously took place in different ways and with different motivations in different places and type of institutions throughout Europe. Daniel Zager explores the motivation of Wilhelm V in adopting the new hymns required by the 1568 Breviary in his court, which resulted in Orlando di Lasso's Tridentine hymn cycle preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Mus. Ms. 55). Daniel ZAGER, 'Lasso's cycle of polyphonic Latin hymns', *Orlando di Lasso Studies*, Peter Bergquist, ed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 41-63.

the addition of parts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, show that the degree and format of this conformity to Rome seem then to have been individually arranged by each institution according to their own terms. Rome itself, by not producing any musical reference for the Office allowed for this individuality and the expansion of the Hispanic calendar not long after the adoption of the Tridentine Breviary promoted, in a way, these different forms of localism.

The topic of polyphonic Iberian hymns, even within well-defined chronological frames, could quite easily be the subject of a whole academic dissertation. The section of this chapter dedicated to them is part of a broader theme, and for this reason it approaches it in a far more superficial manner than the subject itself deserves. Musicological research, overall, is still very much at a 'scratching-the-surface' phase on the subject of hymns, as with so many of other issues related to Iberian Vespers music. This is well demonstrated in the lack of theoretical studies and published musical editions, which is then reflected in the lack of recordings and live performances of this repertory. Polyphonic hymns are among the finest settings produced by composers in the Iberian region. Many of their features make them unique, not only from the lack of any (so far) known concordances in numerous settings, but from their own exclusive characteristics, so often specific to a single cathedral or monastery. They are, therefore, an essential part not only in a study of polyphonic Vespers, but indeed of the musical production of any religious Iberian institution or of its musical sources.

3.3. MAGNIFICAT

The liturgical significance of the Magnificat made it a crucial moment at Vespers, that is, a climactic point in this service, with the consequent musical investment which it implied. Robert Stevenson points out that 'Not all the principal Spanish composers wrote masses.

All did compose Magnificats'.[396] In fact, in addition to the printed editions listed in Table 1.1[397] we equally find examples of manuscript Magnificats by Spanish composers. From the late fifteenth – early sixteenth century we find the settings by Peñalosa, and the Magnificats by Pedro do Porto, no longer extant but documented in Sevillian inventories. These also list Magnificats by Pedro Hernandez, (chapel master in Seville between 1514-68). From the second half of this century we find the fifteen settings by Andrés de Torrentes preserved in Toledan sources. From the seventeenth century, there are extant polychoral settings by Carlos Patiño and the (no longer extant but documented) settings of Jalón and Xuaréz in Seville and the numerous documented settings by Toledan chapel master Pedro de Ardanaz. In the Portuguese scenario, we also find manuscript polyphonic Magnificat settings by composers such as Vasco Pires (chapel master of the cathedral of Coimbra, fl. 1491-1509) and Pedro de Cristo. Among the composers linked to the cathedral of Évora who did get their works printed (Cardoso, Lobo and Magalhães), all did write masses, but equally all wrote full cycles of Magnificat settings, even if none of them wrote a book of music for Vespers. Equally from the early seventeenth century we find the settings by the above-mentioned Morago and, already from the 1650s, the extant works of João Lourenço Rebelo, both in printed and in manuscript sources.[398]

[396] R. STEVENSON, 1961, 299.
[397] In this table with all the printed editions which include Vespers repertory by Iberian composers published between 1545-1700, we see that every single composer listed there produced at least one edition of either Magnificat cycles, individual settings, or both.
[398] The printed settings are included in his 1657 *Psalmi tum Vesperarum*, a four-voice sixth-tone Magnificat found in the above-mentioned Coimbra Vesperal, also in P-VV J 18 and a four voice first-tone Magnificat in P-Em and P-EVc3. There are no extant masses by Rebelo, even though it is known that many of his works were lost in the Lisbon earthquake of 1755.

3.3.1. Magnificat in a liturgical context

One aspect of the Magnificat which remains, still nowadays very little discussed, is its multifunctional aspect, both within a liturgical context (both at Vespers and other services), but also in a completely secular one. The role of the Magnificat, especially in the Renaissance, outgrew the boundaries of its original place (at Vespers) and stimulated creativity in other contexts.

Within churches, the possibilities for the performance of the Magnificat varied, in its most standard and basic form, according to the even or odd-verse alternatim scheme. The singers alternated with the organ and/or other instruments. In the case of the alternatim with the organ, we have more detailed evidence for how this type of alternatim worked – especially regarding musical sources – than with the *ministriles* participation. It is possible to find archival, theoretical and musical sources, all giving some clues for this participation.[399] From as early as the mid-sixteenth century, Juan Bermudo wrote on how the organ should provide the tone for psalms and the Magnificat, in his *Declaración de Instrumentos Musicales* (1555).[400] Apart from that, several composers left printed collections for the keyboard which include instrumental verses for the alternatim with this canticle. This is the case with António de Cabezón (1510-66), whose posthumously published *Obras de música para tecla, harpa y vihuela* includes 'versos de Magnificat' in different tones.[401] The organ collection *Flores de Música*, published in 1620 by Manuel Rodrigues Coelho includes a collection of Magnificat verses, in all eight tones, 'para se cantar ao órgão'. These should alternate with singing alone, either in chant, *fabordón* or

[399] B. NELSON, 1987, 193-232 and K. KREITNER 2003 and 2009.
[400] J. BERMUDO, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*, fol lxxxv^{v}. This would have, nevertheless, been meant for chant and not polyphonic Magnificats.
[401] Antonio de CABÉZON, *Obras de música para tecla, harpa y vihuela* (Madrid: Francisco Sanchez, 1578).

canto de organo.[402] This is also one of the few examples of published Portuguese Vespers music for a soloist with instrumental accompaniment, which was becoming more common from the end of the sixteenth century.[403] From the seventeenth century, two manuscript collections of works for the keyboard include, among a great variety of pieces, some verses for the Magnificat (concordant in both sources). One, entitled *Livro de obras de orgão juntas pella coriosidade do P.P.FR. Roque da Cõceição* and dated 1695 is preserved in the Biblioteca Pública of Porto (P-Pm M 1607) and the other (P-Brp Ms 964) is a collation of a series of originally loose quires and folios, bound possibly around 1750, with works for the keyboard. The earliest section of this manuscript would have been copied around 1610-20.[404]

The Magnificat, as the canticle of Mary, was inextricably associated, on the one hand, with the feasts of the Virgin, and on the other with the services celebrated on her day: Saturday. Most Ceremonials refer to the Mass of the Virgin usually celebrated on that day, but in the monastery of El Escorial, a particular celebration took place every Saturday, where the Magnificat was sung before the end of this weekly Mass, with the organ. The participation of the organ at this time was only meant for very specific occasions – Sundays, double and semi-double feasts – which shows the significance of its participation in this moment.[405] The singing and playing of the Magnificat at Vespers

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[402] '… all the eight tones, to be sung with accompaniment, each verse almost always in five parts; however, when it is the turn of singing [chant], instruments are not played/ todos os oyto tõs, pera cantarem acompanhado cada verso quasi sempre a cinco, porém à vez que se canta não se tange /' Manuel RODRIGUES COELHO, *Flores de Mvsica pera o instrumento de Tecla & Harpa* (Lisbon: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1620). Accessible online at http://purl.pt/68. Translation into English provided by J.P. d'ALVARENGA, 2015, 12.

[403] Just as it happened with psalms, as discussed in the corresponding section above.

[404] P-Pm M 1607 is available online at http://arquivodigital.cm-porto.pt/Conteudos/Conteudos_BPMP/MM-43/MM-43.htm. Modern editions of selected works from both these manuscripts are part of the Portugaliae Musicae collection. Klaus SPEER, *Livro de obras de órgão* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1967) and Gerhard DODERER, *Obras selectas para órgão: Ms 964 da Biblioteca Pública de Braga* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1974).

[405] 'Also, on the eve of Epiphany and Pentecost and on Holy Saturday, [the organ] plays the Gloria and the other [rubrics] just as on Sundays, and on Saturdays it plays the Magnificat which is said before the end of Mass/ Item en la vigilia de la Epihania y de Penthecostes, y el sabbado sancto, tañe a la gloria y los demas como los domingos, y el sabbado tañe a la magnificat q[ue] se dize antes de acabar la missa.' *Libro de las*

could also, on certain feasts and in certain religious institutions, constitute only a part of its performance. Dramatizations of the text could take place, using specific verses to emphasise a given meaning, related to each different feast.[406]

a) Texture and combination of voices

Although some sources, musical, textual and theoretical, show evidence of Magnificat settings in *fabordón*, the most common polyphonic Magnificat settings from the mid-sixteenth century onwards would be the ones in four-voice *canto de organo*. This is made quite clear not only from the musical sources and the inventories of religious institutions but also from Ceremonials or contemporary descriptions of musical scenes.[407]

The seventeenth century brought (just as with psalms) significant changes in style for the Magnificat. The four-voice choirbook-format collections started being replaced with loose sheets of paper and with settings composed by musicians in local individual institutions. These new settings multiplied the number of voices and added parts specifically written for instruments. Printed editions started to reflect these same characteristics.

The sheer number of Iberian Magnificat settings in polychoral style – mostly, again, still almost completely unexplored by musicological research – shows how this was a crucial part in the musical celebration of Vespers at this time, and how this genre underwent

costumbres (Archivo General del Palacio Real, Madrid - MS legajo 137). Chapter on when the organ should participate in liturgy, 'Organo se tañe', fols 85-8. This excerpt is transcribed by M. NOONE, 1998; Louis JAMBOU, 'La función del organo en los oficios litúrgicos del Monasterio de El Escorial a finales del siglo XVI', *Actas del simposium La Música en el Monasterio del Escorial* (El Escorial, 1992), 391-426, at 417, and E. ROLDÁN, *Pure Gold*, 2011, 216. Although the latter provides an English translation for this text, the current one is mine.

[406] Specific examples of this and their instructions as given in Ceremonials are discussed in Chapter 4.

[407] One particularly good example is an early seventeenth-century Ceremonial written by Toledo cathedral's *racionero* Chaves Arcayos. On (the multiple) occasions when a Magnificat *a canto de organo* is required, this specific expression is used. More on this Ceremonial is discussed in Chapter 4.

modernisation. The above-mentioned musical catalogue of King D. João IV includes no fewer than 60 polychoral settings, more than half (above 60 percent) by Iberian composers or composers working mainly in the Iberian Peninsula. The inventories and catalogues of *música a papeles* from the study-case institutions confirm this tendency, as seen in the previous chapter.

The most common voice combination is still SSAT-SATB, although not quite to the same predominant level which we find in psalms. This is the combination we find in the two settings of the Coimbra's Cartapácios.[408] In MM 18, Pedro de Cristo's setting is SATB-SATB (although using a four-voice SSAT for verse 5, 'Et misercordia') and also in the incomplete anonymous setting in MM 48. Nearly half of the settings of El Escorial use the combination SSAT-SATB, but we do find more variety in the choice of voices. The main tendency, nevertheless, is the one of a contrasting upper-voice choir, and one (or more) SATB choirs. [409]

The polychoral Magnificat settings found in the catalogue of the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna show that the tendency is similar to the voice arrangement of psalms: SATB-SATB, as shown in the table below.[410]

[408] The clefs which we find in the Coimbra's psalms for this voice combination are the same as the ones used in these Magnificat settings.
[409]. Examples of this are found in Table 2.16. The second choir is consistently SATB, whereas in the first choir we find a variety of combinations, from SATB to SS; SA; ST; SST; SAT or S solo.
[410] Many of the polychoral Magnificat settings were published with psalms and other genres. This table collects the settings which are not already included in the table with voice combinations for psalms.

Table 3.9: Magnificat voice combinations in Italian printed sources

NR	COMPOSER AND WORK	RISM	PARTS
1	Bellazi, Francesco da Vigevano, *Messa, motetti… con una Messa, Magnificat*… (Venice: Gardano, 1622)	B/I: 1622-04	SATB - SATB
2	Camaterò di Negri, Ippolito, *Li Magnificat a otto, a noue, & a dodeci voci*… (Venice: Gerolamo Scotto, 1595)	A/I: C 0281	SATB – SATB[411]
3	Cozzi, Carlo di Parabiago, *Messa e salmi correnti… a otto voci… con un Domine, Dixit, Magnificat*… (Milan: Camagno/Rolla, 1649)	B/I: 1649-05	SATB – SATB
4	Gallerano, Leandro di Brescia, *Messa e salmi a octo voci, con vn Dixit et Magnificat concertati*… (Venice: Gardano, 1625)	A/I: G 0157	SATB – SATB – B.C.
5	Ghizzolo, Giovanni, Messe, *Motetti, Magnificat…* (Milan: Lomazzo, 1613)	A/I: G 1786	SATB – SATB – B.C.
6	Grancini, Michel'Angelo, *Varii Concerti a otto voci di Messe, Motetti, et Magnificat*… (Milan, Camagno, 1652)	A/I: G 3411	SATB – SAB – Organ
7	Mangoni, Giovanni Antonio, *Messa, Salmi, Magnificat, Motetti, Falsi bordoni, & Gloria Patri, con le Letanie della B. Vergine, a otto voci in due chori, l'uno puerile, & l'altro voci pari…* (Milan, Rolla, 1623)	A/I: M 0360	????? Organ - ?[412]
8	Milleville, Barnaba, *Vna Messa in Concerto Vn Domine ad adiuuandum, due Dixit, vn Magnificat à Otto*… (Venice: Vincenti, 1616)	A/I: M 2804	SATB – SATB – Organ
9	Mortaro, Antonio, *Messa, Salmi, Motetti, et Magnificat, a Tre Chori*… (Venice: Amadino, 1608)	A/I: M 3742 + M 3741	SSAT-SATB-SATB – 3 B.C.
10	Savetta, Antonio da Lodi, *Magnificat per omnes tonos, primurn Septenis, Reliqus verò Octonis Vocibus…* (Venice: Raverio, 1608)	A/I: S 1104	SATB – SATB – Organ
11	Scarabelli Damiano, *Magnificat Damiani Scarabelli… Quae Quatuor, Quinque, Sex, Septem, Octo, Nouem, Decem, Vndecim, & Duodecim vocibus concinuntur* (Venice: Amadino, 1597)	A/I: S 1163	SATB – Quintus, Sextus, Septimus, Octavus

Regarding the handling of various textures within polychoral Magnificat settings, the manuscript musical sources consulted were the Cartapácios and the choirbooks from the monastery of Coimbra. Three settings from Spanish printed sources from the early

[411] Indication is not given for nine and twelve-voice settings.
[412] Indication of voices is not given. In Bologna, only Bassus from choir 1 survives.

seventeenth century were equally consulted: Vivanco's eight-voice setting of his 1607 *Liber Magnificarum* Aguilera de Heredia's eight voice setting included in his 1618 *Canticum Beatissimae Virginis* and Velasco's eight voice setting in his 1626 print. In the settings found in these sources, we find a variety of different approaches.

Vivanco's setting represents, of the examples in this sample, the only one which could clearly be put in the category of sixteenth century imitative counterpoint, with a very 'horizontal' approach to texture, which contrasts with the 'blocks of voices' found in later settings.[413] The setting opens with an imitative melodic motif (over 'anima mea') which starts on tenor 1, then is repeated by superius 1 and 'travels' through all the voices (except altus 2 and bassus 1, which 'dialogue' among themselves). This is the same treatment for all other polyphonically set verses.[414] There are never moments of complete homophony between all the voices or of 'choir I vs choir II' texture.

Aguilera de Heredia's setting is already clearly polychoral (SATB-SATB).[415] This setting explores texture and dialogue between choirs in a multiplicity of ways. Typically, the antiphonal exchanges typical of psalmody is explored every half verse. One choir sings the first half of the verse (or almost entirely the first half)[416] and the second half establishes a contrast through alternation between choirs (with some text repetition on the other choir, which usually does not occur more than once); use shorter note-values; singing of all eight voices (tutti) but using imitative counterpoint instead of homophony

[413] This is probably why in his edition, Bruno Turner chose to score this work as S1; S2; A1; A2, etc (and not as SATB-SATB), which reflects this texture very clearly. B. TURNER, ed. *Magnificat SSAATTBB (tone 8)*, Mapa mundi, series A: Spanish church music 18 (Lochs: Vanderbeek & Imrie, 1978). The original Vivanco's print is available online at http://contrapunto.uva.es/fuentes-musicales

[414] In verse 5, 'Et misericordia', the texture is reduced to four voices, which (again) present an opening motive imitated in pairs (superius and alto/ tenor and bassus).

[415] The modern edition of this Magnificat is included in Barton HUDSON, ed, *Sebastian Aquilera* [sic]: *Drei Magnificat für 4, 5 und 8 Stimmen* (Wolfenbüttel: Möseler Verlag, 1969). This edition is currently available online via the Bodleian Library online catalogue (through Hathitrust).

[416] Except verse 1, entirely sung by choir 1 and verse 5, where choir 1 sings the first third of the verse. Usually choir I begins, except in verses 7, 8, and 11 ('Gloria patri') where choir II begins.

(verses 8 and 9). These are frequently used towards the very end of each verses, in a clear attempt at climax. Another way of establishing contrast is also (in the second half of verse 10) through changes in mensuration (going from C to)

The eight-voice Magnificat setting in Velasco's above-mentioned print shows a much quicker alternation between choirs with repetition of the same cells of text between them (with the exception of verses 1 and 7, fully performed by choir I only).[417] Specific words are highlighted by short note values sung homophonically.

The setting in P-Cug MM 243 shows, on several occasions, the contrast between one single voice (superius 1 in 'Et exultavit' and tenor 2 in 'Fecit potentiam') singing the chant tone in long note values while the remaining voices sing the same text in short note values, many times in homophonic texture. The (incomplete) setting of MM 48 and the one in Cartapácio MM 49 show an extremely quick alternation between choirs within one same verse, which usually starts with the upper choir.

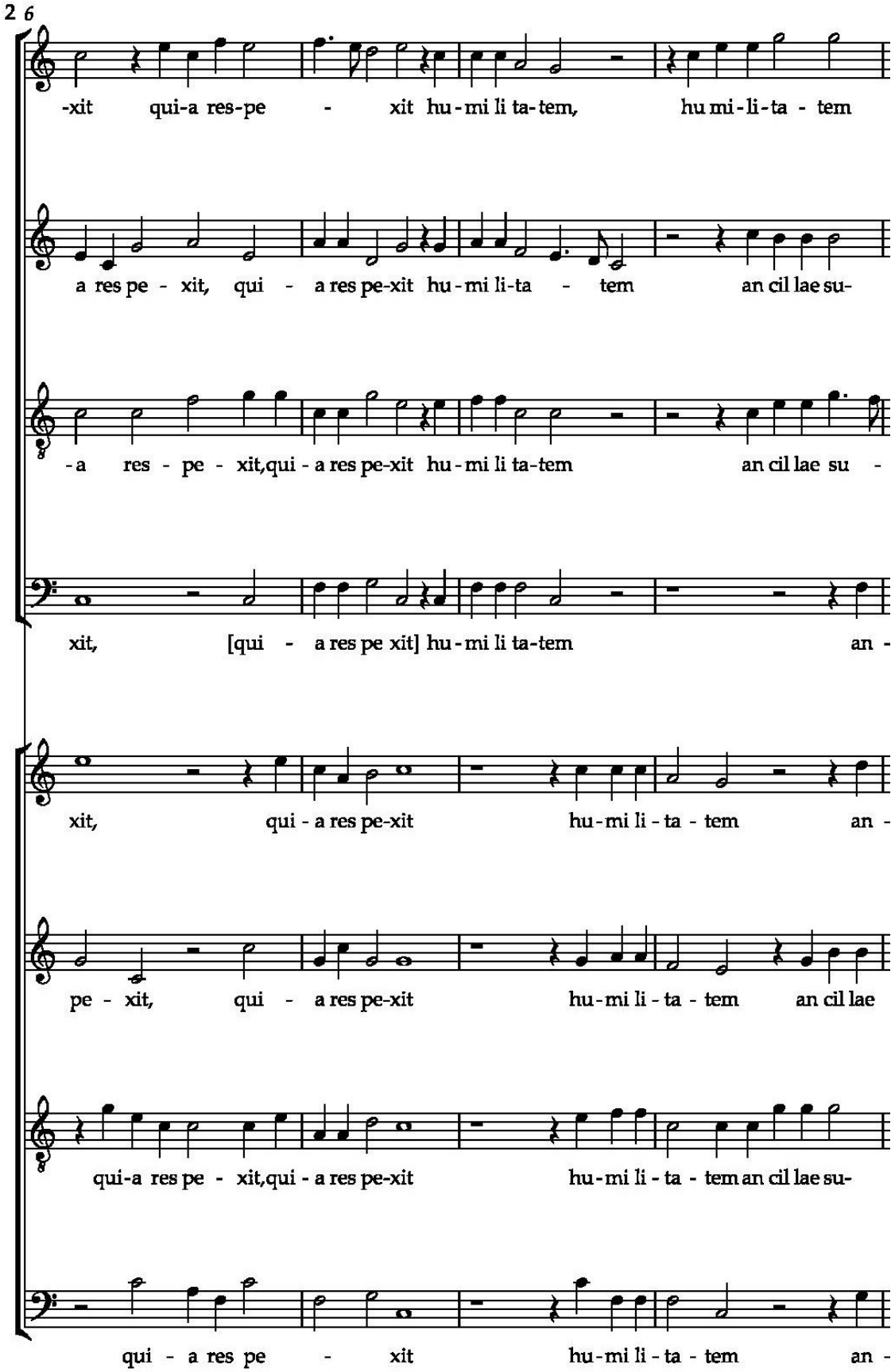
In Pedro's de Cristo's setting in MM 18 we find, within one the same verse, moments of alternation between choirs with the repetition of text (almost all sections of text in this odd-verse setting are repeated at least once).[418] One striking aspect is the amount of repetition of text. Almost every phrase of the text, in every verse, is repeated. This can happen in one same choir (or same voice) or between choirs – to the point of almost creating an 'interruption', where one choir is just finishing a word and the other one is already starting it (as can be seen in the example below). Emphasis of a certain word or

[417] All the verses of this Magnificat are polyphonically set.
[418] As demonstrated in J. ABREU, 2002, 198, where he schematically represents the textual cells sung either by choir I, choir II or both.

phrase (‘anima mea’; ‘humilitatem’; ‘exaltavit’) is also made by homophony (in either one choir or in tutti sections) and on short note values.

Musical example 7: ‘Quia respexit’, Pedro de Cristo, P-Cug MM 18, fols 53v-54




2 6
-xit qui-a res-pe - xit hu-mi li ta-tem, hu mi-li-ta - tem
a res pe - xit, qui - a res pe-xit hu-mi li-ta - tem an cil lae su-
-a res - pe - xit,qui - a res pe-xit hu-mi li ta-tem an cil lae su -
xit, [qui - a res pe xit] hu-mi li ta-tem an -
xit, qui - a res pe-xit hu-mi li - ta - tem an -
pe - xit, qui - a res pe-xit hu-mi li - ta - tem an cil lae
qui-a res pe - xit,qui - a res pe-xit hu-mi li - ta - tem an cil lae su-
qui - a res pe - xit hu-mi li - ta - tem an -

b) Choice of tone and alternatim scheme: revising Sargent's and Thomas's accounts

In his 2009 dissertation, Joseph Sargent claims that, regarding the Spanish polyphonic Magnificat, 'not all tones are created equal'.[419] Consulting four sixteenth-century Antiphoners – one Roman (1548), two from Zaragoza (a 1598 Temporal and a 1596 sanctoral) and one from Granada (1508) – Sargent notes that most first-class feasts implied Magnificat antiphons from the first, third, sixth and eighth tones. This would necessarily imply polyphonic settings of the Magnificat mostly in these tones, since the most important feasts would be celebrated with polyphonic settings of this canticle. The author even goes as far as saying that this has implications in terms of style, and that Magnificat settings in these 'privileged' tones have stylistic differences and 'distinctive musical elements lacking in other tones'. Sargent defines his theory as the 'normative practice', to which some occasional exceptions would be applied.[420]

On the subject of the Magnificat settings of Juan Navarro, and on the fact that the composer composed a full cycle of eight tones in odd-verse settings and only one even-verse setting, Timothy Thomas gives as possible explanations that even-verse Magnificat settings were possibly left for second Vespers and, from that point of view, Navarro would mostly have invested his efforts and greater compositional skills for the more lavishly celebrated first Vespers.[421]

In the current dissertation, the case-studies which had a most significant sample of extant and documented Magnificat settings (other than the printed editions with the standard

[419] J. SARGENT, 2009, 21. The same author writes, in 2018, specifically on the Magnificat settings by Miguel Navarro. In this article, the author mistakenly names the sources for these settings, naming the Tarazona sources E-TZ 1 and 2, instead of the correct Pamplona ones: E-PAMc 1 and 2 (p. 21). In the dissertation, these sources are correctly mentioned. In his 2018 article, Sargent also does not mention which sources (if the print, manuscripts, or both) are used to elaborate the tables on p. 25. Joseph SARGENT, 'Miguel Navarro and the Spanish Renaissance Magnificat', *Revista de Musicología* 41/1 (2018), 17-39.
[420] J. SARGENT, 2009, 21-23.
[421] T. THOMAS, 1990, 165.

sixteen odd and even-verse in all eight tones) are Toledo and Santa Cruz. In neither of these two, the scenario corresponds (to a full degree, at least) to the theories and even the examples proposed by these authors.

The tables below represent the polyphonic Magnificat settings in sixteenth and seventeenth-century sources. Where concordances exist, they are both put in the same cell of the table (subdivided and highlighted in grey) and naturally count as only one setting. Italic font is used in those cases where the setting no longer exists, but it is possible to know of its tone and/or verse scheme through original *tabula* or through their listing in historical inventories.

Table 3.10: Polyphonic Magnificat tones in Toledan polyphonic sources

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**
E-Tc 4 1v-7	E-Tc 4 13v-19	E-Tc 4 26v-32	E-Tc 4 38v-44	E-Tc 4 50v-56	E-Tc 4 62v-66	E-Tc 4 74v-80	E-Tc 4 86v-92
odd	odd	odd	odd	odd	odd	odd	odd
E-Tc 4 7v-12	E-Tc 4 19v-26	E-Tc 4 32v-38	E-Tc 4 44v-50	E-Tc 4 56v-62	E-Tc 4 68v-74	E-Tc 4 80v-86	E-Tc 4 92v-99
even	even	even	even	even	even	even	even
E-Tc 6 107v-114	E-Tc 6 120v-127	E-Tc 6 137-141	E-Tc 6 149v-153	E-Tc 12 83v-90	E-Tc 12 90v-97	E-Tc 12 97v-101	E-Tc 12 101v-04
odd	odd	even	even	even	odd	odd	odd
E-Tc 6 114v-120	E-Tc 6 127v-134	E-Tc 6 141v-148	E-Tc 6 154v-159[422]	E-Tc 18 1v-7 (1)[423]	*E-Tc 18 52v-58 (2)*	E-Tc 18 30v-36 (1)	E-Tc 18 7v-13 (2)
even	even	odd	odd	odd	*?*	odd	even
E-Tc 12 62v-68	E-Tc 12 68v-74	E-Tc 12 74v-77	E-Tc 12 77v-83	E-Tc 18 7v-14 (1)	*E_Tc 18 58v-67 (2)*	E-Tc 18 102v-108 E-Tc 34 102v-108 (3)	E-Tc 30 89v-95
odd	odd	odd	odd	even	*?*	odd	odd

[422] As pointed out by Carlos Gutierrez Cajaraville, 'Bernardino de Ribera's compositional summary', *Fontes Artis Musicae* 63/2 (2016), 89-99 at 94, the eight odd and even-verse Magnificat settings by Ribera make us think that this is only the first half of a complete sixteen-setting cycle, although the other settings, if extant, have not been found anywhere yet.

[423] E-Tcs 18 and 34 have several foliations, as explained in Chapter 2. The numbers in brackets correspond to each of these. E-Tc 18 has several folios missing from the original manuscript (choirbook 1543c) but Noone and Skinner, and also Kenneth Kreitner have been able to reconstruct its contents through the source's original index. The foliations in italic indicate settings that are no longer extant. See NOONE and SKINNER, 'Toledo Cathedral's Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks…', 142 and Kenneth KREITNER, 'Two early Magnificat settings' in *Morales: Sources. Influence. Reception*, 23-24.

E-Tc 18 1v-7 (2)	E-Tc 34 109v-114 (1)	*E-Tc 18 89v-95 (2)*	E-Tc 18 32v-38 (2)	E-Tc 34 26v-32 (2)	E-Tc 18 102 E-Tc 34 95v-102 (3)	E-Tc 18 108v-114 (2) E-Tc 34 108v-114 (3)	E-Tc 30 95v-101
eve	odd	*even?*	even	odd	even	even	even
E-Tc 18 19v-26 (2)	E-Tc 34 7v-14 (2)	E-Tc 18 114	*E-Tc 18 67v-74 (2)*	E-Tc 34 32v-39 (2)	E-Tc 34 39v-45 (2)	E-Tc Re.23 7v-18	E-Tc 34 52v-58 (4)
odd	even	even	*?*	even	odd	odd	odd
E-Tc 18 32 (2)		E-Tc 34 114v-120 (1)	*E-Tc 18 74v-83 (2)*	E-Tc Re. 23 222v-228	E-Tc 34 45v-51 (2)	*Inv. 1793 10vv*	E-Tc 34 58v-64 (4) + E-Tc 25 55
odd		even	*even?*	even	even	*?*	even
E-Tc 18 38v-40v (2) E-Tc 34 104v-109 (1)		E-Tc 34 14v-20 (2)	*E-Tc 18 83v-89 (2)*	*Inv. 1793 16vv + shawms*	E-Tc Re.23 183v- 194		E-Tc Re.23 45v-52
odd		odd	*even?*	*?*	odd		even
E-Tc 18 46v-52 (2)		E-Tc 34 114 (3)	E-Tc 30 76v-82		*Inv. 1793 14vv*		*Inv. 1793 8vv*
?		even	odd		*?*		*?*
E-Tc 30 65v-71		E-Tc Re.23 173v-179	E.Tc 30 82v-89		*Inv. 1793 12vv*		*Inv. 1793 8vv*
odd		even	even		*?*		*?*
E-Tc 30 71v-76		*Inv. 1793 8vv*	E-Tc 34 120v-126 (1)				*Inv. 1793 8vv*
even		*?*	even				*?*
E-Tc 34 1v-7 (2)			E-Tc 34 20v-26 (2)				
even			odd				
E-Tc Re.23 89v-95			E-Tc Re. 23 139v-145				
even			even				
E-Tc Re.23 261v-267			*Inv. 1713 8vv*				
even			*?*				
Inv. 1713 14vv			*Inv. 1713 8vv*				
?			*?*				
			Inv. 1713 8vv				
			?				

Table 3.11: Polyphonic Magnificat tones in polyphonic sources from Santa Cruz

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
MM 8 1v-8	MM 6 40v-45	MM 6 33v-39 MM 32 75v-81	MM 8 20v-26	MM 8 26v-32	MM 6 46v-49	MM 8 38v-44	MM 6 52v-53v
odd	even	odd	odd	odd	odd	odd	odd
MM 8 52v-58	MM 8 8v-14	MM 8 14v-20	MM 12 134v-140 MM 32 69v-72	MM 12 146v-152	MM 8 32v-38	MM 36 21v-23	MM 8 44v-50
even	odd	odd	even	odd	odd	odd	odd
MM 9 115v-121 MM 32 99v-103	MM 8 58v-64	MM 9 121v-127 MM 32 72v-75	MM 12 140v-146	MM 12 159v-161	MM 12 152v-158 MM 32 81v-85		MM 12 127v-133
odd	even	odd	even	even	even		even
MM 12 121v-127 MM 32 63v-66	LC s/c 103v-106	MM 9 121v-127 MM 32 72v-75	MM 12 161v-166 MM 32 57v-60	MM 36 45v-50	MM 12 173v-179		MM 18 52v-58
odd	even	odd	odd	odd	even		odd
MM 32 97v-99			MM 12 166v-172 MM 32 60v-63	MM 70 54v-56	MM 12 180v-186		MM 31 12v-15
even			odd	odd	even		odd
MM 49 23-30			MM 32 93v-94	LC s/c 109v-112	MM 33 118v-133 MM 44 114v-120		MM 31 15v-18
odd			even	even	odd		even
MM 243 75v-79v			MM 33 82v-87 MM 44 108v-114				MM 32 85v-92
even			odd				odd
LC s/c 84v-89			LC s/c 89v-93				MM 44 126v-132
odd			odd				odd
LC s/c 98v-103			LC s/c 115v-118				MM 48 21v-22
odd			odd				odd
LC s/c 106v-109							MM 53 37v-39
even							odd
							MM 70 65-66
							odd
							MM 70 66v-67v
							odd

							LC s/c 93v-98
							odd
							LC s/c 112v-115
							even

Although in both cases it is possible to see the predominance of certain tones – the above-mentioned first, third, sixth and eighth, the prevalence of Magnificat settings in tone 4, in both institutions, is quite evident and contrasting with the picture presented by Sargent and the number of occasions when these would be required as stated in Granada, Rome, and Zaragoza's Antiphoners. Sargent links tone 4 Magnificat antiphons (and consequently the Magnificat settings) with two specific feasts related to female figures: Common of Virgins and (only in Zaragoza) Our Lady of Snows. These two feasts alone would, however, not explain the number of tone 4 Magnificat settings which in Toledo, for example, surpasses – in relation to some tones, by quite a fair amount – all the other tones. In Santa Cruz, tone 4 is also very strongly present in manuscript sources and tone 8 – usually associated with second Vespers according to the above-mentioned Antiphoners – is much more used than all the others (for example for the eight-voice anonymous setting in MM 48 and the eight-voice setting by Pedro de Cristo in MM 18). Unlike Toledo, the sources from Santa Cruz include very few Magnificat settings in tone 3.[424]

The tables above do include Magnificat settings which are much later than the Antiphoners given by Sargent as examples (almost all pre-Tridentine). This lack of

[424] The 'versos de Magnificat' in Antonio de Cabezón's *Obras de música para tecla, harpa y vihuela* include verses for the organ which would be alternated with sung verses. Whereas for some tones (1, 4, 6, 7 and 8) Cabezón wrote seven verses (which implies the six alternatim verses plus an extra verse which could – according to different researchers – be either an instrumental prelude or postlude to the Magnificat), for others (tones 2, 3 and 5) he wrote six verses. The latter fall into the category, in both Toledo and Santa Cruz, of 'less privileged' tones. The choice of Cabezón of not adding an extra verse to these tones, might be related to the fact that they would be used less often or in less high-ranking feasts.

correspondence with the examples given by Sargent would imply, however, considerable alterations in the choice of tones for Magnificat antiphons after the Council of Trent. This seems unlikely, given the already-mentioned lack of a musical reference from Rome regarding music, especially for the Office. Unfortunately, no Antiphoner from Santa Cruz survives. In Toledo, there was not an 'Antiphonarium Toletanum' as such from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and the clues come, then, from the chant sources, a great number of which were photographed by Michael Noone and Graeme Skinner.[425]

Regarding odd and even-verse settings, whereas the odd-verse Magnificat settings are predominant in Santa Cruz (more than the double of even-verse settings: 38 against 18) the same does not apply in Toledo, where even-verses actually surpass odd-verse Magnificats. One could claim (as Timothy Thomas does, based on the introductory pages Esquivel's print of 1613) that these even-verse Magnificat settings were reserved for second Vespers.[426] A comparative analytical study has not been made however, of odd versus even verse Magnificat settings by Iberian composers, which might confirm or refute that what is claimed by Esquivel himself to be the general rule. Seville, for example, contradicts what is stated by Esquivel. In its very informative 1724 inventory, the copyist, Muñoz de Monserrat, classifies the collection of Aguilera de Heredia's Magnificat settings (item 31 on this inventory), by liturgical celebration, with four odd-verse works (in tones 1, 3, 6 and 8) meant for Second Vespers of the highest-ranking feasts.[427]

[425] This information was given to me by Bruno Turner, in an email exchange in December 2020. Bruno very kindly offered, at the time, to verify his (many) photos of Toledan chant sources, see which tones were prescribed for Magnificat antiphons in high-ranking feasts and confirm whether they matched (or not) this pattern of predominance of certain tones. A few weeks later I learnt from his son that Bruno was having some health issues and would therefore have to interrupt this work, which was never achieved. I do thank Bruno for his (very) quick reply and for his kind offer.
[426] T. THOMAS, 1990, 165.
[427] E-Sc sección 0, libro 11157, fol 20. Transcribed in J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2007 and SUAREZ MARTOS, 2006.

Generalisations, regarding any liturgical musical genre, its performance, what settings are chosen, their greater textural complexity or lack of it, either in the pre or post-Tridentine period, can prove to be, on occasion, error-prone, and despite some more general trends which certainly do exist, the idea of a 'global picture' or of a 'normative' way of writing the Magnificat, the scenario presented by Sargent (and, in a way, by Thomas) does not correspond to reality.

c) The Magnificat settings of Cristóbal de Morales

The polyphonic Magnificat settings of Morales constitute, within the production of Vespers music by Renaissance Iberian composers, a very particular case. The editorial success of this work was monumental and, as a result, it is preserved nowadays in no fewer than sixteen printed editions and fifty-seven manuscripts, spread throughout Europe, the United States and in Puebla cathedral, Mexico, with either the complete cycle or with a few selected settings.[428]

The history of these settings starts with the Scotto 1542 edition, with five completely polyphonic settings, in their papal chapel version, in which all the verses were set polyphonically. This same version is found, for all eight tones, in manuscript I-Rvat CS 21. The double series, which consists effectively in the dismembering of this collection into two sets, odd and even verses in all eight tones, was published for the first time in 1545, making it thus suitable for alternatim performance and for all institutions beyond the Cappella Pontificia. By this time, this collection was printed and circulated in partbook format, and it was only in 1562 that it was published in choirbook format.[429]

[428] For the full list, see Martin HAM, 'Worklist' in O. Rees and B. Nelson eds, 2007, List D.
[429] The mentioned printed editions are 1542^{9}, M3594-1545 and 1562^{1}, respectively.

Morales's composition of Magnificat settings starts, nevertheless, not in Italy but in Spain, before the composer's departure to Rome, as proven by two settings (and parts of others) of this canticle which survive in Spanish and Portuguese sources. 'Magnificat *Beta*'[430], in tone 1, survives full in the cathedrals of Zaragoza (E-Zac 4) and Valladolid (E-V 5) and in fragments in Toledo (E-Tc 18). A single verse of this same Magnificat (verse 9, a two-voice 'Suscepit') equally survives in two sources from the monastery of Santa Cruz (P-Cug MM 9 and MM 32).[431] Two verses of 'Magnificat *Beta*' are equally to be found in Valdebarrano's vihuela tablature *Silva de Sirenas* and one verse in Fuenllana's *Orphenica Lyra*.[432] The sixth-tone odd-verse 'Magnificat *Gamma*' survives in E-Zac 4 and E-Bbc 681.[433]

In a search for the polyphonic Vespers repertory of an Iberian religious institution, the probability of finding Magnificat settings by Cristóbal de Morales (either still extant or documented) is quite high.[434] The proof of their popularity resides not only in their multiple editions, manuscript copies and continuous performance, but also in certain stylistic characteristics, which have become a reference to other composers. Bernadette Nelson analyses some anonymous Magnificat settings found in two Portuguese polyphonic sources and identifies some 'structural, contrapuntal and thematic similarities' between these and the early Magnificats by Morales, especially the settings of his Roman series.[435] Among these similarities, Nelson emphasises the imitative style

[430] This terminology used ('Magnificat *Beta*' and '*Gamma'*) is borrowed from K. KREITNER, 2007.
[431] It is included in the copy of the Roman, odd-verse first-tone setting. The 'standard' four-voice verse is added at the very end of the setting, as an additional verse. O. REES, 1995, 182, K. KREITNER, 2007, 25 and B. NELSON, 2015,196. Both these sources are available at the PEM database.
[432] K. KREITNER, 2007 and B. NELSON, 2015.
[433] The authorship of a 'Magnificat *Alpha*' found in E-TZ 2/3 attributed in the source to a 'Morale's is still doubtful. The most recent theory comes from J.R. JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 139-40, to Seville cathedral's organist Rodrigo de Morales.
[434] It is by far the most well represent print in the sample of thirty-six institutions included in Table 2.17. All the study-case institutions possess or possessed at one point (or, in the case of Escorial, produced copies of) the full cycle of sixteen Magnificat settings of Morales.
[435] One is the above-mentioned polyphonic choirbook of Arouca and the other a polyphonic choirbook probably originating at the Benedictine monastery of Santo Tirso, in northern Portugal (P-Pm MM 40).

while simultaneously making clear allusions to the psalm tone and also the rhythmic figures used for the motifs, which reflect the accentuations of the text. [436] To these, other characteristics which we find the Magnificat settings by Morales, can be added, such as the alteration in texture, either through the reduction of the number of voices (more specifically in verse 5 for odd-verse and verse 8 for even-verse settings), or through their expansion (sometimes using canon) in the doxological verses, as we find in settings by Guerrero, Juan and Miguel Navarro or Pedro de Cristo. The canonical status which Morales unarguably gained, especially linked to the Magnificat, can be measured, therefore, not only from the many and widely spread copies (and late copies) of his settings (which we also find in other Iberian composers), but also from the fact that he defined a certain style for the writing of Magnificats, which would be followed by other composers from the following generations.[437]

3.3.2. Magnificat in an extra-liturgical context

From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, we begin to find examples of musical sources which include sections of Magnificat settings and also documentary sources which show its use outside of churches. Eva Roldán exemplifies several of these sources and the occasions when this would happen.[438] Her examples, especially regarding keyboard sources, nevertheless, can lead to conclusions which are not always completely accurate. The author states, for example, that keyboard collections which include isolated Magnificat verses (such as the tablatures of Fuenllana's *Orphenica Lyra*, and didactic methods by Gonzalo de Baena and Henestrosa) mean the use of the Magnificat in a

[436] B. NELSON, 2015. The author illustrates all the similarities found with musical examples. The author does not exclude the possibility that these anonymous settings might be compositions by Morales himself, not yet identified.
[437] An introductory study of the Magnificat settings of Guerrero was published by LLORENS CISTERÓ, 1999. Joseph SARGENT, 'Miguel Navarro and the Spanish Magnificat' (2018), looks at the style of Magnificats by this composer.
[438] E. ROLDÁN, *Pure Gold*, 2011, 210-25.

domestic environment.[439] There are, however, examples of keyboard collections with Magnificat verses very much meant for liturgical use – such as the above-mentioned Cabezón's 'versos de Magnificat' Coelho's *Flores de Música* and the manuscripts from Braga and Porto. Also, some of the sources which Roldán uses as examples of domestic use (mainly using the argument of their small size) – such as Lisbon's P-Ln CIC 60 or E-Bbc M 454 – are complex, and there is no evidence of their use in a domestic context.[440] Finally, the choice of some verses by the authors of these tablatures and didactic methods were certainly related, on the one hand, with the author's personal preferences and, on the other, with the popularity which these settings had in their original context (usually liturgical printed sources). They would not have been chosen necessarily to enable consumers to perform Magnificats, specifically, in their homes.

Marian devotion was very popular in the Iberian Peninsula and there is evidence for the recitation or singing of the Magnificat in extra-liturgical celebrations, usually associated with the feasts of Christmas, the Assumption and Corpus Christi. These performances are sometimes linked to small theatrical representations, as exemplified by Roldán. Nevertheless, while some of her examples seem quite plausible,[441] Roldán's association between the prescription of instruments in Toledo's processions for the feast of the

[439] Idem, 211.

[440] The only evidence on the Lisbon's manuscript of a location comes from one of its items of chant (a latter addition), an 'ordo ad inumandum fratrem mortuum', which shows that the source was either compiled – or at least spent some time – in a monastery. See O. REES, *Revista portuguesa de musicologia*, 1995, 53-93 and *Polyphony in Portugal*, 1995, 431-36. Both these manuscripts have been the object of several studies. P-Ln CIC 60 available online at: http://pemdatabase.eu/source/36335 E-Bbc M 454 fully indexed at: https://hispanicpolyphony.eu/es/source/13116.

[441] Such as, for example, the *Magnificat Defunctorum* found in E-VAcp 9, and the works copied next to it in this manuscript (a *Vexilla regis* and a setting of psalm *In exitu*) which do fit quite well with descriptions of an *Auto de la Asunción* performed in Elche in 1639 and quoted by Roldán and Pedrell. E. ROLDÁN, *Pure Gold*, 2011, 219 and Felipe PEDRELL 'La festa D'Elche ou le drame lyrique La Mort et Assomption de la Vierge', *Sammelbände der Internationalem Musik-Gesellschaft oo* (1901), 203-52.

Assumption around 1600 and the tablatures by Valdebarráno or Fuenllana, for example, seems somewhat forced.[442]

The blurring of boundaries between music performed in a purely liturgical context and in a popular secular one was a phenomenon not exclusive to the Magnificat and it is certainly a theme worth of further research.

3.4. BENEDICAMUS DOMINO

The approach to Renaissance polyphonic settings of the verse Benedicamus Domino is almost non-existent in musicological literature regarding Western music of this period,[443] something perhaps related to the lack of settings of this verse in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[444]

In the Iberian Peninsula, the Benedicamus Domino verse, even if not found in the same numbers as other polyphonic items of Vespers, was clearly perceived as a significant musical element of this service, as shown not only in the settings of polyphonic sources, but also in the literary evidence provided by liturgical and archival sources. A search in the online databases *Portuguese Early Music* and *Libros de Polifonia Hispana* reveals that, except for rare cases, Benedicamus settings are most commonly found in choirbooks dated between the second half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries.[445]

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[442] E. ROLDÁN, *Pure Gold*, 2011, 220-21.

[443] *Oxford Music online*'s 'Benedicamus' entry does not give examples later than 1555. Gustav Reese's *Music in the Renaissance* refers only in passing to a Benedicamus by Dufay, Iain Fenlon's *The Renaissance* does not speak of it at all. Allan Atlas's *Anthology of Renaissance Music* does not include any examples of this verse. Kenneth Kreitner's *Music in the Renaissance* only includes a brief reference to Benedicamus in his own chapter, 'Music for Wind Band', 1400-1600'. On the other hand, Robert Stevenson, as mentioned above, does mention this work, and Manuel Pedro Ferreira's *Antologia de Música em Portugal* includes not only a digital reproduction of two of Arouca's Benedicamus as well as their modern musical edition.

[444] A search the Gaspari catalogue for the period 1550-1700 reveals a single example of polyphonic Benedicamus, included in Willaert's 1555 *I sacri e santi salmi* (RISM A/ I W 1123), an absolute striking contrast with the immense production of other polyphonic Vespers genres in Italy in this period.

[445] One of these rare cases is the three-voice Benedicamus by Juan de Triana, a composer linked to the cathedrals of Seville and Toledo, found in the fifteenth-century's *Cancionero de la Colombina.*

Sixteenth-century sources with Benedicamus verses include choirbooks from Santa Cruz, the above-mentioned manuscript P-Ln CIC 60 and also Toledo's E-Tc 25 (with three settings, by Morales, all *unica*) and E GU II (one by Ceballos and one anonymous). In early seventeenth-century choirbooks we find Benedicamus in Arouca (with two settings by Coimbra cathedral's chapel master Airez Fernandez – fl c. 1550 – and one anonymous *guión* for a third Benedicamus) and in Barcelona (mainly with settings by Juan Pujol, chapel master in the city's cathedral between 1612 and 1626). In the seventeenth-century's loose paper settings mentioned above for other Vespers genres, the Benedicamus Domino is less commonly found. Even so, the settings from El Escorial reveal no less than eight polychoral settings, for eight and twelve voices, with instrumental participation. Two of these are anonymous settings, and the remaining ones are by Juan Durango (two), Carlos Patiño (one) and Diego de Torrijos (three).

Regarding documentary sources, we find, as early as 1533, a Chapter act from the cathedral of Burgos, urging for a book to be written with psalms and also a Benedicamus, in order to avoid the mistakes made by the singers in the improvisation of this verse.[446] This passage provides two relevant pieces of information regarding the Benedicamus: the first is the kind of polyphony in which it was performed (*fabordón* – just like the psalms) and the second is the Chapter's concern that, just as these, it should equally be notated so that it could be performed properly, thus giving them same status. In 1594, a Ceremonial from the cathedral of Sigüenza prescribed the presence of *ministriles* and organ at the

[446] 'Also, since some of the singers sometimes make mistakes when singing *fabordón*, because they sing it from memory at Vespers, let the chapel master be made to write a small book, paid for by this church, in which all the tones [psalms] and Benedicamus may be written down, and may [the singers] sing from it, because the mistakes are quite obvious when the singing is not done properly/ Item, porque algunos de los cantores hacen algunas veces defecto cantando fabordón, por le cantar de cabeza en las vísperas, quel maestro de capilla sea obligado de facer un libro pequeño a costa de la iglesia en questén puntados todos los tonos y Benedicamus que son necesarios y que por el los canten porque se parece mucho el defecto cuando no se canta como debe…'. Transcribed in José LOPEZ-CALO, *La música en la catedral Burgos*, 11 vols (Burgos: Caja de Ahorros del Círculo Católico, 1996), vol 3, 68.

singing of the Benedicamus in the highest-ranking feasts of the year. Much later, already in the early eighteenth century, a Ceremonial from Seville prescribes *ministriles* participation in the Benedicamus, in feasts where the organ is not meant to play at Vespers.[447]

The plainchant melody could vary according to local customs, specific feasts, or both. [448] P-Cug MM 37 provides a good example of this, with specific melodies for different ranks of feasts.

Image 4: Melodies for the Benedicamus Domino, P-Cug MM 37, p. 35



[447] These feasts are: Annunciation, in case it falls on Passion or Palm Saturday, and Second Vespers of The Seven Sorrows of Our Lady, in case these are transferred to the Saturday after the feast (which would correspond to Passion Saturday). Ceremonial transcribed in J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 371 and 380. More on the participation of ministriles on Chapter 4.

[448] The settings from Coimbra are local (based on P-Cug MM 37) and the ones from Toledo are written, respectively, for Feasts of Our Lady; local Christmas feasts and the local highest-ranking feasts (*sex capparum*). The Toledan melodies are given in M. NOONE, 2003, 63, 71 and 79.

The length and degree of complexity of this verse could also vary quite considerably, depending on the ranking of the feast. The settings in Arouca are quite short (fifteen breves) and simple, with the melody very clearly displayed in the superius. At the other end of the spectrum, we find the second of the two Benedicamus in Vivanco's *Liber Magnificarum*, which includes a four-voice Benedicamus Domino, in quadruply inverted counterpoint with thirty-one breves.

Musical example 8: Benedicamus Domino, P-Ar 32, fols 29v-30[449]



3.5. CONCLUSION

The ranking of feasts, the resources (both financial and musical) of each individual cathedral or monastery and their link to prestigious and powerful figures (such as a monarch, for example, in the case of El Escorial), determined how festive Vespers would be performed, especially the proportion of polyphonic items which would be included in

[449] This example is taken from the full edition of the Arouca codex (P-Ar 32) which I made as part of my Master's dissertation in 2012.

a service. These polyphonic genres in themselves allowed for an immense range of possibilities, from the number of vocal and/or instrumental parts, to the type of polyphony (more simple or complex), and even to the opportunity, on occasion, for small theatrical performances within the church buildings themselves. The latter took place especially in feasts more popularly celebrated, whose services were, therefore, attended by particularly significant numbers of the lay community.[450] The level of solemnity and lavishness of a given Vespers service, even the ones which did include polyphony, could thus range from a few items in *fabordón*, performed by a small number of singers, to a service almost fully sung *a canto de organo* by a large *capilla* of professional singers, with a wide range of instruments and one or more organs being played. [451] The musical sources provide examples for these two ends of the spectrum, as well as for the wide range of options in between. The discussion of these polyphonic items regarding their sources, texture and liturgical context only provides, nevertheless, a part of the picture of what a Vespers service would be like. An approach into the rules given in liturgical sources for the performance of these items is a fundamental factor for a thorough understanding of how these celebrations took place, as discussed in the following chapter.

[450] An overview of what the lay community's relationship with the Church and their expectations for religious services would be is given – basing himself on a wide-range of sources – by Clive WALKLEY, *Esquivel: A Master of Sacred Music during the Spanish Golden Age* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 4-14.

[451] The polyphonic items in this chapter above are the most common, but not the only ones which can be set in polyphony at Vespers. Psalm or Magnificat antiphons, as well as the opening verses, *Deus in adjutorium meum/Domine ad adjuvandum* can – even if much more rarely - be found in Iberian sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For reasons related to the necessary delimitation of this dissertation, these items are not discussed here.

4. ISSUES OF PERFORMANCE PRACTICE: EVIDENCE FROM LITURGICAL, DOCUMENTARY, AND MUSICAL SOURCES

E delle [maestro de capella] he em os dias em que ouuer canto dorgão as Vesperas, Completas, Matinas & Missa … dar o tom, & meter as vozes… & encomendar aos cantores o que cada hu*m* ha de dizer, & chamallos a seus tempos p*ara* prouere*m*, quando for necessario, às cousas que se ouuerem de cantar em canto deminuido. E os cantores que para esta cousa estiurem ordernados, o siguirão em todas as cousas como a mestre dessa capella. E alem disto, consultando primeiro o prior, mandara tanger e*m* esses dias & te*m*pos co*m* os instrumentos que lhe bem parecer, conforme a festa, e e*m* as teclas q*ue* for necessário para dar milhor tom ao ca*n*to.[452]

While the focus of the current dissertation is mainly repertorial, this research would be incomplete without consideration of the way in which this music was performed. Alongside the study of what sources were usually part of the collection of a religious institution, how (and for how long) they were put to use and the genres which were included in them, a research into performance practices allows for a more comprehensive and clearer picture of the celebration of Vespers in these monasteries and cathedrals.

For the research of performance practices, the evidence comes, naturally, from prescriptive sources, such as Ceremonials. These, however, are only one among several kinds of sources which can be studied in a research on these practices. Much can be learned from sources which do not necessarily give instructions on how to perform certain

[452] 'And it is his [chapel master] duty, in the days when there is polyphony at Vespers, Compline, Matins and Mass, to give the tone and to organize the voices, and other things which are convenient to this art, and give indication to the singers of what each has got to say, and call them, at the appropriate time, to provide with the necessary polyphonic singing. And the singers who are chosen for this shall follow him in all things, as the master of that chapel. Consulting firstly with the prior, [the chapel master] will order on those days for the playing of the instruments chosen by him, according to the feast, and in however many keyboards are necessary to give the singing a better tone'. *Ordinário e ceremonial da Ordem dos Conegos regulares da ordem do bemaventurado nosso Padre Sancto Augustinho, & da congregacam de sancta Cruz de Coimbra* (Coimbra: Canonicos regulares do Moesteyro de sancta Cruz, 1563), fols . Available online at http://purl.pt/23038

items at Vespers services, but which still provide a lot of information on how a certain work might have been performed. These can be documentary sources (such as the more detailed historical inventories, descriptions of a certain service or documents regarding the hiring of instrumentalists) or the musical sources themselves. Conversely, normative sources can provide precious clues regarding not only performance practices but also which repertory was performed and even in which sources it was located (thus providing insight into the collection of a religious institution at one point in time).[453] Whether these documents are of a more prescriptive or of a more descriptive character, they are important tools both for musicologists and for performers.

The study of performance practices must include not only the differences between the various institutions (with their own liturgical specificities) but also, within each one, how these practices evolved, as a result of changes in musical style but also in liturgical reform. This applies not only to newly-composed music, but also to certain specific settings which had become part of the already-mentioned canonical repertory. These settings were not necessarily crystallised in their performance but, on the contrary, could be adapted to the new aesthetic paradigms that came with the passing of time, as demonstrated in the previous chapters.

There is, therefore, a repertory written for, or adopted by a certain institution according to the criteria that matched what was prescribed for its liturgical services but which, on the other hand, could evolve and change through, for example, the addition of voices and instruments, and even through the spatial distribution of performers within the religious buildings. This is an interesting phenomenon involving two kinds of adaptation, one with institutional and one with chronological grounds.

[453] All these cases are exemplified below.

4.1. CEREMONIALS

One essential liturgical book, among the large assortment usually employed by the Catholic Church in its services, was the Ceremonial. In the Iberian Peninsula during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Ceremonials varied broadly in content and format, as well as in the amount and detail of information they delivered.[454] One of the most immediate ways in which this lack of uniformity can be perceived is the variety of titles in these sources, which often do not even include the word 'Ceremonial' even if, for all intents and purposes, their function is to regulate the liturgical services.[455] Ceremonials could have a more or less broad approach to the liturgy: in most cases, they encompass the many different aspects of liturgical celebrations both for Mass and Office; at the other end of the spectrum, it is possible to find sources with a much more specific approach, although this is the exception and not the rule. An example of such a source is a 1604 Ceremonial written in the cathedral of Toledo which refers exclusively to the practice of polyphony and mentions on what occasions it should (or should not) take place. Despite its schematic character, this book provides information both on specific items of repertory, alternatim practices or the use of chant or *canto de organo* for a given feast.[456] In terms of format and target-reader, a Ceremonial can range from a manuscript copy made by a member of a *capilla* and meant for its own use, a printed book intended for the several institutions of a given religious order or a voluminous book, applicable, with few

[454] A number of these Iberian Ceremonials have been partly or fully transcribed by musicologists working in Iberian Renaissance Music, such as Kenneth Kreitner, Bernadette Nelson, Michael Noone and Juan Ruiz Jiménez. Full bibliographic reference to these has either been made in previous chapters or is made throughout this chapter.

[455] The titles are widely varied and include expressions such as '*Ordinario dos Canónicos*…'; '*Estatutos de*…'; '*Economicon sacro de ritos*…', and even '*Memorial de…*'.

[456] *MEmorial de[l] estilo que se [h]a de guardar en esta sancta Yglesia de Toledo, en todas las fiestas de el año que se çelebran con solemnidad de Canto de organo señalanse los puntos en que le [h]a de auer y el modo que se [h]a de guardar* (Toledo, 1604). This Ceremonial is fully transcribed in M. NOONE, 2009, 155-67.

exceptions, to the whole Catholic Church. The paradigm of the latter model is the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, issued in Rome in 1600.[457]

This Ceremonial would become a reference for Iberian churches. In the years around its publication, most of the printed Iberian Ceremonials not only state very clearly, in their title or subtitle, that they follow the Roman rule, but also, on occasion, make a point of including or referring to specific passages of the *Caeremoniale*, either in their main text or in the form of *marginalia*.[458] The goal of these references is, evidently, to reinforce and legitimise – through the idea of the authority that came from Rome – the prescriptions presented, an attitude that cannot be unconnected from the recent adoption of the reformed Tridentine Breviary and Missal.

With polyphony as an essential component of Mass and Office (and particularly Vespers) on Sundays and high-ranking feasts normally enriched by the organ – and, in Iberian churches and monasteries, by the instrument-playing *ministriles* – there was a very considerable musical investment, involving both the musical performance itself and its participants, which naturally had to be regulated. The consequence is that Ceremonials include at least one normative section on music, and these can be quite rich in relevant information. For most of these sources, the most valuable material for the purposes of the present research comes from the chapter regarding the role and participation of the organ and/or, in Iberian Ceremonials, of other instruments. When, how much, and in what way the organ should participate in the liturgy is usually described with a reasonable amount

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[457] *Caeremoniale Episcoporum, iussu Clementis VIII Pont. Max. nouissimè reformatum*… (Rome: Typographia linguarum externarum, 1600).

[458] A few examples of these Roman Ceremonials are, in chronological order: *Ceremonial y Processionario de los frayles de la orden de la Sanctíssima Trinidad, y redempción de captivos. Agora nuevamente corrigido, y concertado con el ceremonial Romano,* (Seville: Juan de León, 1593); *Ceremonial Romano, nuevamente reformado* (Burgos: J. Zamora, 1603); *Ordinario, e ceremonial, segundo o uzo romano. Das Missas, & Officios Divinos, & de outras cousas necessarias da Ordem de nosso Padre Sam Paulo primeiro Ermitão / composto pelo Padre frey Francisco da Natividade, actual Definidor, & Visitador da ditta Ordem* (Lisbon: Pedro Craesbeck, 1615).

of detail, making it a very relevant part of the study of this kind of source, namely for alternatim schemes involving the organ and/or *ministriles*.[459]

For printed sources from the seventeenth century, this section tended to be a relatively free translation of the twenty-eighth chapter of the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, 'De organo, organista, & musicis, seu cantoribus, et norma per eos servanda in divinis', but the idea of a chapter or section dedicated to the organ and/or organist was equally found in all the Ceremonials written or published in the first half of the sixteenth century and consulted during the course of this research.[460]

4.2. THE IMPORTANCE OF TEXT AND OF TEXT PERCEPTION

One of the most striking aspects in the section regarding the role of the organ is that, while instrumental participation is praised and even encouraged, it is precisely here that one common concern stands out in almost all the consulted post-Tridentine Ceremonials, and particularly in the ones published after 1600: the idea of a clear perception of the text, especially at certain key moments of the liturgy. Textual perception is essential, and the organist must abide by this. This notion is made clear not only from the encouragement to sing rather than play, but also from the instructions to the singers on how to best perform the verses in these crucial moments.

4.2.1. Pre-eminence of text: what to sing

For the Hour of Vespers, specifically, this implies that the first verse of all hymns and canticles should be sung rather than played when the organ is alternating with the choir. All the Ceremonials consulted from the 1570s onwards, without exception, include this

[459] Bernadette Nelson approaches this subject on her dissertation. B. NELSON, 1987, 157-210.
[460] The research for this chapter was done using a variety of manuscript and printed sources, namely Spanish and Portuguese Ceremonials from both monastic and secular religious institutions and produced in the relevant chronological period. These Ceremonials are listed in the bibliography.

clause even before it is specified in the *Caeremoniale*. It is highlighted, for example, in the Franciscan *Ceremonial de los officios diuinos*, printed in Toledo in 1591, where the imposition of singing – to be applied from then onwards – is explained: the congregation should be able to recognise when these hymns and canticles begin. This rule stems, according to the Franciscan friars, from the primatial cathedral itself.[461] The almost exact same concern, expressed with almost the same wording, is made about the perception of when the hymns and canticles begins is expressed in a Sevillian Ceremonial dated only two years later.[462]

The above-mentioned examples present a remarkable contrast with the oldest surviving Ceremonial in Spain to specify the participation of instrument players, copied for the cathedral of León in 1548. This manuscript clearly states that in all high-ranking feasts, these musicians should play the first and last verse of the hymn and the same of the Magnificat.[463] Being also the only source that states that the first and last verses of hymn and Magnificat should be played rather than sung, it remains, at the moment, to understand whether this greater emphasis on instruments is related to chronology (in a source of the first half of the sixteenth century) or the result of a local practice.[464]

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[461]'But from now onwards, [regarding] hymns, canticles and the Te Deum laudamus, they shall not begin with the organ [playing] solo, but with the singers. So that the people can see when they begin, as the Chapter from the famous Church of Toledo, now again, with much caution and consideration, has ordered/ Pero de aquí adelante, los hymnos, canticos, y Te Deum laudamus non los comience el órgano solo, sino los cantores. Para que el pueblo eche de ver quando se comiençan, como el cabildo de la insigne Iglesia de Toledo agora nueuamente con mucha aduertencia, y consideración ha ordenado'. *Ceremonial de los officios diuinos: assi para el altar como para el choro, y fuera del: según el uso de la Sancta Iglesia Romana y conforme al Missal, y Breuiario … el qual compusieran ciertos religiosos de la orden de San Francisco byen instruidos en las Ceremonias del culto divino* (Toledo: Pedro Rodriguez, 1591), f. 143v.

[462] *Ceremonial y Processionario*, 39-41.

[463] '... also [the *ministriles*] must play the first and last verse of the hymn, and the same of the Magnificat…/ … ytem tañerán el primer verso y postrero del hymno y lo mismo de la magnificat; y el deo graçias…', *Orden que han de tener en servir la sancta iglesia de Leon Menestriles, Organista, Maestro de Capilla y Cantores* (León, 1548). This ceremonial is fully transcribed by K. KREITNER, 2003, 53-62.

[464] A 1604 contract for the hiring of *ministriles* for the basilica of Our Lady of Pillar (Saragossa) mentions their playing on the first verse of the Magnificat (although not specifying if the playing was performed with singers or with instruments alone). This document (discussed below in more detail) completely contradicts the rules stated in the above-mentioned Ceremonials and raises the possibility that what is actually

4.2.2. Pre-eminence of text: how to sing

As regards the performance of the singers, indications in some of Ceremonials reinforce this idea of the preeminence of the text in their instructions on how to sing. 'Pauza/pausa'; 'pausadamente', 'com vagar' and other expressions of similar meaning are found in several sources and, sometimes, all in one same book. This concept of *pausa* is associated with the solemnity of the feast: the greater it is, the more importance is put on the text, its pronunciation and its clear perception. This means not only singing slowly, but also allowing enough time for the words to be absorbed by listeners, and only afterwards proceeding with the remainder of the verse being sung or with the following verse. [465] The particular emphasis of the 1647 Benedictine Ceremonial on the *pausa* and its relation to word perception cannot be separated from its author, Frey Manuel da Ascenção, a monk who studied and taught at the University in this city. Although the Humanist

described in the León Ceremonial (the playing of the Magnificat) might not have been that unusual in practice.

[465] 'It is up to the singer to make sure the Divine Office is said with *pausa*, in a such way that he does not proceed with the verse he started before [having said] the last syllable in the middle of the verse [*mediatio*]: nor should he start a new verse without the last sound of the last syllable of that verse being heard/ Pertence ao Cantor fazer q*ue* o Divino Officio se reze com pauza, de modo que não prosigua o Verso, que elle levantou, antes da yltima syllaba do meyo Verso: nem se comece hum Verso, sem se ouuir o vltimo som da vltima syllaba do Verso que se acabou'; 'The singer may also make the singing quicker or slower, bearing in mind that Terce and Vespers should be said more slowly than the remaining daytime and night Hours, according to their solemnity/ Pode também o Cantor … fazer que se cante com mais pressa, ou mais vagar advertindo q*ue* Terça & Vesperas se digam co*m* mais vagar que as mais Horas diurnas, & nocturnas conforme a solemnidade'. *Ceremonial da Congregação dos Monges Negros da Ordem do Patriarcha S. Bento do Reyno de Portugal. Novamente reformado* (Coimbra: Diogo Gomez Loureiro/Lourenço Craesbeeck, 1647), p. x. In this same ceremonial, instructions are given to the organist, that in all psalms, hymns and canticles, he must always give enough time so that these can be said 'pauzadamente' (p. xvi). The same idea is expressed in the 1591 Toledan Ceremonial mentioned above: 'Ha de tener cuydado en que los Psalmos, y lo demás del officio diuino se diga distinctamente y sin accelaracion, de manera que en la meditación [sic] de cada verso se haga pausa ygual y cortada; y que el un choro no comience el verso siguiente, sin que el otro aya acabado el precedente no solamente en el officio mayor, sino también en el menor de nuestra señora, y de defunctos/he should be careful that the psalms and other things of the Divine Office are said clearly and without acceleration, in such a way that at the middle of the verse [mediatio] an equal and clear pause is made; and that one choir does not start one verse before the other choir has finished the previous one, not only in the Saturday Office of Our Lady, but also in the Little Office, and well as the Office of the Dead.' *Ceremonial de los officios diuinos: assi para el altar como para el choro…* f. 142. In Salamanca, a 1635 Ceremonial makes similar recommendations to the organist, of refraining from being 'too fast' when playing. The Magnificat and Benedictus should be played 'slower' than the other canticles. The opening versicle of Vespers, *Deus in adjutorium*, should be sung with the convenient '*pausa*.' *Ceremonial Monástico conforme al Brebiário, y Missal* (…) *Con los usos, y costumbres loables de la Congregación de España…* (Salamanca, 1635), 63 and 123.

impulse cultivated in Coimbra in the second quarter of the sixteenth century was under great suspicion by the late 1500s, some of its aspects are still perceivable in the writings of the masters of this University, as is verifiable in this case. [466] A manuscript Ceremonial for the monastery of El Escorial, written sometime before 1598 explains that on double feasts, the antiphon for the Magnificat must be sung more slowly (with more 'espacio') than the ones sung for the psalms and, referring merely to the former one, it instructs that the repetition of the antiphon is performed faster ('mas andada') than on its first presentation.[467]

4.2.3. Preeminence of texts and the architecture of religious buildings

This concern for intelligibility may seem, at first, almost incompatible with the architecture of religious buildings of this period, especially regarding the place reserved for singers. In Iberian churches, both the *coro*, and the *coro alto* create a clear physical separation between clergymen and laity. Nevertheless, it is necessary to consider that quite a few people in the congregation would sit or stand close to the Eastern grill of the *coro* and therefore able to hear well. The case of the *coro alto* is obviously different, but the experience of listeners is that even from the nave the words are quite perceptible. In architectural terms, a study made and published in the context of Renaissance Italy shows that, by the sixteenth-century, considerable attention was paid to the acoustics of religious buildings, especially regarding the perception of words. It is therefore conceivable that these same factors were taken into consideration in Iberian churches.[468] Creating an

[466] O. REES, 1995, 30-3 and 38-9 and Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, *Antologia de Música em Portugal na Idade Média e no Renascimento* (Lisbon: CESEM-Arte das Musas, 2008), 88.
[467] 'In double feasts, the Magnificat antiphon is perfomed more slowly than the [other] Vespers antiphons, and its repetition is faster than when it was first said/ La Antiphona de Magnificat en los dobles, va algo mas despacio que las Antiphonas de uisperas, y la repeticion va algo mas andada que se commeço'.*Quadernos de las costumbres* (AGP, MS legajo 137), fols. 60-60v, transcribed by M. NOONE, 1998, 299. There is no evidence that this manuscript was ever formally approved (p. 12).
[468] Deborah HOWARD and Laura MORETTI, S*ound and Space in Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Music, Acoustics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 6-9.

equivalence between a tangible physical barrier and a sound one would, furthermore, mean neglecting the absolute consistent concern for text perception – especially on the part of the laity – in most post-Tridentine liturgical sources.[469] Some level of perception should, therefore, be admitted, especially in texts that would be repeated on a very regular basis (the ones specified in these Ceremonials). Even if sung in Latin, and therefore not understandable to (at least) the great majority of the people attending the services, these verses, especially when sung on a regular basis – such as *Ave maris stella*, for example – would, very likely, be recognisable.

4.2.4. Particular performance practices with particular texts

The obligation of singing was applicable not only at the beginning and end of hymns and canticles but also to certain verses, sung at key moments of the liturgy – when all the participants should be kneeling down – such as *Te ergo quaesumus, O crux ave spes unica* or *Tantum ergo*.[470] In some cases, the Roman authoritative source is mentioned, and the precise section of the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* can be given: 'Cerem. E-/pisc. lib I, cap. 28'.[471] This rule is found not only in secular but also in monastic sources, as is shown in the documents from the monastery of El Escorial.[472] The choice of these specific verses is not accidental, and their significance is made quite obvious in Ceremonials published

[469] Although it was never stated in the Council of Trent that the text should be perceived by the laity.
[470] 'Te ergo' is the twenty-first verse of the *Te Deum*, 'O crux ave spes' the first verse of the sixth strophe of the hymn *Vexilla Regis* and 'Tantum ergo' begins the fifth strophe of the hymn *Pange lingua*.
[471] This is included, for example, in a marginalia note of the *Economicon Sacro dos Ritos e Ceremonias Ecclesiásticos, applicado ao uso não só dos Cónegos Regrantes Augustinianos da Congregação de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, mas também de todo o clero* (Lisbon: Manoel Lopes Ferreyra, 1693), Cap. I, Tit. IV. 'Do órgão & Tangedor', item nº VI. In the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, however, only the verses *Te ergo* and *Tantum ergo* are specified. 'Regulare est, siue in Vesperis, siue in Matutinis, siue in Missa, vt primus versus Canticorum, & Hymnorum, & pariter versus Hymnorum, in quibus genuflectendum est, qualis est Versiculus Te ergo quaesumus&c. & Versiculus Tantum ergo Sacramentum&c. quando ipsum sacrementum est super Altari, & similes, cantentur à choro in tono intelligibili, non autem ab organo.' *Caeremoniale*, fol 112.
[472] Described in Martin de la VERA, *Ordinario y Ceremonial según las costumbres y rito de la Orden de nuestro Padre San Geónimo* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1636). This passage is transcribed (in the translated version) in M. NOONE, 1998, 137. It only includes, however, the verses *Te ergo* and *Tantum ergo* as the ones which should be sung, leaving out *O crux ave*.

even several decades before the *Caeremoniale*. In chapters or sections indicating when to kneel or describing the service of each of the Liturgical Hours, these are three of the verses in which there is indication to kneel, not just sporadically, but throughout the liturgical year. To these, the first verse of *Ave maris stella* and of *Veni creator spiritus* are added, on particular occasions: all the feasts of Our Lady for the former and the feast of Pentecost (and its octave) for the latter. These instructions are replicated in all the consulted Portuguese and Spanish Ceremonials from the 1560s onwards,[473] both secular and monastic, as well as in the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum.*[474] While these two verses are, as a rule, included in a specific chapter usually entitled 'When we kneel' or 'When to kneel', the *Estatutos del Cabildo de la Seo*, copied in 1607 for the cathedral of Zaragoza, includes the verse of *Ave maris stella* as one which should be sung and not played (in the chapter dedicated to the participation of the organ) simply adding it to *Te ergo quaesumus, O crux ave spes unica* and *Tantum ergo*. Its content is, therefore, somewhat different from the one found in other sources, although the meaning is effectively not altered: Marian feasts are not specified, but these would be the occasions when this hymn would be sung with the organ. In these moments, the Zaragoza Ceremonial states, the organ is allowed to participate, but only as an accompanying instrument and not as a soloist.[475] One other case of kneeling down at *Ave maris stella*

[473] Two printed Ceremonials from the monastery of Santa Cruz prescribe the kneeling on these two verses not on specific feasts, but whenever these are not performed during processions. *Ordinário e Ceremonial da Ordem dos Conegos regulares da ordem do be*maventurado nosso Padre Sancto Augustinho, & da congregacam de sancta Cruz de Coimbra (Coimbra, Canonicos Regulares do Moesteyro de Santa Cruz, 1563), fol XLI and *Ordinário dos Canónicos Regulares*, fol 95.

[474] 'If it is the hymn Veni creator spiritus or Ave maris stella, while the Bishop sings the intonation of the hymn, everyone kneels down and also, at once, the Bishop kneels down himself in his hassock if there is one, or else on any cushion, and on it he remains kneeling down until the end of the first verse; which, once finished, everyone gets up and remains like that until the hymn has been performed/ Si fuerint Hymni Veni creator spiritus aut Ave maris stella dum Episcopus Hymnum intonat, omnes genuflectunt, & statim ipse quoque Episcopus ibi in suo genuflexorio si adest, genuflectit, sin minus super aliquo pulvino ad id parato permanens in genuflexione usque ad finem primi versus; quo finito surgit, surgentibus omnibus, & stat quousque perficiatur Hymnus cum versículo, & Responsorio'. *Caeremoniale*, fol 129.

[475] 'El órgano no comienza Himno, Cántico o Salmo sino el segundo verso; tampoco ha de tañer ninguno verso de Gloria Patri ni otro ninguno en que el Coro haya de estar arrodillado como Te ergo qu[a]esumus, Tantum ergo, O crux ave spes unica, Ave maris stella y semejantes, sino en caso que juntamente cante

comes from the cathedral of Toledo on feasts of the Virgin Mary, not just on the first strophe but all the way into the fifth strophe, 'Monstra te esse'.[476] This verse had obviously a special place at Marian celebrations in Toledo, being repeated no less than four times in processions at different stations.[477] This concern for text intelligibility is extended, in the seventeenth century, to the last verses of hymns, even if this disrupts an alternatim scheme. The indication is very clear: the last strophe must be sung, even if the previous one has been performed in that manner.[478]

4.2.5. Antiphon substitutes

One other recommendation related to the idea of clear textual perception appears in Ceremonials after 1600, also stemming from the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum:* at Vespers, any verse which was played by the organ should be recited, simultaneously, in a 'clear and intelligible voice'. This applied to hymns, canticles, psalms, and the repetition of the antiphons. [479] All the Spanish and Portuguese Breviaries from the seventeenth century

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alguna voz con el órgano/ The organ must not begin any Hymn, Canticle or Psalm,, but only [their] second verse; nor more should it play the verse Gloria Patri, or any other when the choir is kneeling down, such as Te ergo qu[a]esumus, Tantum ergo, O crux ave spes unica, Ave maris stella and similar ones, unless it is the case that a voice is singing with the organ.' *Estatutos del cabildo de la Seo* ([Zaragoza], 1607), cap. 27, 'Del oficio y obligaciones del organista'. This 'semejantes' is quite likely a translation from the 'similes' in the *Caeremoniale* (footnote 13).

[476] [24 March, Vigil of the Annunciation], '… himno Ave maris stella al qual se hincan de rodillas hasta aver dicho el verso Monstra te esse matrem…' Very similar wording is used for the other Marian feasts. Ceremonial of Chaves Arcayos, fol 299.

[477] [15 August, Feast of the Assumption], 'dicese quatro veces en la proçesion el verso Monstra te esse matrem…' Idem, fol 335. None of the two Toledan Ceremonials give further details on this procession.

[478] '… the first verses of Canticles, Hymns, and likewise the verses of Hymns in which we are kneeling down… are sung by the choir in an intelligible voice, but not by the organ; thus, also, the verses Gloria Patri, etc., also if the immediately preceding verse has equally been sung by the choir; the same is retained in the last verses of Hymns/ … primus versus Canticorum, & Hymnorum, & pariter versus Hymnorum, in quibus genuflectendum est … cantentur a choro in tono intelligibili, non autem ab órgano; sic etiam Versiculus Gloria Patri &c, etiam si Versiculus immediate praecedens fuerit a choro pariter decantatus; idem servatur in ultimis versibus Hymnorum'. *Caeremoniale*, fol 112.

[479] 'Let it be noted that the verses of hymns, canticles and psalms, as well as the antiphons which are repeated at solemn Vespers, and all else which is part of the Divine Office where the organ must play, should be said by the singers who are at the lectern, in an intelligible voice … which is only applied to the Office and not the Mass or other similar things; and this is a general and infallible rule, that everything which is played by the organ and belongs to the Divine Office shall be said in the *coro* by one or two, in a clear and intelligible voice; and there can be no excuse to not inviolably follow this rule, as ordained by the *Caeremoniale*, and every author who wrote on this matter teaches this, since it is an indispensable rule in every *coro* where there is an obligation to recite the Canonical Hours/ Note-se q*ue* os versos de Hymnos, Ca*n*ticos, & Psalmos, como também as Antiphonas, que se repetem nas Vesperas solemnes, & tudo o mais

which have been consulted as part of the current research include this rule, in a more or less strictly enforced manner. One source where the recitation and its clear pronunciation are particularly emphasised is in the 1693 *Economicon Sacro* of the Augustinian monks of Santa Cruz in Coimbra. There is a very clear enforcement of this rule, to the point of stating 'there can be no excuse' to its breaching. The Roman Ceremonial, again here specifically mentioned, brings the desired authority to support this regulation. One other point made clear at this moment by the *Economicon Sacro* is that this rule is applicable only to the Office and not the Mass. This is possibly related to the different functions and nature of Mass and Office, but also to the specific ways in which antiphons and psalms are linked together in these liturgical services.[480]

Earlier Ceremonials, on the other hand, prescribe that the repetition of the antiphon should be sung. Two Ceremonials from this same monastery of Santa Cruz specify that this singing – both in the first presentation and in repetition of the antiphon – should be begun by the 'cantores mores' (the soloist singers) standing in the middle of the *coro* – four or two, depending on the feast[481] – being then finished by the choir.[482] A Ceremonial from

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que for da reza do Offício divino, em que se haja de tanger Orgão, o devem dizer os versiculários, que assistem a Estante, em voz / inteligível. … o que só se deve entender do Offício Canónico, não da Missa, ou de outras couzas semelhantes: sendo regra geral, & infalível, q*ue* tudo o que se tanger pelo Orgão, & perte*n*ce a orde*m* do Offício divino, se dirá no Coro por hu[m], ou dous em voz intelligível, & clara; e não poderá haver escuza algu*m*a para deixar de observarse inviolavelmente esta regra, como ordena o Ceremonial & ensinão todos os Autores, q*ue* escreverão sobre esta materia, por ser regra indispensável em todos os Coros, aonde corre a obrigação de recitar as horas Canónicas'. *Economicon Sacro…*, 19-20.

[480] The only antiphon in the Mass that would be repeated by this time, would be the Introit, whereas in the Office the repetition would necessarily happen after the psalms and canticles.

[481] In the monastery of Santa Cruz, the ranking of the feasts was also marked by the number of singers in the services, and this terminology – 'feasts of four cantors' and 'feasts of two cantors' is reflected in their its 1531 Breviary: *Breviarium secundum usum insignis monasterii sancta crucis*, and in these two Ceremonials.

[482] 'Regarding the soloist singers, they shall celebrate Double feasts in the following manner. At Vespers… before the lectern, they sing the intonation of the hymn and assign the antiphons with a movement of the head …. they sing the psalms. And at the end of the first verse… they return to the middle of the *coro* where, at the end of psalms, they sing the intonation of the antiphon, and the choir proceeds until the end/ Dos cantores mores e menores he fazer o officio em as festas Dobrezes mayores em esta maneira. Em as vesperas (…) ante a estante levantam o hymno e distribuem as antiphonas com sinal da cabeça… entoam os psalmos. E acabado o primeyro verso… se tornam ao meio do choro onde em fim dos psalmos repetem as an*tipho*nas tê virgula, o choro prossegue té fim' *Ordinario e ceremonial*, fol. xxxv. The same instruction

the cathedral of Évora, entitled 'Regulamento da Sanchristia', part of a broader normative book entitled *Constituições da Igreja da Sé de 1569*, mentions the sung repetition of the antiphon, also by the choir, after having been played by the organ before the psalm.[483]

The instruction in the seventeenth-century Iberian Ceremonials to recite the repetition of the antiphon while the organ plays is reminiscent of antiphon substitutes. These have been widely discussed for seventeenth-century Italian music, namely for the Monteverdi Vespers of 1610 and, in particular, its five *sacri concenti*, which researchers, based on contemporary evidence, have suggested might work precisely as substitutes for the traditional antiphons. The extensive literature on this theme – both modern and contemporary – shows that, by this time, the relation between Office psalms and their antiphons had become somewhat less fixed, both in terms of modal consistency and of the text used, which might even mean not necessarily using the antiphons prescribed in Breviaries or, as prescribed in Ceremonials, having them recited over an instrumental background. Documentary evidence testifies to this.[484] The literature on Italian practice often suggests that motets (rather than instrumental music) might be used as antiphon substitutes. The loud recitation of the text, as ordered in the Roman *Caeremoniale*, simultaneous to the performance of a motet, nevertheless, seems an impractical solution.

Although the issue of antiphon substitutes has, so far, not been object of any studies for the Iberian context, the idea of a similar scenario seems plausible, especially in the light

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is given, in very similar wording, for both feasts of four and two cantors, in the *Ordinário dos Canónicos Regulares*, fols 14v and 17-17v.

[483] '… and the organ should play one [antiphon] and the choir should sing the other/… & Organo tãja hua Aña & o Choro cante outra'. P-EVc, CEC 4-VII, 'Regimento da Sanchristia', fols 29-139, at 40. This codex dates originally from 1540-64, although it was ratified in 1569 by bishop D. João de Melo. J. P. d'ALVARENGA, 2015, footnote 45.

[484] This theory was firstly suggested by Stephen Bonta in 1967, very much based on his readings of Banchieri. He suggested that the five *sacri concentus* would work as substitutes for the antiphons, with the celebrant intoning the text *sotto voce* while the motets and *Sonata* were being played. See J. KURZTMAN, 1999, 18-9, 23-6 and 77 and *idem*, 'The Mantuan Sacred Music', *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi*, eds John Whenham and Richard Wistreich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 154.

of the rules stated in Iberian Ceremonials (text recitation over an instrumental background), given the abundant evidence of the participation not only of organists but also of *ministriles* in the liturgy.[485] The 1579 Ceremonial from the monastery of Santa Cruz, in Coimbra, does mention that in feasts of four cantors the antiphon should be played after it has been fully sung ('anunciada') before the psalm, although there is no mention of recitation of the text.[486] For countries other than Italy, in fact, there is not much discussion on the theme of antiphon substitutes – possibly as a consequence of the lack of studies on Vespers. All we have is quite vague information: the *Caeremoniale Parisiense*, [487] for example, shows a major role of the organ during the performance of the Mass and of the Magnificat, [488] but nothing more specific than that is mentioned, and certainly nothing is said about replacement of antiphons. A scenario similar to that practised in the Iberian Peninsula (text recitation with the organ playing) is therefore a possibility.

4.3. ALTERNATIM PERFORMANCE

The chapter in Ceremonials regarding the role and participation of the organ and/or instruments can include quite relevant information, especially for polyphonic practice,

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[485] Owen Rees refers to the instrumental piece played by the *ministriles* after the Magnificat, as specified in an 18th-century Seville Ceremonial as 'antiphon-substitute'. O. REES, 2012, 370 and 371.

[486] 'On the feasts of four cantors… At Vespers the antiphons should be played, after having been sung, in the first instance: the psalms are fully recited, the hymn and Magnificat canticle [are said] in alternatim with the choir. 'Em os dias de quatro cantores… Em as vesperas se tangeram as antiphonas depois de a primeira vez serem annu*n*ciadas: desi [sic] toda a psalmodia, co*m* o hymno & cantico da Magnificat em alternatim com o choro'. *Ordinario dos Canónicos Regulares*, fol.81. The interpretation of the verb 'anunciar' as meaning singing from beginning to end was suggested by João Pedro d'Alvarenga, to whom I thank. It does seem a plausible possibility, especially if seen as establishing the contrast with the immediately preceding verb 'tanger' (to play) and with the verb 'levantar' (sing the intonation) which appears shortly before.
As can be seen in footnote 478, this 1579 Ceremonial prescribes the sung repetition of the antiphon in its folios 14 and 17-17v, but instructs later, in folio 81, that, for the same feasts (four cantors), the repetition of the antiphon should be played. This is a clear contradiction. The only reasonable explanation seems to be that the played repetition of the antiphon had been recently adopted in Santa Cruz (it is not seen in the previous, 1563, Ceremonial), and thus gave rise to this sort of error.

[487] *Caeremoniale Parisiense* (Paris: Martin Sonnet, 1662).

[488] David PONSFORD, *French Organ Music in the Reign of Louis XIV* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 13-4, 184, 223 and 310.

since it explains how the singers of the *capilla* should interact with the organist and *ministriles* in alternatim performance.

Alternatim was applied to psalms, hymns and Magnificat settings. In its most basic form, it would include merely chant and polyphony. The organ constituted a third *coro,* which could either replace chant or add to it as an extra element in this alternation. In the Iberian Peninsula, *ministriles* were, by the mid-sixteenth century, a regular presence among the participants in services which required polyphony. As show previously, these would many times perform in services with the polyphonic singers, chant choir and the organ, and they could either replace the voices in a given verse or strophe or accompany the singers (either in chant or polyphony). How this alternation between chant, polyphony, organ and other instruments should work precisely is, unfortunately, not an issue on which primary sources dwell for long. There are, however, some which provide some insight into this. In the case of alternatim performance, the musical sources of the institutions to which these Ceremonials are linked can also help to indicate a possible performance approach, especially through the verses chosen to be treated polyphonically.

4.3.1. Alternatim in different Iberian religious institutions: 1548 - 1723

In his study of instrumental practices in Iberian cathedrals, Paulo Estudante makes a comparative study of the participation of singers, organists and *ministriles* at Vespers, based on Ceremonials and other prescriptive documents from several institutions.[489] Although much is left to answer, a few deductions can be made which reveal a similar pattern with the prescriptions found in the Ceremonials consulted for my own research, which expand these tables.[490]

[489] P. ESTUDANTE MOREIRA, 2007, 211.
[490] Tables 4.1 and 4.2 are based on the ones by Paulo Estudante and were afterwards extended, based on my own research of Iberian Ceremonials of the monastery of El Escorial, of the Lisbon Benedictines, the basilica of Saragossa and the cathedral of Seville.

Table 4.1: Alternatim at Vespers in Iberian institutions (1548-1647)

	León (1548)	Valencia (1560)[491]	Sigüenza (1594)	Pamplona (1598)	Toledo (Early 17th c.)	Saragossa (1604)[492]	Palencia (1643)	El Escorial (1567)	Coimbra Benedictines (1647)
FIRST VESPERS									
INTRO.	*Ministriles* play a motet before Hour starts					*Ministriles* play before Hour starts, while canons enter the *coro*	*Ministriles* play at beginning; all the *capilla* responds to *Deus in adjutorium.*		
PSALMS	Alternatim: Organ/ *capilla*, first and last psalms	*Ministriles* play at end of each psalm (last verse, doxology or antiphon?)[493]	Alternatim: Organ/ *ministriles/ capilla*, first and last psalms. Third psalm may be performed by instruments with organ. Chant may be used in alternatim with these.	3 groups (*coros*)[494] on the last psalm. Alternatim: 1) *Ministriles* 2) Organ + solo singer 3) *Capilla*	Alternatim: *ministriles /capilla* *In exitu* 'a canto de organo'		*Ministriles* play in certain psalms (alternatim?)	Christmas, Easter, Pentecost: organ in first, third and fifth psalms (unless fifth is *Laudate Dominum*).	Double feasts: alternatim with organ. Repetition of antiphon recited while organ plays, except in antiphon of last psalm (fully sung).

[491] This contract for the hiring of new *ministriles* refers specifically to the Vespers of double feasts.
[492] This contract laying out the obligations of *ministriles* does not specify, at this moment, which Vespers they should play. Later in the document, two lists of feasts are given, the first the ones which require *ministriles* at both First and Second Vespers and the second the ones where they play only at First Vespers. The contract also states that they would have to play at least at these three moments, and any other extra participation would be determined by the chapel master.
[493] Original wording: 'A la fi de cascun psalm, a la fi del hymne, a la fi del magnificat e a la fi de la benedictio bisbal [sic]'
[494] *Coros* is not translatable as choirs, but it defines different vocal, instrumental, or a mix of vocal and instrumental groups. The organ, if alone, in this context, is also considered a *coro*. See Glossary.

HYMN	*Ministriles* play first and last verses	*Ministriles* play at the end	Alternatim: Organ/*ministriles/ capilla*				*Ministriles* play (alternatim?)		Alternatim with organ
MAGN.	*Ministriles* play first and last verses	*Ministriles* play at the end	Alternatim: Organ/*ministriles/capilla*	Alternatim: 'Musica' (*capilla*?)/ organ.		*Ministriles* play first verse (with singers?)	*Ministriles* play (alternatim?)	Organ plays	Alternatim with organ
FINAL SECTION	*Ministriles* play *Deo gratias*	*Ministriles* play at the end of Bishop's blessing	Benedicamus Domino: Alternatim: Organ/*ministriles/capilla*	*Ministriles* (Deo gratias?)	*Ministriles* play at the end (Deo gratias?)	*Ministriles* play after Benedicamus Domino	*Ministriles* play (alternatim?)	Organ plays	Organ plays response *Deo gratias*
SECOND VESPERS									
INTRO.	*Ministriles* play a motet before the Hour starts					*Ministriles* play before Hour starts, as canons enter the *coro*			
PSALMS		*Ministriles* play at the end of each psalm (last verse doxology or antiphon?)						Christmas, Easter, Pentecost: organ in first, third and fifth psalms (unless fifth is *Laudate Dominum*). Main double feast: organ plays in two of the psalms	

HYMN	*Ministriles* play first and last verses	*Ministriles* play at the end	Alternatim: Organ/*capilla*						
MAGN.	*Ministriles* play first and last verses	*Ministriles* play at the end	Alternatim: Organ/*capilla.*		‘a canto de organo’ with *ministriles*	*Ministriles* play first verse (with singers?)			
FINAL SECTION	*Ministriles* play Deo gratias	*Ministriles* play at the end of Bishop’s blessing	Alternatim: Organ/ *capilla* at Benedicamus.			*Ministriles* play after Benedicamus Domino			

The first and last psalms, hymn and Magnificat all include participation of instruments.[495] The highlighting of the first and last psalms - and sometimes the third - through the participation of *ministriles*, is common to Ceremonials from different Iberian institutions. As can be seen in the table above, the León Ceremonial is the only of the sixteenth-century sources to prescribe an instrumental section at the beginning of Vespers. First Vespers, usually more elaborated than Second, necessarily required a greater musical ensemble, and this is well mirrored in sources from the cathedral of Sigüenza, where Second Vespers seem to dispense with *ministriles* and require the organ and singers alone.

Other sources published between the 1560s and the late 1570s are not quite so specific as to what exactly should be sung and what should be played. A Ceremonial from the cathedral of Elvas simply states that in double feasts the organ should play at both First and Second Vespers, the organist being fined in case he misses a part or the whole of the service.[496] The two above-mentioned Ceremonials of Santa Cruz de Coimbra merely

[495] K. KREITNER, 2009, 271 claims to have confirmed his suspicion (already stated in 2003) that actual alternatim with instruments in the Divine Office only took place in psalms and not in the Magnificat or hymns. Ceremonials are indeed not quite as specific about alternatim with ministriles when it comes to the Magnificat and hymn, especially when it comes to the internal verses. There is sometimes indication that they should play the first and last verses (such as, for example, in the León Ceremonial studied by Kreitner himself, or in the above-mentioned contract for *ministriles* at the basilica of Our Lady of Pillar in Saragossa). In his review of Kreitner's article, in *Early Music* 38/1 (2010), J. Ruiz Jiménez claims that there is evidence, both from Ceremonials as from the *ministriles* books themselves (which include hymn and Magnificat verses) that this was not the case and that *ministriles* did alternate with the singers in the hymn and canticle as well as in the psalms. The evidence given by Ruiz Jiménez is essentially the example from the Ceremonial from León, the doxological verses from Guerrero's Magnificat settings in a *ministriles* book from Seville and several *ministriles* books where we find hymn verses, although, as Ruiz Jiménez himself states, these are mostly for 'multifunctional' hymns such as *Vexilla regis* and *Pange lingua* (which means these verses could have been played in a context other than the Divine Office). There is, nevertheless, a source from the monastery of Santa Cruz – P-Cug MJ 1 – which was in all likelihood for use of instrument players and it includes the internal verses of one of Juan Navarro's Magnificat settings (see Appendix I).

[496] 'On double feasts [the organist] must play at Lauds, Mass and First and Second Vespers. If he misses the beginning, he will be fined 20 *reis*, if all he will be fined 50 *reis*/ [O organista] He obrigado nos duples per annum tanger as Laudas missas e vesporas primeiras e segd[as] faltando ao principio perdera 20rs. faltando a tudo… perdera 50 rs.'. *Estatutos do Ill[o] e Redd[o] Cabido de Igr[a] Catedral da Cid[e] de Elvas* [c. 1570] (P-Em Ms 12765 F.G.), fol 96v. Transcribed in Gerhard DODERER, 'A função do órgão na liturgia portuguesa do século XVII', *Boletim da Associação Portuguesa de Educação Musical* 58 (1988), 48-53 at 48.

mention the playing of the Magnificat in alternation with the choir in high-ranking feasts.[497]

One other type of source rarely referred to – and which can, on occasion, provide some information on performance practices – is the hiring of musicians, where their obligations, and the occasions when they sing or play are specified. For *ministriles*, this can provide clues regarding their participation, especially in an alternatim context (although this level of detail is quite exceptional). A contract of 1560 for the hiring of four new *ministriles* for the cathedral of Valencia gives some indications regarding their participation in liturgy, as can be seen in Table 4.1.

One of the Portuguese institutions where most textual sources are available and about which a recent study of performance practice exists, is the cathedral of Évora.[498] Unfortunately, these regulations cannot be compared, for Vespers at least, with extant musical sources. The extant documents, all from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, provide rules for the musical performance in services.[499] None of these are quite as comprehensive as some of the above-mentioned Ceremonials. The exact terms in which alternatim worked is only given for Compline and not for Vespers psalms. Nevertheless, the structure provided would seem plausible in an Hour of the Office of a

[497] 'The organs are played at Mass and at the Canticle of Magnificat on every Sunday of the year… It is also played at the canticles Magnificat and Benedictus and Mass in all duplex minus and semiduplex days… And the same in their octaves/ Tangense os Orgãos aa missa, & câ*n*tico da Magnificat, todos os domingos do anno…Tange-se ainda aos canticos Magn. & Bñs, & Missa em todos os dias duplex minus, & semiduplex… E o mesmo se faz em as octauas solenes'. *Ordinario e ceremonial*, fol. lxxiiii. 'On the feasts of four cantors the organs are played at Vespers… the Hymn and Magnificat canticle [are performed] in alternatim with the *coro*/ Em os dias de quatro cantores se tange*m* os órgãos em as vesperas… co*m* o hymno & cantico da Magnificat em alternatim com o choro /' *Ordinario dos Canónicos Regulares*, fol 81.

[498] J. P. d'ALVARENGA, 'On performing practices.'

[499] A 1565 *Regimento pra Capella da see* (P-EVc EE 21 f); the *Constituições da Igreja da Sé de 1569* (P-EVc CEC 4-VII), the codex which includes the 'Regulamento da Sanchristia'(see above in this chapter), the 'Regras geraes do Regimento do Coro and other prescriptive documents; the Visitation letter of Cardinal Infante D. Henrique on 21 January 1578 (P-EVc EE 20 m), the first half of seventeenth-century *Regimento dos Cantores e Instrumentistas da Capela da Sé de Évora* (P-EVp Fundo Manizola, Cód. 37-4, reproduced in P. ESTUDANTE, 2007, 629-40). The latter document is an updated version of a previous one: *Instituições e Regimentos, que pertencem ao Padroado do Arcebispado de Evora mandados collegir pelos Sñrs Deão e Cabido em Junho de 1634* (P-EVc CEC 5-VIII).

high-ranking feast that involved singers of the *capilla*, organ and *ministriles*. The undated document probably written in the first half of the seventeenth century,[500] indicates that the choir began the psalm (in chant), and some singers, elected by the chapel master, would, with the organ, start verse two. The third verse would resume the chant and the fourth would bring back polyphony, with singers and recorders (and/or, possibly, other instruments), and there would follow a similar pattern from there onwards.[501]

Later textual sources are more detailed, especially if their provenance is a prominent and wealthy institution, where singers, organists and *ministriles* are part of the routine performance of polyphony. The *Directorio del Coro* of Sigüenza is one of the Iberian Ceremonials which gives more detailed information about performance practices at Mass, Compline and Vespers. For the last of these, it emerges that the alternatim is between organ, *ministriles* and *capilla* for psalms, the Magnificat, hymn and Benedicamus Domino. It also distinguishes between different psalms, especially that the first and last would involve all three (organ, *capilla* and *ministriles*), while the third would be played, by one or more *ministriles* and the organ.[502] The 1604 contract for the hiring of four new *ministriles* for the basilica of Our Lady of the Pillar in Saragossa would not have anything particular about it were it not for the fact that it specifically instructs the instrumentalists

[500] P-EVp, fundo Manizola, 37-4.

[501] 'Every Sunday and Holy Day in the evenings of Lent there will be Compline with singers in the upper *coro*, which shall be performed in the following manner: the [chant] *coro* starts one verse in plainchant and the organ replies, with the soloist singer or singers chosen by the chapel master: and then the *coro* replies again in plainchant and the recorders [or other wind-instruments] follow, with the soloist singers chosen by the chapel master and then the organ replies again, and in this manner all the psalms shall be sung, in such a way that the chant always takes place [alternately] between the organ and the recorders or other available instruments/ Todos os Domingos e dias sanctos nas tardes da Quaresma avera completas de cantores no coro de cima, as quais se officiarão desta maneira: comessa o coro com cantochão hum verso, e respondera o Orgão a que cantará o Cantor ou Cantores que o Mestre da Capella mandar: e depois lhe tornara a responder o choro em canto chão, logo se seguirão as Frautas, a que cantarão os cãtores, que o mestre da cappella mandar e tornara a responder o choro e então respondera outra ves o orgão e assi se irão cantando todos os psalmos de maneira que sempre o canto chão se meta entre o orgão e as frautas, ou outros instrumentos que ouuer'. A very similar wording, with exactly the same structure, is given in P-EVc CEC 5-VIII, fols. 42-42v having been transcribed and translated into English by J.P. d'ALVARENGA, 2015, 11.

[502] Javier SUAREZ-PAJARES, *La música en la catedral de Sigüenza*, 1600-1750, 2 vols. (Madrid: ICCMU, 1998), vol. 1, 119-20.

to play the first verse of the Magnificat at Vespers, something which at this time would constitute a contradiction of the prescriptions given in the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* and all the above-mentioned Ceremonials in other Iberian institutions.[503] In Seville cathedral, *alternatim* instructions are also given for individual rubrics of festal Vespers. Table 4.2 below summarizes the contents of three different Ceremonials from this institution.[504]

[503] 'It is also a rule that in those days when they [*ministriles*] have an obligation to play in this manner, that is, at Vespers three times, the first…. The second at the first verse of the Magnificat…/ Item es condicion que en los días que tienen obligación de tañer desta manera, a saber es en las vísperas tres vezes por lo menos, la primera…. La segunda al primer verso de Magnificat…'. Contract fully transcribed by Carlos Bonal ASENSIO, 'Los ministriles polifónicos en la catedral de El Salvador de Zaragoza', *Nassarre* 35 (2019), 171-201, at 198.

[504] The contents of two of these Ceremonials (1630 and 1687) have been detailed and one (1717-23) fully transcribed by J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 239-61 and 363-90.

Table 4.2: Alternatim at Vespers in the cathedral of Seville (1630 – 1723)

VESPERS	1630 (S. Villegas)	1687 (A. Elossu)	1717-23 (*Compendio*)
FIRST VESPERS			
INTRO			*Ministriles* (alternatim?)
PSALMS	First and fith psalms: alternatim: *Capilla*/*ministriles*. Third psalm: alternatim: solo voice or instrument (+ organ)/ chant	First psalm: 8 or 11 voices (according to number used in Magnificat). Third psalm: 'fiestas de primera clase': 11 voices; 'de primera clase, que non son de tanta solemnidad': alternatim *Capilla*/organ or *ministriles* Fifth psalm as the first. On certain feasts, as the third	*Ministriles* (alternatim?) 'Contrapunto' in all five antiphons Second and fourth psalms: chant, with polyphony improvised over it ('varetas'). Doxology *a canto de organo,* by *capilla*. *Ministriles* play instrumental piece after second psalm *Ministriles* play repetition of fifth antiphon, while succentor recites it * If only one *ministril,* first antiphon in chant, with 'contrapunto', for first-class feasts
MAGNIFICAT	With 'música' (*capilla*?) and organ, 'a coros (alternatim)	First-class feasts: 11 voices, distributed by the two organs and *coro*. First-class feasts, less solemn: 8 voices Second-class feasts: 4 voices; Alternatim *capilla* / organ	*Ministriles* (alternatim?) 'Contrapunto' in antiphon. *Ministriles* play repetition of antiphon, while sochantre recites it * If only one *ministril*, antiphon in chant, with 'contrapunto' for first-class feasts
HYMN (*Pange lingua*, the only hymn described)	With organ, *ministriles* and 'músicos' (*capilla*); 1) organ 2) *ministriles* 3) all together with 'música'(*capilla*)		*Ministriles* (alternatim?) Always sung by the *capilla* (therefore in polyphony)

FINAL SECTION			*Ministriles* (alternatim?)
SECOND VESPERS			
PSALMS			For *In exitu*, dulcian gives tone for the *seises*. *Ministriles* play repetition of fifth antiphon, while succentor recites it * If only one *ministril*, this antiphon in chant
HYMN			Sung by the *capilla* (therefore in polyphony)
MAGNIFICAT			Alternatim: chant/ organ (on Sundays) Antiphon in *Contrapunto*. *Ministriles* play repetition of antiphon, while sochantre recites it * If only one *ministril*, antiphon in chant, with *contrapunto* for first-class feasts

The 1630 Ceremonial copied by Sebastián Vicente de Villegas indicates that the first and fifth psalms should be sung in *alternatim* between the *capilla* and the *ministriles*. The third one should alternate a single voice or instrument accompanied by the organ, with the *coro* singing in plainchant. In all the psalms, the doxology should be sung in polyphony. A later Ceremonial, dated 1687, is even more detailed and it reveals a new, still more complex stage in the process of the evolution in the performance of this repertory. In high-ranking feasts, the first psalm should be sung either in eight or eleven voices, 'con papeles'. The musicians should be appropriately placed at the organs and in the *coro*. As for the third psalm, the Ceremonial sub-divides first-class feasts: in the most important ones, this psalm should be sung to eleven voices. In the other, less solemn ones, the psalm should be sung from a choirbook, alternating the *ministriles* or organ with the *capilla*. The fifth and last psalm was sung like the first one, except on certain occasions, when it would be sung in the same way as the third. The Magnificat should be sung to eight voices. The *Compendio de las obligaciones que deben cumplir los ministriles y la capilla de música* is an eighteenth-century Ceremonial, copied sometime between 1717 and 1723. This source mentions that, in first-class feasts, the second and fourth psalms would be sung in plainchant, over which polyphony would be improvised ('varetas').[505] As for the doxology, it is stated that the 'música' should sing it from a choirbook ('un libro').[506] The music sources confirm this: book 16 in the 1588 catalogue consists exclusively of polyphonic *Gloria Patri* settings by Guerrero, in all eight tones, which, despite disappearing in the following catalogue (1644), sees much of its contents survive

[505] All the information on performance practices for Vespers in high-ranking feasts is made available in the book of J. R. JIMÉNEZ, 2007, 239-43 and in his full transcription of the *Compendio* as an appendix.

[506] The terminology used here is quite curious, since it refers to the performers as 'la música'. In context, this can only mean the *capilla* singers, since every time it is applied is in a context of singing in polyphony, such as the Vespers hymn or the doxology. 'En estos dos psalmos, sempre canta la música el Gloria Patri de facistol'; 'El himno sempre lo canta la música de facistol.' *Compendio de las obligaciones que deben cumplir los ministriles y la capilla de música* (Seville: 1717-23), 2.

in 1724, in a new book, then numbered 26. In this 1724 inventory, the *Glorias* book had twenty-three doxologies, for four, five and six voices. Three were anonymous, one was by Manuel Cardoso and the rest by Guerrero.[507]

The Magnificat reflected the dignity of the feast, and its performance was related to what was done in the psalms, both in the number of voices and in the spatial distribution of performers. No indication is given of an *alternatim* scheme. The instructions for hymns are a lot vaguer and (except for an indication, in 1687, for the verse 'Tantum ergo in processions') the only reference, even in the eighteenth-century Ceremonial, is that it should be sung by the singers of the *capilla*. As discussed previously, the available sources for hymns (with the rare exceptions of the *Pange lingua* and *Ave maris stella* settings which were transformed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) would have been the ones used from much earlier periods, and the performance would therefore equally reflect much earlier practices: alternation of two groups, *capilla* and either organ, *ministriles* or chant. Unlike the psalms, there would be no need to differentiate between polychoral and non-polychoral settings or to mention the spatial distribution of performers.

4.3.2. Instrumental participation in alternatim

As for which precisely which instruments (other than the organ) would alternate with singing in these settings, the information given by Ceremonials is very scarce. Sometimes, *marginalia* notes, with fingering instructions for different instruments (which may or may not be specifically named), written in choirbooks, do provide some clues. One example comes from a polyphonic choirbook from the monastery of Arouca, where, among others, several fingering indications for the dulcian appear next to the bass voice

[507] See Table 2.2.

in several of its settings for Vespers, such as 'six fingers on the dulcian' (in *Domine ad adjuvandum* and Benedicamus Domino) or simply 'six fingers' (in *Dixit Dominus*) or 'one finger' (in *Confitebor tibi*). These are always written next to the bass voice and, in these polyphonically set verses, are clearly meant to replace the lowest voice, in the context of an all-female performing group since the monastery of Arouca was a Cistercian female institution. It is quite likely, nevertheless, that this dulcian (and other instruments such as the bass viol, indicated in other settings) would be used in the non-written verses and therefore be part of the alternatim scheme of these settings.[508]

In the two Ceremonials from the monastery of Santa Cruz mentioned above, the more specific statement made regarding instrumental participation is that the decision of which instruments should perform, as well as the tone in which they play fell to the chapel master.[509]

A more detailed indication of the participation of *ministriles*, given by archival sources, comes from Braga, where in the main feasts of the year – Christmas and Ascension, as well as other, non-specified feasts – they would play at Mass and Vespers.[510] As in Sigüenza, Second Vespers at Braga and at Évora did not require *ministriles* but only the organ. The presence of instrument-players, although only occasionally hired for specific occasions, goes back to the late 1530s. These were paid by the archbishop himself,

[508] Given that the indications are always for the bassus voice, the use of a bass dulcian (in F) was assumed. These fingering instructions imply transpositions in all the settings where they are indicated. These transpositions are not always easy or even possible to explain fully: in settings written in *chiavette*, for example, the transposition calculated for the instrument does not match the standard rule for transpositions of settings written in *chiavette*. For more on this source and these marginalia notes see Ana Sá Carvalho, 'O códice polifónico de Arouca: estudo e transcrição'; Ana Gaunt (née Sá Carvalho), 'The Arouca Polyphonic Codex'. *Musical Exchanges*, 330-42 and Ana Gaunt, 'O Códice Polifónico de Arouca', *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia* 2/1 (2015), 61-78.

[509] This is the final section of the quote which opens this hacpter.

[510] 'On this solemn day [Ascension]… at First Vespers and Mass there are shawms, trumpets and drums / Este dia he solemne [Ascenção]… nas primeiras vesporas & missa ha charamelas, trombetas & atabales'; 'Always on this day [Christmas] and in all feast days…at Vespers and Mass there will be shawms, trumpets and drums/ …sempre neste dia [Natal] & em todos os de festas … sempre nas vesporas & missa avera Charamelas, trombetas & atabaques'. P-Brad, *Regimento do Coro da Se de Braga*, Ms. 726, fols 41v and 58 v. Transcribed by P. ESTUDANTE, 2007, 211.

Cardinal D. Henrique, and were at the service of his private chapel, although with an obligation to serve at the cathedral as well as in processions and on other feasts to which they might have been summoned.[511] Manuel Joaquim provides evidence that the cathedrals of Elvas and Viseu hired instrument-players since at least the late sixteenth century.[512]

Given the scarce information given by textual sources, the musical ones can give precious help in filling some gaps, namely for issues of alternatim performance. The above-mentioned organ collection *Flores de Música* by Manuel Rodrigues Coelho, with its eight tones 'para cantar ao órgão', is a good example of this.

As discussed in previous chapters, the indications which come in the form of simple fingering instructions in sixteenth and early seventeenth-century choirbooks become much more precise and detailed in the 1600s, namely through the specifically written parts for instruments, allowing us to know more accurately which sections were performed by which elements and, especially in terms of instrumental performance, what was played.

Other cases are those of sources in which the polyphonic verses may not be set in the standard even/odd-verse alternatim scheme. One such example comes from several polyphonic sources from the monastery of Santa Cruz, as discussed below.

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[511] João Pedro d'ALVARENGA, 'Polifonia na liturgia bracarense: o *Liber Introitus*, primeiro testemunho quinhentista' in *Estudos de Musicologia* (Lisbon: Colibri/Centro de História de Arte da Universidade de Évora, 2002), 35, 88, at 36.

[512] Manuel JOAQUIM, 'Notas sobre a música na Sé de Elvas', *Jornal de Elvas* (articles published in this newspaper between 11 November 1928 and 4 August 1929); *Idem*, 'Nótulas sobre a música na sé de Viseu', *Revista da Beira Alta* (1942-4).

4.3.3. Alternatim in Santa Cruz: moving beyond the odd-and -even-verse scheme

Even in its most standard form – odd and even-verses – the alternatim allowed for a reasonable amount of variation in performance.

In the polyphonic sources from the monastery of Santa Cruz, we find several examples of alternatim schemes which show a more varied approach than the mere odd and even-verse settings commonly found in printed sources. This more varied approach is found essentially in psalms and in hymns. Regarding psalms, Santa Cruz does not hold the exclusive of having alternatim schemes which differ from the standard odd and even-verse setting, and manuscript sources from other institutions – as exemplified below – equally display (although not quite in the same way) alternative settings. Regarding hymns, however, the case of Santa Cruz does seem to be unusual, not only in the different approaches for the alternatim, but also in the schemes themselves, at least one of which have not been found anywhere else.

In many of the psalm settings of Santa Cruz we find that the choice of polyphonically set verses seems apparently 'random', but also that in many cases, individual verses themselves are not polyphonically set in their entirety: only one of the hemistichs is.[513] In polyphonic sources kept in Arouca, Porto, and Coimbra (but originating at institutions other than Santa Cruz, such as P-Cug MM 47), we find a similar phenomenon, both on the choice of verses and in the way some of these are set.[514] Of the seven psalms in E-TUY V, only one follows an even-verse scheme, while the others repeat the non-standard

[513] This is the case with P-Cugs MM 6; 8; 18; 31; 33; 36; 44; 49 (Cartapácio 18) and 53. P-Cug MM 239 (Cartapácio 10) includes several psalms with a 'random' alternatim scheme but all the verses are fully set. In Appendix I, the verses which have not been polyphonically set in their entirety have a line cutting across their number (E.g. 1|~~3~~|6), as indicated in the appendix itself.

[514] This is the case with P-Pm MM 76-79 (concordant with Arouca). As stated previously, MM 47 was copied at the Convent of São Francisco de Santarém. For the alternatim schemes, see Appendix I. The psalms in the above-mentioned Morago's manuscript Vesperal, kept in Viseu obey to the standard odd and even-verse scheme, but it is known that the composer had the ambition of printing this work. See A. PACHECO, 2012, 18.

alternatim pattern. The only common factor to all these settings is that the first verse of the psalm is always set in polyphony, even if afterwards it evolves to setting even-numbered verses.[515] In other institutions there are equally cases of non-conformity to odd or even-verse schemes, but the logic behind them seems to be clearer. In choirbook E-GU II from the monastery of Guadalupe, eight psalms are set every three verses, and there is a written indication of 'tres choros' (three *coros*), which renders obvious the option for this scheme: the alternation of three different performing groups. Toledo's Vesperal E-Tc 12 obeys to a similar (not quite equal) scheme for its psalm verses, and the idea of setting every third verse is not consistent throughout. The first twelve psalms set verses 3; 6; 9 and 10 (second hemistich).[516] The following six psalms set verses 3; 6; 9 and 11 (first hemistich). The last psalm simply sets the odd-numbered verses. Regarding Seville, its only surviving Vesperal is missing a few of its first folios (where its five psalms were copied). The only complete settings are of the odd-verse setting of psalm 113, *In exitu* (concordant with the *Liber Vesperarum*) and of psalm 116, setting verse 2 and the 'Gloria Patri'. [517]

Regarding hymns, we find several approaches to their alternatim scheme in the sources from Santa Cruz, most of which are not standard, at least for this genre. Whereas in some cases we have the commonly found setting of either strophe 1 alone or odd-verse settings,[518] the deviation from the norm happens in different ways, some more unique

[515] The setting of even verses after verse 1 is, in most cases, not consistent and it can return to setting of odd-numbered verses after this.
[516] As explained in Chapter 2, the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth and eleventh psalms are settings on the text of psalm 112, *Laudate pueri*. The second, fourth, sixth, eighth, tenth and twelfth psalms are settings from the two-verse psalm 116, *Laudate Dominum* In these, only the doxology (what Michael Noone calls, in *Pure Gold*, 2011, 'third verse') is polyphonically set.
[517] The first three of the five psalms are incomplete. Settings of psalm 109 and 116 only include one verse (verse 2) and the doxology. Psalm 147, *Lauda Jerusalem* only includes doxological verses (two 'Gloria patri', for five and six voices, respectively). See Appendix I.
[518] Examples of the latter are MM 18's *Sanctorum meritis* and *Veni creator spiritus* by Pedro de Cristo and the anonymous *Ut queant laxis* in the same source or MM 36's *Ave maris stella* by Pedro de Cristo. The anonymous Pange lingua in MM 33 breaks the odd-strophe scheme in order to set the last, doxological

than others. As mentioned before, most of the hymn settings found in the Vesperal studied in Chapter 3 set every three strophes polyphonically. Although it is rare, it is found, as demonstrated previously, in (at least) one other source, the Sevillian hymnal E-Sc 16. What is certainly not found in any of the Vespers prints for this period and in none of the manuscripts approached in this dissertation, is the setting of every strophe of one hymn, as it happens in the setting of *Christe redemptor* in MM 32. In this case, all the seven strophes of the hymn were set, all to the same music. The unusual settings seem to be related to Christmas, [519] since the *Christe redemptor* in Cartapácio MM 49, other than its previously discussed uncommon features,[520] is set to an alternatim scheme which certainly raises some questions. It sets the odd strophes (1; 3; 5 and 7) but of these only the first strophe is entirely set. In the remaining strophes only the second half of the strophe is set in polyphony, which means that, on three occasions, there is one strophe and a half which is not polyphonically set.[521] There are no missing folios, so this was clearly a deliberate choice. How would this strophe, then, be performed? As one unit, or separating the even-numbered strophe from the first half of the odd-numbered one which followed it by using, perhaps, a different performing group? If that is the case, there would be at least three different *coros*, possibly chant, polychoral verses with instruments and a third option – maybe purely instrumental. One of these, however, would perform only half of one strophe. Another question is, obviously, whether in Santa Cruz there was an unusual flexibility in the rules regarding the alternatim setting of at least certain

verse in polyphony, something which we begin to commonly find in prints from the late sixteenth century (See R. SNOW, 1992).

[519] As discussed above, most of the local practices, including additional verses, the composing of *villancicos* or the dramatizations of the Magnificat are all related to Christmas or the Christmas season.

[520] Such as the choice of text and melody, as seen in Chapter 3.

[521] T. Simas Freire, despite transcribing the whole hymn, and pointing to its text and melody particular features, does not make any reference to this unique alternatim scheme.

polyphonic genres (such as the hymn) on particular feasts of the calendar, especially at Christmas.

4.4. THE CLUES PROVIDED BY CEREMONIALS ON SOURCES, REPERTORY AND LOCAL LITURGICAL PRACTICES

The information provided by Ceremonials may encompass, in some cases, a broader range of useful information than merely the way in which liturgical services should be performed. The manuscript sources written for a specific religious institution in particular can be quite revealing also for research on the repertory performed there, as well as for some liturgical practices unique to that institution or region.

This is the case with three Ceremonials from the cathedral of Toledo. The first, still relatively unknown, is a manuscript Ceremonial from 1585, written by the master of ceremonies Pedro Ruiz Alcoholado and by Juan Rincón, entitled *Ceremonial de la Sancta Iglesia de Toledo, primada de las Españas*;[522] the other two, both from the early 1600s, have been briefly mentioned above. One of these, entitled *Memorial de[l] estilo que se [h]a de guardar en esta sancta Yglesia de Toledo*, survives in two copies, the later of which was made in 1869, at the request of the Spanish musicologist Francisco Barbieri.[523] This copy would be, for a long time, the basis for studies and publications until the 1604 original, written by tenor singer Pedro de los Ríos, was discovered and divulged by Michael Noone.[524] This source is mostly organised in the form of a calendar, with the indication of which items should – and which should not – be performed in polyphony. For some feasts of particular importance, it gives more detail, namely describing the

[522] This Ceremonial is partly transcribed as an appendix in Pedro CÁTEDRA, *Liturgia, Poesia y Teatro en la Edad Media*, (Madrid: Gedos, 2005). No musicologist other than Eva Esteve Roldán has, to my knowledge, mentioned this Ceremonial.
[523] F. REYNAUD, 1996, 270.
[524] M. NOONE, 2009.

procession for Corpus Christi and also mentioning, on occasion, the participation of *ministriles*. The other Ceremonial, contemporary to this one, was copied by the cathedral's *racionero* Juan Chaves Arcayos. It is considerably more exhaustive than the first one, and it describes Mass and Vespers of the feasts which, in the cathedral of Toledo, require a procession. The ranking of the feast is illustrated by this procession. Feasts can, therefore, be 'de procession entera' or 'de media procession'. The stipulations given in the two sources coincide for the most part and, quite usefully, the more detailed source helps to clarify some doubts which the *Memorial* raises, in its schematic style. One is the frequent concern to state that there is a Magnificat at Second Vespers. This simply intends to signal that the Magnificat should be *a canto de organo*. Similarly, the indication 'nada' (nothing) for the Second Vespers of Saint Blas, celebrated on the third of February, simply refers to a service with no polyphony and no instrumental participation. Although the full title of the *Memorial* provides a clue as to what these indications might mean – it only deals with feasts celebrated with polyphony – the comparison with Arcayos' more detailed Ceremonial allows for the full understanding of these instructions.[525]

The historical value of these Ceremonials lies in a lot more than the mere information on how Vespers music was performed. They also allow us to identify some practices, specific to Toledo and which reflect the considerable liturgical variety in the post-Tridentine Catholic world. They equally mention, for certain feasts, specific items of repertory, from which it is possible to deduce what polyphonic settings would have been performed, especially if this information is combined with consultation of the music sources. It is similar, in this latter aspect, to the Ceremonials of Seville, with the advantage of

[525] Two examples of the clarification provided by the Ceremonial of Chaves Arcayos: St. Leocadia, 26 April: *Memorial*, f. 5: 'a las segundas vísperas ay Magnificat'; Chaves Arcayos, fol. 307: [Second Vespers] 'con Magnificat a canto de organo'; St. Blas, 2 February: *Memorial*, f. 3v: A las segundas vísperas, nada'; Chaves Arcayos, f. 285v: 'Si ocurriere San Blas despues de la Septuagesima, no ay canto de organo ni organo'.

mentioning not only the titles of pieces but even, on one occasion, where they are located. This represents, obviously, only a small fraction of what would have been sung and played, and it is not likely that, given the variety of repertory available at Toledo, no other choice would have been made by chapel masters. It is, nevertheless, for a repertory-oriented type of research, a valuable piece of information.

One example that illustrates both these aspects is the description of First Vespers of Christmas which is mentioned in both Ceremonials. It states that after the *Fidelium anime* versicle, 'Veni redemptor gentium' should be sung. Chaves Arcayos describes this as a Toledan practice, and Pedro de los Rios is, at this point in his book, unusually detailed: a series of verses was to be sung, with the organ, after the final versicle, whose text incipit was 'Veni redemptor gentium'. The setting of these verses was to be found in the final folios of a book with hymns by Morales.[526] The text of these verses does not correspond to the text of the hymn *Veni redemptor*, as can be seen in the description of Chaves Arcayos, who provides the full text of these verses.[527] It is not, therefore, a case of the performance of two hymns at this service, as might initially appear from the incipits. François Reynaud found an anonymous setting of 'coplillas de Navidad', with the title *Veni redemptor gentium*, in codex 25 of the cathedral. More recently, in his edition of this

[526] 'Having finished Fidelium anime, at first Vespers, or [after] the benediction of the prelate, if he is present, [they] play the organ and the verses which start with Veni redemptor gentium are said, which are at the end of a book with *Ave maris stella* and other Hymns by Morales/ En acabado, Fidelium anime, en primeras Vísperas o la bendicion del prelado si esta presente, tañen el Organo y se dicen los versillos que comiençan Veni redemptor gentium, que estan al cabo del libro de Ave maris stella y otros Hymnos de Morales'. *Memorial*, fols 15-15v.; 'Vespers of the Nativity of Christ… Hymn *Christe redemptor omnium*… and having finished Vespers, the singers sing *a canto de organo* at the eagle lectern, with the organ and *ministriles*, a Toledan ceremony which is the following verse and a part of it is said by the singers, followed right after by the organ, and they repeat it. The verse is Veni redemptor gentium, spes et salus fidelium, veni dare prudentiam quae pellat ignorantiam, and [they] repeat it/ 'Vísperas de la Navidad de Xpo… himno Christe redemptor omnium… y acavadas las vísperas cantan los cantores al facistor de las gradas del aguila a canto de organo, juntamente con el organo, y ministriles, una ceremonia toledana que es el verso siguiente y dicen parte del los cantores y luego el organo y repiten. El verso es Veni redemptor gentium, spes et salus fidelium, veni dare prudentiam quae pellat ignorantiam y repiten'. Chaves Arcayos, fol 409v.

[527] Both *Christe redemptor* and *Veni redemptor* are incipits of Vespers Christmas hymns. The former was usually sung at pre-tridentine Roman Vespers, whereas the latter (as a hymn) was quite common in local uses, including in Toledo. The full text of these verses, given in the Ceremonial of Chaves Arcayos is what allows the reader to know that they do not in fact correspond to any strophe of the hymn *Veni redemptor.*

choirbook, Michael Noone confirms that this *unicum* setting, a verse located on folios 81v-82 – whose text corresponds to the one found at the Ceremonial of Chaves Arcayos – is indeed specifically Toledan and that is has several unique characteristics, not only in its centonate text, but also in its musical construction, being the only setting in the whole book not based on a chant melody. Given its similarity to the style of other Andres de Torrentes's verses, *O sapiential* (copied in that same book) Noone ascribes them – without certainty – to the same composer.[528]

The final part of Vespers, namely after the versicle *Fidelium anime*, did indeed seem reserved for special practices added at this service on certain feasts. The Ceremonial of Chaves Arcayos mentions nothing less than dances, which should take place after this versicle, at First Vespers of the Assumption, (and its octave) and performed in the *coro*.[529] A later Ceremonial, copied around 1700 for the cathedral of Salamanca, recommends the performance of a *villancico* at First Vespers of Epiphany, also after *Fidelium anime*.[530]

Another local performance ritual, also taking place at Christmas, occurs during the performance of the Magnificat at Second Vespers of the day. It is essentially a small

[528] F. REYNAUD, 1996, 307 and M. NOONE, 2003, 108.

[529] '… having said the Fidelium anime at Vespers, they dance in the *coro*, between the choir stalls and the Eagle [lectern] which has been moved more towards the altar, [they] dance the dances which have been ordered for this feast /… dicho el Fidelium animae de vísperas dançan en el choro entre el banco y el águila que esta mudado mas hacia el altar, dançan las dançaș que se han ordenado para esta fiesta'. Chaves Arcayos, fol 334v, transcribed in F. REYNAUD, 1996, 291.

[530] Apart from this information, this passage of the Salamanca Ceremonial also demonstrates very clearly the sort of musical texture and the instrumental participation at Vespers in this cathedral around this time. 'Sus primeras vísperas son el primer salmo a papeles con arpa, el segundo a canto llano con los instrumentos, el tercero a papeles, el quarto a versos y el quinto a papeles. El himno a quatro al facistol y la Magnificar a papeles… Acabado el fidelium anime de vísperas… y estando todo el coro sentado se empieza un villancico que hay en estas vísperas. / Its First Vespers are the first psalm *a papeles* with the harp, the Second in chant with instruments, the third *a papeles*, the fourth in alternatim [of plainchant and organ], and the fifth one *a papeles*. The hymn is at four voices from the lectern [with a choirbook] and the Magnificat *a papeles*. Having finished Fidelium anime at Vespers… with [all in] the *coro* sitting down, a villancico starts, which is performed at these Vespers.' Ceremonial of the cathedral of Salamanca, vol.1, 74. Transcribed in Álvaro TORRENTE, 'Function and the liturgical context of the villancico in Salamanca Cathedral', *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450-1800*, eds Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (London/New York: Routledge, 2016), 99-148, at 111.

dramatization, described in the 1585 Ceremonial, where *caperos* who have been offered hoods go to reclaim them from those, more senior choir members, who have given them, during verse seven, 'Deposuit potentes' ('He put down the mighty from their seats').[531] These hoods were received after a pretend struggle, where the ones who have previously offered their hoods appeared to resist having them taken from them.[532] For how long this ritual was maintained is not possible to tell, although it is absent from the two above-mentioned early seventeenth-century Ceremonials of this cathedral. A similar practice equally took place in several institutions, not only in Spain but also in Girona and Paris.[533]

All throughout Europe, the ceremony of the Boy Bishop was celebrated since the Middle Ages, and Spain was no exception. In the Spanish cathedral of Lleida, for example, since the early fifteenth century, the beginning of the feast of Holy Innocents started, at First Vespers of the day (or Second Vespers of St John Evangelist), with the ceremony of the 'Obispillo'. During the singing of the Magnificat, a group of young boys physically ousted the Bishop from his chair (again) during the Magnificat verse 'Deposuit potentes'. He was replaced with a boy, who remained there for the whole day of Holy Innocents, celebrating Mass and Office. The tumult caused by this 'physical' struggle gave rise to

[531] As mentioned in the previous chapter.
[532] 'En començando la Magnifica, yrán todos quatro caperos a convidar capas, y desta manera: que los caperos canónigos conbíden a otros dos... En aviendo aceptado, se volverán al banco de los caperos y los que han aceptado, los quales se quitarán las capas de choro y esperan a que se diga el verso Deposuit potentes de sede; que, encomençandole, tomarán los que aceptaron las capas a los que las tienen de manera que parezca que hacen alguna resistencia los caperos al tiempo que se la quitaren./ When the Magnificat begins, all four *caperos* will go to offer hoods in this manner: the hooded canons invite the other two… The offer of the hoods having been accepted, the *caperos* will return to their benches and those who have accepted the offer will take off their own hoods and wait for the words "Deposuit potentes de sede" and when these words are sung, those who accepted the hoods will take them from those who have them in such a way that the *caperos* will appear to resist when their hood is taken from them.' Transcribed in Pedro CÁTEDRA, *Liturgia, Poesia y Teatro,* 591. Transcribed and translated into English by E. ESTEVE ROLDÁN, *Pure Gold*, 2011, 213-4. The translation used here is Roldan's.
[533] Idem, 214.

several restrictions, until it was completely forbidden in Spain by the local synod of Toledo, held in 1565.[534]

Dedicating a long chapter of his *Polyphonie tolédane* to the question of relating repertory and performance, Reynaud puts side by side the cathedral's Ceremonials and the musical sources and provides, based on the information of both kinds of sources, suggestions of which polyphonic settings might have been performed at Toledo for the Temporal and Sanctoral of the entire liturgical year. In this case, the Ceremonials work thus as an instrumental tool to research the repertory of each institution, not the least because in some cases these liturgical books themselves include specific mention as to what should be performed on certain occasions. The most specific example is the one of the verse 'Veni redemptor gentium' given above, but there are others. On Second Vespers of the Immaculate Conception (which are also First Vespers of St Leocadia), the Ceremonial of Chaves Arcayos recommends 'Himno *Jesu corona*… antifona ad Magnificat *Veni sponsa*'. For these, Reynaud suggests the setting of hymn *Jesu corona virginum* by Ginés de Boluda, copied in E-Tc 12, which includes the indication 'in festo Sancte Leocadie/ com. Virginu.' and the antiphon for the Common of Virgins *Veni sponsa Christi* by Victoria, in print E-Tc 20.[535]

Even with less specific instructions – such as, for example, the number of voices – it is possible to make plausible deductions of what settings would be chosen for performance at a certain feast. The examples seen above, from Sevillian seventeenth-century Ceremonials, allow us to deduce, from what is available in catalogues and inventories, which psalms and Magnificat settings would have been performed at first-class feasts. Although many of the loose papers from the seventeenth-century have been lost, these

[534] The consulted Portuguese Ceremonials do not include any reference to similar practices.
[535] F. REYNAUD, 1996, 299-300.

Ceremonials' specific indication of polychoral psalms and Magnificat settings indicates that the choice would necessarily have to come from the settings of Luis Bernardo Jalón, Alonso Xuaréz and Carlos Patiño listed in the above-mentioned seventeenth-century inventories.[536]

4.5. Conclusion

In Portugal and Spain, the production and performance of sacred music from the mid-sixteenth century onwards would be the result of a series of features. Some of these were geographically specific – such as the choice and permanence of a certain repertory, the textual and melodic variants, the characteristic genres (such as the Christmas versicle in E-Tc 25) or even the strong visual component, so significant in the services of certain feasts. Others were European-influenced such as the use of polychoral texture, or the concern for text intelligibility, so strongly highlighted in Ceremonials.

All this is testified in these Ceremonials, as well as inventories, contemporary descriptions and the musical sources themselves, allowing for the building of a scenario where these features, as well as the evolution of performance practices – an evolution welcomed by the ecclesiastical authorities of these institutions – is well mirrored. These are, therefore, essential sources for research of the type developed in this dissertation, and much more when they have been so rarely consulted with the current purpose of investigation: to establish a (possible) view of what Sunday or festal Vespers would be like in an Iberian religious institution of a certain rank, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[536] Even the works by these composers – especially of Carlos Patiño – now extant in Seville would only be a part of their actual production, as shown by the significant number of polychoral settings of psalms and Magnificat settings by this composer which survive at the monastery of El Escorial (see Tables 2.5 and 2.16).

CONCLUSION

The object of study for this dissertation was polyphonic music for Vespers in a variety of Iberian institutions. The goal was to try to gain a better knowledge of which sources for this Hour were (or had once been) present in these institutions, their acquisition and preservation, as well as the repertory that was performed, and the ways in which it was performed. The study of the main polyphonic genres sung at Vespers and the way in which these changed musically throughout the period concerning the dissertation, were also considered.

The establishment of common and contrasting traits regarding repertory, sources, style and performance (in the institutions chosen as case studies and in other institutions) was the next stage of that process, something which would allow to form a reasonably accurate scenario of what festal Vespers would look like in Iberian churches.

The study of each of the six case-study institutions has revealed a very significant number of extant (and documented) musical sources with polyphony for Vespers in this period, and how they represented a significant proportion of their polyphonic collections – as shown in Chapter 2. The additional institutions listed in Tables 2.17, 2.18 and 2.19, as well as the historical inventories transcribed in Appendix III, show that this investment in polyphonic musical sources was an overall tendency, not exclusive to the very wealthiest institutions or of particular geographical regions. This investment naturally varied according to circumstances: financial ability, size of the *capilla*, decisions of the chapel master and the policies of each institution regarding the overall use of polyphony.

The musical relevance of Vespers can be seen not only in the sheer number of musical settings, but also in the concern revealed in documentary sources (such as Chapter acts, documents of the *fábrica* regarding acquisition of music, and contemporary descriptions),

which demonstrate how significant a role music played at this Hour of the Office in these churches. These different kinds of sources show evidence of an investment in the purchase, copying or composition of Vespers music, for those feasts where polyphony was required.

Despite no claim ever having been made to the contrary, the sheer lack of research on this specific subject seemed to imply that Vespers music was a less worthy or pertinent theme to investigate than music for the Mass. The great number of sources with this repertory was already known, but the following stage to this knowledge – researching this music in its context – did not seem to attract the attention of scholars.

One of the most noticeable traits which stood out from this research was the emergence of a certain canonical repertory, especially from the second half of the sixteenth century, which would remain in use and/or was continuously copied not only up to the following century but, in many cases, long after. This is not particular to one region or institution but has shown to be a general tendency in the Iberian region. This canonical repertory would be performed side-by-side with newly composed settings, usually copied in loose sheets of paper (*música a papeles*). In the case of Vespers, one common factor to both new and old repertory is that it was mostly restricted to the works of Iberian composers, even when the importation of music from countries with a vast production of this music (such as Italy, for example) would cause no issues of liturgical incompatibility – with genres such as psalm or Magnificat settings.

One other finding which came out of this research is related to some items – especially hymns – which were proper to a certain region and, indeed, many times, to individual institutions, something sometimes associated with particularities of their calendar (which generated proper hymns) and also to local melodies or melodic variants. The specificity of this music would no doubt be one factor (among others) determining its permanence

for extended periods of time. This resulted, therefore, in a very richly varied scenario of particular melodies (or melodic variants), particular settings for certain feasts, and, on occasion, particular use of texts which do not coincide chronologically with the equivalent edition of the Roman Breviary. The process of copying of hymns itself showed not only their prolonged use or the popularity of certain settings, but how flexible this copying could be. The addition of voices and instruments was one facet of this flexibility, but another was – as demonstrated in the case of the settings by Navarro in Coimbra – the juxtaposition of strophes by different composers, of different periods, or even (as described in the 1724 inventory of Seville) the juxtaposition of voices by different composers in one and the same strophe. These particular aspects coexisted with features common to other liturgical genres and to other countries, which become evident in different kinds of Iberian sources, such as the growth of polychoral scoring, the concern for textual intelligibility, and the enrichment of Vespers services at some feasts through processions or small theatrical performances.

The different genres usually performed in polyphony at Vespers had individual characteristics and, consequently, different kinds of polyphonic techniques and textures were applied to them: *fabordón*, *contrapunto*, *canto de organo* and others. These different types of polyphonic treatment varied not only according to genre, but also according to the ranking of the feast, the decisions of those in charge within each institution (which could, themselves, be under greater or lesser external influence)[537] or their financial and human resources. The same applies with the stylistic changes which took place from the late sixteenth century onwards. This aspect becomes crystal clear in the study of the institutions approached in this thesis. The meagre rents of Tuy meant a much more modest

[537] In the case of El Escorial, the strongly marked presence of Phillip II would have undoubtedly exerted some influence in its musical settings. How strong the monarch himself intended this influence to be is what is still nowadays under debate among musicologists.

capilla than the ones in Toledo or Seville and, therefore, different kinds of polyphony were performed: even when the multiplication of vocal and instrumental groups became a common feature of music for Vespers in the seventeenth century. This is not seen, at least in the extant sources of this cathedral. The monastery of El Escorial, on the other hand, with its vast human and financial resources, clearly obeyed criteria (related to their own order and to royal influence) which made the performance of polyphony, at least until the reign of King Philip III, look very different from what was done in secular churches of similar size and wealth. Their sources of *canto de organo* in the sixteenth century are not comparable with anything which we find in Toledo, Seville or Santa Cruz in Coimbra – although we do know that *canto de organo* was indeed performed. The move into the seventeenth century brought radical changes, and the number of extant polychoral settings for Vespers in this institution surpasses the number of settings of all the other study-case institutions put together. In the churches where we do find polychoral musical sources, we see that some genres were particularly cultivated (psalm and Magnificat settings), often using – especially for psalms – a typical combination of voices (SSAT-SATB) which is much more commonly found in the Iberian Peninsula than in contemporary Italian sources. The overall tendency seems to be of a quick exchange between choirs, usually taking place within one verse.

Performance was affected by the same previously-mentioned factors (financial ability and the choices of local ecclesiastical authorities), and this allowed for an equally rich variety of scenarios. Despite the theoretical strength of Roman prescriptions, Iberian churches often took performance issues very much into their own hands. The presence of local (often manuscript) Ceremonials, some produced after the 1600 *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* – and with clear knowledge of it – demonstrate that this was the case. The idea of dramatizations of certain liturgical texts, the inclusion of elements such as dancing

and even of *villancicos* at Vespers which are found in these are elements completely absent from the book which epitomised the Tridentine recommendations for performance during the liturgy.

Other books issued in the wake of the Council of Trent had a similar effect in terms of actual change in the celebration of Vespers: these liturgical books were acquired and theoretically adopted in the Iberian Peninsula, but the musical and even textual variants remained. The 1568 Roman Breviary, while naturally exerting some influence, was not adopted nor followed in a consistent or straightforward manner in the Iberian Peninsula, and the changes we find in terms of repertory and new musical settings were influenced much more by later Roman sources, namely by their alterations to the liturgical calendar which directly influenced, for example, the Iberian calendar of saints, or in the texts of hymns, as seen in Chapter 3.

The research on the theme of polyphonic Iberian Vespers has allowed for the study of different kinds of sources: musical, liturgical and documentary. This study has brought about a greater knowledge of repertory, sources and performing practices in this specific context, as well as a discussion of polyphonic genres for Vespers, their musical treatment and the developments which took place in the transition to the seventeenth century. The research process and results of this thesis largely surpass, therefore, the mere gathering and listing of musical sources. They approach polyphonic music for Vespers, within each of the institutions considered, in a comprehensive manner, inserting it in its musical, liturgical, geographical and performing context.

A source so far unknown – the manuscript Vesperal from the monastery of Santa Cruz – has been studied in detail from the point of view of its contents, codicological description (as far as was possible without direct access to the source) and edition of some of its settings. This manuscript not only adds to the number of sources with works by Navarro

(reinforcing the composer's mentioned 'canonical status'), but it also casts light on the reception and the process of copying of Vespers repertory – especially hymns – in Santa Cruz, at least. This process is one which included the assembling of sections of one same work coming from different origins and time periods. The collection of the Cartapácios has been approached as a whole – unlike the (little) research done so far, which focuses essentially on the study of isolated manuscripts of this collection – in the context of Vespers, looking at its polychoral psalms in terms of texture, style and voice combination. Even in previously studied sources, aspects were raised which had not been considered previously, such as the 'non-standard' alternatim scheme in the psalms of the sixteenth-century choirbooks from Coimbra or in the Christmas hymn-setting of Cartapácio MM 51 (completely overlooked in the dissertation of Simas Freire). The published work on institutions was critically reviewed which, in some cases, allowed for a new perspective on their musical sources and repertory – such as the enormous amount of polychoral works for Vespers kept in El Escorial. Previous research on themes such as 'privileged tones' for the Magnificat has been reviewed and corrected in the light of two of the case-studies of this dissertation, which showed a much less standardised practice and allowed for a more nuanced depiction than the one so far stated as 'the norm'. The use of published archival material allowed also the provision of a more complete picture of the repertory for Vespers, especially the inventories of *música a papeles* from Seville and Toledo and the historical inventories of a series of Iberian churches available both in musicological publications and on the LPH database. This material also allowed me to draw attention to certain factors – for example in performance practices – not mentioned in literature on the theme. The contradiction between the indications given to *ministriles* in a specific contract and what the liturgical books state should take place show that research needs to consider not only the normative sources but also other kinds of sources and that – as

continuously proven – institutions abided not only by the rules of liturgical books but also by the ones established by themselves. This chapter also called attention to the fact that the information extracted from Ceremonials can be richer than merely the rules for performance is services. Obvious as these statements may seem, they are not mentioned in the research on performance practices made in Nelson's or in Estudante's dissertations, for example.

As in any academic dissertation, the findings and conclusions stated throughout this work are naturally the result of research made individually, and within the constraints of time length, and (in this particular time) of restrictions imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic. It is therefore a work necessarily incomplete, and it represents only a first approach to this theme. The detailed study of six Iberian institutions and the research on the extant and documented Vespers sources of other thirty-two, as well as the consultation of liturgical sources (especially Ceremonials) from a variety of origins, has allowed for the establishment of some common traits in the celebration of Vespers in the Iberian Peninsula.

The study of other institutions would naturally contribute to an extended knowledge of the celebration of Vespers, especially as cases 'outside the norm', and which might constitute interesting individual objects of deeper study in a future research, whose contrasting results could afterwards be put against the more standard tendencies (especially of repertory) presented in this dissertation. The cathedral of Tarazona possesses a significant collection of Vespers music. It presents (as demonstrated in Table 2.18) an unusually high proportion of Italian repertory for this service. An explanation

for this fact has not yet been thoroughly given in the publications, although an hypothesis has been suggested.[538]

Alongside (more or less) wealthy cathedrals, monasteries of different orders and collegiate churches, there is equally a wide range of much smaller institutions which have, at least in the Iberian Peninsula, been almost completely overlooked, such as, for example, parish churches. Multiple questions regarding liturgical music in these institutions are left unanswered: how were Vespers celebrated in these institutions, namely on important feasts of the calendar? How far down the hierarchical ladder of these institutions do we find consistent polyphonic practice? Or instrumental practice? Would these institutions keep their own instrumentalists or singers, or hire them occasionally from important local churches? We do know from historical documents (especially Chapter acts) that *ministriles* often played not only at the institution with which they had an established contract but equally, on some feasts, they would perform in other churches or in processions.[539]

A different musical context, and a very interesting one to study regarding Vespers, would be the Spanish *capilla real* with the purpose of trying to understand how much the music performed there had in common (or not) with the one of secular and monastic Spanish institutions. Numerous studies and publications are available regarding the royal chapel, but Vespers are usually treated only as part of a larger and different context.[540]

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[538] Owen Rees discusses this Italian – especially Roman – repertory preserved in the cathedral of Tarazona in O. REES, *Early Music* 1995.

[539] J. RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 2004, 299 (footnote 104) gives a list of several Spanish parish churches which hired – for specific occasions – the services of *ministriles*.

[540] Recent examples are the publications by B. NELSON, 2000 and of T. KNIGHTON, L. ROBLEDO ESTAIRE *et al*. eds., *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la corte de Felipe II*. As demonstrated in Table 2.11, the inventory of books with Vesper's music of the king's chapel made by Pedro del Bosque in 1600 shows settings by Morales, Ceballos, Pastrana, Guerrero alongside works by Benedictus, Divitis and other (possibly non-Spanish) composers who are not named. The catalogue of the Library of Portuguese king D. João IV shows, as discussed in Chapter 3 that, for Vespers music, a greater proportion of Italian composers than the one usually found in Iberian churches, although most works are still by Iberian composers. One research theme, yet unexplored is, in terms of private musical collections (especially in the cases where

From Portugal, an important collection of polyphonic manuscripts and prints survives at the Palace of Vila Viçosa. Many of these contain repertory for Vespers, especially hymns, although most of them are from a chronological period which falls outside the scope of this dissertation, from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries.[541]

Even as regards the institutions which were approached, important work remains to be done. The transcription and publication of the inventory made by Sebastián de la Osa in 1670 would be an important tool for those studying the music from Toledo at this period, helping to close the very large gap between the years of 1649 and 1793, of which there are published inventories.

Finally, as already mentioned in the Introduction, an international comparison between the sources, repertory and performance practices of Portugal and Spain and of other European countries would allow for a wider discussion regarding the celebration of Vespers across different geographical contexts.[542] This sort of work has not been particularly well-promoted, for Vespers or for any for any other theme. Iberian music is, even now, very much approached in its own closed context, a situation which some musicologists are trying to reverse, both through their studies in English and American Universities as through the presentation of their research in international conferences.[543]

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these large numbers of items) what music (for Vespers) was it 'fashionable' to collect in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

[541] M. JOAQUIM, 1953 and José Augusto ALEGRIA, org., *Biblioteca do Palácio Real de Vila Viçosa: Catálogo dos fundos musicais* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1989).

[542] This would be deserving of a doctoral dissertation specifically dedicated to this theme.

[543] In the Introduction to the book *Musical Exchanges, 110-1650: Iberian Connections*, 3-17, Manuel Pedro Ferreira mentions the eighteenth-century-based paradigm which still nowadays puts France, Italy and Germany as the three 'musical centralities' of Western-Europe, and consequently turns other geographical locations into peripherical, something which the author tries to deconstruct throughout the chapter, even if referring specifically to medieval music. In a very recent publication, Robert Kendrick explores several aspects of music and liturgy in the Iberian Peninsula (and its colonies) and the New World in the sixteenth century, alongside countries such as Italy, France and the Low Countries. Robert L. KENDRICK, 'Catholic Music', *Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music*, Iain Fenlon, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 27-55. Already in 2017, the same author talked of 'the Iberian world as a central part of Catholic culture' and emphasized 'the need for a view which allows for both the political and cultural centrality of Spain as well as the peculiarities of its systems of musical production'. Robert KENDRICK,

This would obviously require existing research for Vespers music in other geographical contexts. Italy would, therefore, be a good starting point since, as mentioned in the Introduction, it is for now the country for which there is the most available information on this subject, especially as regards musical editions.

Even if it has constituted only a first step towards a greater understanding of Iberian polyphonic music for Vespers, the research presented in this dissertation has hopefully contributed, on the one hand, towards a better knowledge of this music in the Renaissance and Early-Modern period and, on the other, has created some stimulus and awakened enough curiosity so that others interested in this theme can find it a useful point of departure for further investigation. As mentioned in the examples given above, there is a vast array of projects related to this theme which have not yet been fulfilled, and which would certainly constitute very valuable contributions not only to Iberian musicology but to the research on early music itself.

'Integrating Iberia', *Listening to Modern Catholicism: Perspectives from Musicology*, eds. Daniele V. Filippi and Michael Noone (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017), 47-8.

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APPENDIX I

CASE-STUDY INSTITUTIONS: VESPERS SETTINGS IN THEIR POLYPHONIC CHOIRBOOKS

This appendix lists the settings for Vespers included in the extant polyphonic choirbooks of each of the institutions approached in Chapter 2. These choirbooks have been divided into two groups: manuscript and printed.

MANUSCRIPT CHOIRBOOKS: The manuscript polyphonic choirbooks for each institution are fully indexed in tables. Each table includes:

Item number: the number of the item within the source

Title: This corresponds to the title of the item, which is not always necessarily equivalent to the incipit of the piece. The spelling is given according to standard use and does not not, therefore, necessarily correspond to the source's original spelling

Vv: number of voices.

Vrs|Strph: the verses or strophes which are set polyhonically. When, in psalms, a certain number appears cut (ex. ~~2~~), this means that only one half the verse (i.e. one of the hemistiches) is set polyphonically.[544]

Tone: the liturgical tone. This is given for the Psalms and Magnificat settings. These were considered as the relevant items for which this information should be provided, given the need to link them with antiphons.

[544] Not all the musical sources indexed in this appendix have been consulted directly and were based on secondary literature (catalogues, inventories, musical editions and studies of these sources) and through the online databases *Libros de polifonia hispana* and *Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music* (DIAMM), none of which include images of the sources. For some of these sources, there is no indexation whatsoever in *Libros de polifoni*a and the one in DIAMM is sometimes incomplete. It is, therefore, the case that some information, such as the item number, the verses or the tone of certain settings are missing.

Authorship: The name of the composer is spelled according to standard use and does not not, therefore, necessarily correspond to the source's original spelling. The authorship of an item is anonymous except where indicated. An empty space in this column therefore corresponds to an anonymous setting.

Concordances|Notes: All the concordances are indicated as far as it was possible to discover them. Regarding the Magnificat settings of Morales, in particular, given their great number of concordances, are not given in the tables. These concordances are all available in Martin HAM, 'Worklist', Appendix D, *Cristóbal de Morales: sources, influence, reception*, eds. Owen Rees and Bernardette Nelson, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 6 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007).

Abbreviations:

BD: Benedicamus Domino

C: Canticle

GP: Gloria Patri / SE: Sicut erat

H: Hymn

Mag. A: Magnificat antiphon

Ps: Psalm

TP: *Tonus peregrinus*

PRINTED CHOIRBOOKS:

For the printed choirbooks within each institution, full bibliographic details are given, but these are not indexed. The corresponding modern edition is equally provided.

CATHEDRAL OF SEVILLE

Manuscript choirbooks

E-Sc 2

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	CONCORDANCES|NOTES
1	1v-[4]	Dixit Dominus	4	2|GP	1	Ps	Guerrero	G 4873| Incomplete (folios 3v-4 recovered)
2	[4v-10]	Lauda Jerusalem	5|6	GP|GP		Ps	Guerrero	Incomplete (folios 8v-9v recovered) Two doxologies (5 and 6 vv)
3	[10v] -14	Laudate Dominum	4|5	2|GP|SE|SE	8	Ps	Guerrero	G 4873|Incomplete
4	14v-23	In exitu Israel	4	odd	TP	Ps	Guerrero	G 4873
5	23v-24	Laudate Dominum	4	2|GP		Ps	Guerrero	
7	29v-32	Conditor alme siderum	4	2|4|6		H	Guerrero	G 4873 (with significant variants)| Advent
8	32v-36	Christe redemptor… ex patre	5	2|4|6		H	Guerrero	G 4873| Christmas
9	36v-38	Deus tuorum militum	4	2|4		H	Guerrero	G 4873 with text Hostis Herodes Common of One Martyr (simplex feasts)
10	38v-42	Exultet orbis gaudiis	4	2|4|6		H	Guerrero	Original text: Exultet coelum| Common of Apostles G 4873 with text Christe redemptor
11	42v-44	Hostis Herodes	5	2|4		H	Guerrero	G 4873 |Epiphany
12	44v-48	Vexilla regis	6	2|4|6		H	Guerrero	G 4873| Passion Sunday
13	48v-70	Ad cenam agni	4	2|8		H	Guerrero	G 4873| Easter Sunday Error in the foliation: LXX instead of L Incomplete
14	70v-73	Jesu nostra redemptio	5	2|4|6		H	Guerrero	G 4873, str. 2 with significant variants; str. 4: different version in E-GRmf 5 Ascension
15	73v-76	Beata nobis gaudia	4	2|4|6		H	Guerrero	Pentecost (pre-tridentine)
16	77v-79	Veni creator spiritus	5	2|4|6		H	Guerrero	G 4873| Pentecost
17	79v-80	O lux beata trinitas	4	2		H	Ceballos	Sevillian melody Trinity

18	80v-81	O lux beata trinitas	4	2	H	Guerrero	G 4873| Toledan melody Later addition
19	81v-91	Pange lingua	5	2|5	H	Guerrero	G 4873| Corpus Christi Incomplete| New foliation error
		Doctor egregie Paule			H	Guerrero	St Paul| Folios currently missing Indexed in 1724 inventory
		Quodcumque vinclis			H	Navarro	St Peter's chair| Folios currently missing Indexed in 1724 inventory
20	91v-94	Ut queant laxis	5	2|4	H	Guerrero	G 4873 St John the Baptist
21	94v	Aurea luce	4?	1	H	Guerrero	G 4873| SS Peter and Paul Missing folios: only ST
22	99	Lauda mater ecclesiae	4?	7	H	Guerrero	G 4873| St Mary Magdalen Missing folios: only AB
23	99v-101	Quicumque Christum	4	2|4	H	Navarro	N 283| Transfiguration
24	101v-103	Tibi Christe splendor	4	2|4	H	Guerrero	G 4873|Incomplete St Michael the Archangel
25	103v-107	Christe redemptor… conserva	5	2|4|6|7	H	Guerrero	G 4873: strs. 4 & 7 with significant variants; str.6: different version in E-GRmf 975 All Saints
26	107v-109	Caelestis urbs Jerusalem	4	2|4	H	Guerrero	Dedication of a church| Original text: Urbs beata
27	110v-111 119v-121	Ave maris stella	4	2|4|6 4|6	H	Guerrero Ceballos	Marian Feasts Strophe 2 and two voices of strophe 4: G 4783 Strophe 6 and two voices of strophe 4: possibly the ones by Ceballos (by exclusion).[545] Incomplete
28	121v-124	Exultet orbis gaudiis	4	2|4|6	H	Guerrero	G 4873, with 'Deo Patri' in str. 6 Common of Apostles and Evangelists (outside of Eastertide)| Later addition
29	124v-127	Exultet caelum laudibus	?	2|4|6	H	Guerrero	Common of apostles

[545] The 1724 inventory states: 'In festo beatae Mariae. Ave maris stella. Guerrero y Ceballos'.

							Incomplete| Some folios recovered
30	127v-129	Tristes erant apostoli	4	2|4	H	Guerrero	G 4873| Common of Apostles (Eastertide)
31	129v-131	Deus tuorum militum	4	2|4	H	Guerrero	G 4873, with text Quicumque Christe Common of One Martyr| Sevillian melody
32	131v-133	Deus tuorum militum	4	2|4	H	Guerrero	G 4873, str. 4 with significant variants Common of One Martyr Incomplete
33	133v-135	Sanctorum meritis	4	2|4	H	Guerrero	G 4873
34	135v-137	Iste confessor	5	2|4	H	Guerrero	G 4873|Common of Confessor (Doctors)
35	137v-139	Iste confessor	?	2|4	H	Guerrero	Incomplete| Common of Confessors (not Doctors) Sevillian melody
36	139v-141	Jesu corona virginum	4	2|4	H	Guerrero	G 4873, str. 2 with significant variants Common of Virgins
37	141v-144	Vexilla regis	6	2|4|6	H	Guerrero	G 4873, v.6: different version in E-GRmf 975 Invention of Holy Cross Sevillian melody.
38	144v-149	Lauda Jerusalem	6	2|6	Ps	Guerrero	G 4873| Incomplete Later addition

E-Sc 10

A manuscript copy of Aguilera de Heredia's print, *Canticum Beatissimae Virginis Deiparae Mariae* (Zaragoza: Pedro Cabarte, 1618). The cathedral archive still possesses the original print (E-Sc 19). This manuscript is damaged and shows signs of a lot of use. It was probably copied after 1724. As an addition, it includes the 4-voice hymn *O Roma felix*, for the feasts of saints Peter and Paul, probably copied in the nineteenth century.

E-Sc 16

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
1	1-5	Gentes Hispaniae	4	3|6		H	A. Lobo	St Isidore of Seville
2	5v-8	Salvete clarae	4	3|6		H	A. Lobo	SS Justina and Rufina
3	8v-10	Regis indigni	4	3|5		H	A. Lobo G. de Úbeda	St Hermenegild. Strophe 3 by Lobo, 5 by Úbeda
4	10v-11	Domare cordis impetus	4	2		H	P. Rabassa	St Elizabeth of Portugal
5	11v-13	Fallaces undes	4	3		H	A. Lobo	St Didacus of Alcalá
6	13v-16	Defensor alme Hispanie	4	3|5		H	A. Lobo	St James the Apostle
7	16v-17	Te Joseph celebrent	4	3		H	G. de Úbeda	St Joseph
8	17v-21	Jesus dulcis memoria	5	2|4		H	Francisco de Santiago	Holy name of Jesus
9	21v-25	Lauda fidelis concio[546]	5	2|4		H	Francisco de Santiago	Feast of the Crown Only 4 of 5 folios preserved
10	25v-26	Mentibus letis jubilemus	4	2		H	Francisco de Santiago	St Gabriel Archangel
11	27v-31	Stabat mater	4	3|5|7|9		H	Gabriel de Villareal	Seven Sorrows Virgin Mary
12	32v-34	Vexilla regis	4	2|4		H	G. de Úbeda	Exaltation of the Cross
13	35v-37	Ecce Justus	4	3|7		H	José de Salazar	SS Justus and Pastor
14	38v-42	Defensor alme Hispaniae	5	5		H	G. de Úbeda	St James the Apostle| Copied 1748
15	42v-44	Te splendor	4	3		H		St Michael Archangel |Copied after 1748

Printed choirbooks

E-Sc 19: Aguilera de Heredia, *Canticum Beatissime Virginis* (Saragossa: Pedro Cabarte, 1618). **Modern edition**: Barton Hudson, ed., *Canticum Beatissimae virginis deiparae Mariae: (Cesaraugustae, MDCXVIII)*, 3 vols. (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1975).

[546] Edited in *Antologia de Polifonia Portuguesa 1490-1680*, Portugaliae Musica 37 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982).

CATHEDRAL OF TOLEDO

Manuscript choirbooks

E-Tc 4

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	CONCORDANCES|NOTES
1	1v-7	Magnificat	4	odd	1	C	Guerrero	G 4868
2	7v-12	Magnificat	4	even	1	C	Guerrero	G 4868
3	13v-19	Magnificat	4	odd	2	C	Guerrero	G 4868
4	19v-26	Magnificat	4|5 6	even	2	C	Guerrero	G 4868| Two doxologies
5	26v-32	Magnificat	4	odd	3	C	Guerrero	G 4868
6	32v-38	Magnificat	4	even	3	C	Guerrero	G 4868
7	38v-44	Magnificat	4	odd	4	C	Guerrero	G 4868
8	44v-50	Magnificat	4|6	even	4	C	Guerrero	G 4868
9	50v-56	Magnificat	4	odd	5	C	Guerrero	G 4868
10	56v-62	Magnificat	4	even	5	C	Guerrero	G 4868
11	62v-66	Magnificat	4|2	odd	6	C	Guerrero	G 4868
12	68v-74	Magnificat	4	even	6	C	Guerrero	G 4868
13	74v-80	Magnificat	4	odd	7	C	Guerrero	G 4868
14	80v-86	Magnificat	4	even	7	C	Guerrero	G 4868
15	86v-92	Magnificat	4	odd	8	C	Guerrero	G 4868
16	92v-99	Magnificat	4	even	8	C	Guerrero	G 4868

E-Tc 6

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
10	92v-98	Hodie completi sunt dies	5			Mag. A	B. Ribera	Pentecost
11	98v-103	Virgo prudentissima	5			Mag. A	B. Ribera	Assumption
13	107v-114	Magnificat	4-7	odd	1	C	B. Ribera	
14	114v-120	Magnificat	4	even	1	C	B. Ribera	
15	120v-127	Magnificat	4-7	odd	2	C	B. Ribera	
16	127v-134	Magnificat	4|5	even	2	C	B. Ribera	
17	137-141	Magnificat	4|5	even	3	C	B. Ribera	Folios 134-136 missing
18	141v-148	Magnificat	4|6	odd	3	C	B. Ribera	Folio 142 missing
19	149v-153	Magnificat	4	even	4	C	B. Ribera	Folio 151 missing
20	154-159	Magnificat	4	odd	4	C	B. Ribera	Partial mutilations in ‘Quia fecit’ and ‘Fecit potentiam’

E-Tc 8

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
1	1v-7	Laudate Dominum	5	1|2|GP		Ps	Navarro	‘In dominica prima adventus’
7	95v-98v	Lauda Jerusalem	5|6	3|6|9	8	Ps	G. de Boluda	Last recto missing
8	99	Christe redemptor…	4	2		H		All Saints| Incomplete: only A and B
9	99v-101	Ave maris stella	5|3	2|4		H	G. de Boluda?	Marian feasts

E-Tc 12

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
1	1v-3	Laudate pueri	4|5	3|6|9| EUOUAE	1	Ps	Torrentes	
	3v-4	Laudate Dominum	6	GP	1	Ps	Torrentes	
2	4v-6	Laudate pueri	4-6	3|6|9| EUOUAE	2	Ps	Torrentes	
	6v-7	Laudate Dominum	5	GP	2	Ps	Torrentes	
3	7v-11	Laudate pueri	4-6	3|6|9| EUOUAE	4	Ps	Torrentes	
	11v-12	Laudate Dominum	5	GP	4	Ps	Torrentes	
4	12v-14	Laudate pueri	4	3|6|9| EUOUAE	5	Ps	Torrentes	
	14v-15	Laudate Dominum	4	GP	5	Ps	Torrentes	
5	15v-18	Laudate pueri	4|5	3|6|9| EUOUAE	6	Ps	Torrentes	
	18v-19	Laudate Dominum	4	GP	6	Ps	Torrentes	
6	19v-22	Laudate pueri	4	3|6|9| EUOUAE	8	Ps	Torrentes	
	22v-23	Laudate Dominum	6	GP	8	Ps	Torrentes	
7	23v-27	Lauda Jerusalem	4|5	3|6|9|SE	1	Ps	Torrentes	
8	27v-30	Lauda Jerusalem	4|5	3|6|9|SE	2	Ps	Torrentes	
9	30v-34	Lauda Jerusalem	4-6	3|6|9|SE	3	Ps	Torrentes	
10	34v-37	Lauda Jerusalem	4|5	3|6|9|SE	4	Ps	Torrentes	
11	37v-39	Lauda Jerusalem	4	3|6|9|SE	6	Ps	Torrentes	E-GU II
12	39v-42	Lauda Jerusalem	4|5	3|6|9|SE	8	Ps	Torrentes	
13	42v-49	In exitu Israel	4	1|2|3; odd to 29		Ps	Torrentes	
14	49v-51	Lauda mater ecclesiae	4|5	2|6		H	Torrentes	Text str. 2 later replaced with str. 1 of 1602 Breviary
15	51v-52	Exultet caelum laudibus	4	2		H	Torrentes	

16	52v-54	Deus tuorum militum	4	2|5		H	Boluda/Torrentes?	E-GU II (str. 2), ‘Boluda’
17	54v-56	Jesu corona virginum	4	2|5		H	Boluda/Torrentes?	E-GU II (str.2) ‘Boluda’
18	56v-57	Sanctorum meritis	4	2		H	Torrentes	Text replaced with 1632 Breviary, str. 1
19	57v-58	Iste confessor	4	2		H	Torrentes	Strophe 1, variant ‘meruit beatas scandere sedes’ E-Tc 24, 101v-104, ‘Alme vicenti’ (contrafacta)
20	58v-59	Veni creator spiritus	4	2		H	Bernal González	Text replaced with str. 1. Strs. 3, 5, 7 added in margins (1632 Breviary)
21	59v-61	Tristes erant apostoli	4|5	1|6		H	Torrentes	Text str. 1 altered to 1632 Breviary
22	61v-62	Aurea luce	4	2		H	Torrentes	Text replaced with str. 1 (1568 & 1603 Breviaries). Str. 1 of 1632 Breviary added onto staves.
23	62v-68	Magnificat	4|3|5	odd	1	C	Torrentes	
24	68v-74	Magnificat	4|3|6	odd	2	C	Torrentes	
25	74v-77	Magnificat	4	odd	3	C	Torrentes	
26	77v-83	Magnificat	4|3|5	odd	4	C	Torrentes	
27	83v-90	Magnificat	4|3|6	even	5	C	Torrentes	
28	90v-97	Magnificat	4|3|6	odd	6	C	Torrentes	
29	97v-101	Magnificat	4	odd	7	C	Torrentes	
30	101v-104	Magnificat	4	odd	8	C	Torrentes	

E-Tc 13

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
11	65v-72	Beati omnes qui timent	6	1-7		Ps	Morales	

E-Tc 18

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
1st foliation/section (1546)								
1	1v-7	Magnificat	4|3	odd	5	C	Festa	Modern edition: Alexander Main ed., *Opera omnia* II (1968)
2	7v-14	Magnificat	4|3	even	5	C	Festa	« »
5	30v-36	Magnificat	4|5	odd	7	C	Torrentes	
6	36v-37	Urbs beata Jerusalem	4	2		H	Torrentes	Dedication of a church
7	37v-39	Conditor alme siderum	4	2|4		H	Torrentes	Advent
8	39v-40	Christe redemptor… conserva	4	2		H	Torrentes	All Saints
9	40v-41	Celsi confessoris	6			H	Torrentes	Common of Confessors
10	41v-43	Nova resultent gaudia	4			H	Torrentes	St Eugene
11	43v-44	In festo Leocadiae	4	2		H	Torrentes	St Leocadia
12	44v-45	Hostis Herodes	4			H	Torrentes	Epiphany
15	50v-51	In convertendo	4	3|6|9	8	Ps	Torrentes	
2nd foliation/section (1543c)								
1	1v-7	Magnificat	4	even	1	C	Torrentes	
2	7v-13	Magnificat	4|5	even	8	C	Torrentes	
3	13v-19	Magnificat	4	even	4	C	Torrentes	
4	19v-25	Magnificat	4|5	odd	1	C	Torrentes	Incomplete
5	32	Magnificat	4	odd	1	C	Basurto	Fragment (only A and B of GP)
6	32v-38	Magnificat	4|5	even	4	C	Torrentes	
7	38v-40v	Magnificat	4	odd	1	C	Morales	E-Tc 34
15	102	Magnificat	4	even	6	C	Peñalosa	Fragment (onlyA and B of SE)|E-Tc 34
16	102v-108	Magnificat	4	odd	7	C	Morales	E-Tc 34
17	108v-114	Magnificat	4	even	7	C	Morales	E-Tc 34
18	114v	Magnificat	5 or 6	even	3	C	Torrentes	Fragment (only S and T of ‘Et exultavit’)

E-Tc 21

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
13	35v-41	In exitu Israel	4	1-29 (odd)		Ps	Torrentes	
15	42v-43	Veni creator spiritus	4	1		H	Torrentes	
32	90v	Dixit Dominus	4	1	1	F		Listed as 'fabordones' in original tabula
33	91	Dixit Dominus	4	1	2	F		
34	91v	Dixit Dominus	4	1	3	F		
35	92	Dixit Dominus	4	1	4	F		
36	92v	Dixit Dominus	4	1	5	F		
37	93	Dixit Dominus	4	1	6	F		
38	93v	Dixit Dominus	4	1	7	F		
39	94	Dixit Dominus	4	1	8	F		
41	96v-97	Tibi Christe splendor	4	1		H		St Michael Archangel

E-Tc 22

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
14	87v-89	In exitu Israel	4	3|4|6|9|12		Ps	Morales?	

E-Tc 24

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
1	1v-8	Laudate pueri	4	1|2|4|6|8|9	4	Ps	Navarro	N 283
2	8v-14	Lauda Jerusalem	4	1|2|4|6|8|10	7	Ps	Navarro	MEX Pc 7|E-GU II| E-SA 4E-SE 4|P-VV 8|N 283
3	14v-24	Domine probasti me	4	1|2|5|8|11|14|17|20|23	2	Ps	Navarro	E-GU II| MEX-Pc 7|E-TZ 13|N 283
4	24v-30	Credidi			5	Ps	Navarro	
10	57v-68	Ave maris stella	4	1|4		H	Navarro	E-GU II| E-SE 2|E-SE 4| N 283
11	68v-77	Deus tuorum militum	4	2|4|5		H	Navarro	N 283|Translation arm St Eugene

13	84v-86	Te Joseph celebrent	4		H	Navarro	St Joseph
14	86v-88	Jesu dulcis memoria	4		H	Navarro	Holy name of Jesus
15	88v-90	Regis superni nuntia	4		H	Navarro? Ardanaz	St Teresa Attributed to Navarro and Ardanaz in the source
16	90v-93	Fortem	4		H	Ambiela	St Sabina
17	93v-96	Regali nuntio	4		H	Ardanaz	St Hermenegild
18	96v-99	Miris modis	4		H	Ambiela	St Peter in Chains
19	99v-102	Miles superni numinis	4		H	Ambiela	St Agapitus of Palestrina
20	102v-104	Alme vincenti	4		H	Torrentes	St Vincenti
21	104v-107	Defensor alme Hispaniae	4		H	Jayme Casellas	St James the Apostle
22	107v-110	Exultet orbis gaudiis	5		H	Jayme Casellas	Common of Apostles
23	110v-113	Vexilla regis	4	2|4|6	H	Guerrero	G 4873 Passion Sunday
24		Veni creator spiritus	4		H	Bernal González	Pentecost
25		Ad regias agni dapes	4		H	Casellas	Dominica in Albis
26	128v-131	Tristes erant apostoli	4		H	Jayme Casellas	Common of Apostles (Eastertide)

E-Tc 25

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
2	5v-6	Jesu corona virginum	4	1		H	A. Tejeda	Common of virgins
5	18v-20	Lauda Jerusalem	4|5	3|6|9	8	Ps	Morales	'a tres choros'
6	20v-22	Levavi oculos	4|5	3|6|9	6	Ps	Morales	'a tres choros'
7	22v-23	Benedicamus Domino	5	2	1	BD	Morales	
8	23v-26	Eripe me	4|5	3|6|9|12|15	1	Ps	Morales	E-GRmf 975

9	26v-28	Urbs beata Jerusalem	4|5	2|9		H	Morales	
10	28v-30	Christe redemptor …conserva	4	2|7		H	Morales	E-Sc 2, partial concordance (only strophe 7). Jiménez attributes the whole hymn to Guerrero.
11	30v-31	In convertendo	4	3|6|9	8	Ps	Morales	'a tres choros'
12	31v-33	Nova resultent gaudia	4	2|7		H	Morales	St Eugene
13	33v-34	Benedicamus Domino	4	2	5	BD	Morales	
15	41v-43	Veni redemptor omnium	4|5	2|8		H	Morales	Christmas
16	43v-44	Benedicamus Domino	5	2	1	BD	Morales	
18	46v-53	Ave maris stella	4|6	2|4|6|7		H	Morales	E-LEDc ss| E-GU II. Both only with strophe 4 Marian feasts
20	55v-57	Hostis Herodes	4	2|6		H	Guerrero	Nº 32 (77v-79) Epiphany
21	57v-59	Celsi confessoris	4|5	2|7		H	Guerrero	St Ildephonse
22	59v-61	Conditor alme siderum	4	2|6		H	Guerrero	GCA-Gc 2-A Annunciation
23	61v-62	Hymnum canamus gloriae	4	2		H	Guerrero	Ascension
24	62v-63	Jam Christus astra ascenderat	4	2		H	Morales	Pentecost
25	63v-64	O lux beata trinitas	4	2		H		Trinity
26	64v-65	Pange lingua	4	2		H	Urreda	[547] Corpus Christi
27	65v-66	Concinat plebs fidelium	4	2		H		St Clare
29	69v-71	Ut queant laxis	4	2		H	Guerrero	St John the Baptist
30	71v-75	Felix per omnes	4|5	2		H	Morales	SS Peter and Paul
31	75v-77	Hic judicandis ovibus	4	2|4		H	Morales? Guerrero?	St James
32	77v-79	O nata lux de lumine	4	2|7		H	Guerrero	Transfiguration
33	79v-80	'Monstra te'	4					Headed 'Extravagantes'. Strophe from *Ave maris stella* sung at processions in feasts of the Virgin Mary.
34	80v-81	'Monstra te'	4					« »
35	81v-82	Veni redemptor gentium	4			V	Torrentes?	Versicles sung at the end of 1st Vespers of Christmas. (see chapter 4)

[547] There are some thirty-five manuscript concordances of this setting. For their complete list, see K. KREITNER, 2004.

36	83	Ecce Justus ecce Pastor	4	1		H	M. Ambiela	SS Justus and Pastor
37	83v-84	Stabat mater	4	1		H	M. Ambiela	Seven Sorrows of Virgin Mary
19a		Magnificat	4|6	even	8	C	Morales	Incomplete: The rest is in E-Tc 34, 4th foliation, 58v-64v

E-Tc 30

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
4	65v-71	Magnificat	4	odd	1	C	Victoria	V 1427|V 1430| V 1435
5	71v-76	Magnificat	4	even	1	C	Victoria	V 1427|V 1430
6	76v-82	Magnificat	4	odd	4	C	Victoria	V 1427|V 1430
7	82v-89	Magnificat	4	even	4	C	Victoria	V 1427| V 1430| V 1435| There are two doxologies (SE), the second of which only exists in the manuscript.
8	89v-95	Magnificat	4	odd	8	C	Victoria	V 1427| V 1430| V 1435
9	95v-101	Magnificat	4	even	8	C	Victoria	V 1427| V 1430
10	102v-107	Nisi Dominus	8	1-6		Ps	Victoria	V 1427| V 1435 No doxology| Organ part missing

E-Tc 34

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
1st foliation/section (1546)								
	104v-109	Magnificat	4|3	odd	1	C	Morales	
	109v-114	Magnificat	4|3	odd	2	C	Morales	
	114v-120	Magnificat	4|3|2	even	3	C	Morales	
	120v-126	Magnificat	4|3	even	4	C	Morales	

2ND FOLIATION/SECTION (1549b)							
1v-7	Magnificat	4	even	1	C	Morales	
7v-14	Magnificat	4|3|6	even	2	C	Morales	
14v-20	Magnificat	4|3	odd	3	C	Morales	
20v-26	Magnificat	4|3	odd	4	C	Morales	
26v-32	Magnificat	4|3	odd	5	C	Morales	
32v-39	Magnificat	4|2|6	even	5	C	Morales	
39v-45	Magnificat	4|3	odd	6	C	Morales	
45v-51v	Magnificat	4|2|6	even	6	C	Morales	
3RD FOLIATION/SECTION (1543c)							
95v?-102	Magnificat	4	even	6	C	Peñalosa	Fragment|E-Tc 18
102v-108	Magnificat	4|3	odd	7	C	Morales	E-Tc 18
108v-114	Magnificat	4|5	even	7	C	Morales	E-Tc 18
114	Magnificat	5? 6?	even	3	C	Torrentes	Fragment
4TH FOLIATION/SECTION (1549b)							
51v-52	Magnificat	2|3	even		C	Torrentes	
52v-58	Magnificat	4|3	odd	8	C	Morales	
58v-64v	Magnificat	4|6	even	8	C	Morales	Incomplete (the rest is in E-Tc 25, fol. 55)

E-Tc 35

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
10	204v-219	In exitu Israel	4			Ps	G. de Boluda	
11	220v-235	In exitu Israel	4	1-29 (odd)		Ps	Navarro	

E-Tc Res. 23

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
2	7v-18	Magnificat	2|4|5	all	7	C	Courtois	Unicum
5	45v-52	Magnificat	2|4|6	even	8	C	Richafort	Kirsch 1017, 1018
9	89v-95	Magnificat	4|3|2	even	1	C	Mouton	Kirsch 943
15	139v-145	Magnificat	4|3	even	4	C	L'Heritier	Kirsch 269
18	173v-179	Magnificat	4|2	even	3	C		Unicum. Cited Kirsch as 270 (not concordant with anything else)
20	183v-[194]	Magnificat	4|2|3	all	6 transp.	C	Mouton	Kirsch 944
23	222v-228	Magnificat	4|2	even	5	C	Mouton	Kirsch 291
27	261v-267	Magnificat	4	even	1	C	Pierrequin de Thérache	Unicum. Cited Kirsch as 1093
30	286v-294	In exitu Israel	4	1|3|4|6|7|11|13|21	TP	Ps	Josquin Desprez	Modern edition: Smijers 36 n 51

Printed choirbooks

E-Tc 3: Juan NAVARRO, *Psalmi, hymni ac Magnificat…* (Rome: Francesco Coattino, 1590).

Modern edition: Samuel RUBIO, ed., *Psalmi, hymni, Magnificat… ac antiphonae B. Virginis* (Madrid: Real Monasterio de El Escorial, 1978)

E-Tc 14: Sebastián de VIVANCO, *Liber Magnificarum* (Salamanca: Taberniel, 1604)

Modern edition: Bruno TURNER, ed., Magnificat octavi toni: for 8 voices, Mapa Mundi, Series A: Spanish church music 18 (London: Mapa Mundi, 1978)

Michael NOONE and Graeme SKINNER, eds, *Sebastián de Vivanco: Liber Magnificarum (1607)* (Middleton: A-R Editions, 2020)

CATHEDRAL OF TUY

E-TUY II

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	CONCORDANCES|NOTES
1	1v-7	Magnificat	4	odd	1	C	Benayas	
2	7v-12	Magnificat	4	odd	2	C	Morales	
3	12v-18	Magnificat	4	odd	3	C	Morales	
4	18v-23	Magnificat	4	odd	4	C	Morales	
5	23v-29	Magnificat	4	odd	5	C	Benayas	
6	29v-35	Magnificat	4|3	odd	6	C	Morales	
7	35v-41	Magnificat	4|3	odd	7	C	Morales	
8	41v-47	Magnificat	4	odd	8	C	Benayas	

E-TUY IV

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	CONCORDANCES|NOTES|FEAST
1	2v-4	Jesu redemptor omnium	4	1|3|5|7		H	Benayas	Christmas|Circumcision
2	4v-5	Salvete flores	4	1|3		H	Benayas	Holy Innocents
3	5v-6	Crudelis Herodes	4	1|2|3		H	Benayas	Epiphany
4	6v-7	Vexilla regis	4	6		H	Benayas	Passion Sunday
5	7v-8	Salutis humanae sator	4	1|3|5		H	Benayas	Ascension
6	8v-9	Veni creator spiritus	4	1|3|5|7		H	Benayas	Pentecost
7	10v-11	Iam sol recedit	4	1|3		H	Benayas	Ascension
8	11v-13	Pange lingua	4	1|5|6		H	Benayas	Hispanic Melody| Corpus Christi
9	13v-14	Jesu dulcis memoria	4	1		H	Benayas	Holy name of Jesus
10	14v-15	Custodes hominum	4	1|3|4		H	Benayas	Guardian Angel
11	15v-16	Christe sanctorum	4	1|3|6		H	Benayas	St Gabriel Archangel
12	16v-18	Te Joseph celebrent	4	1|3|5		H	Benayas	Nº 10 (14v-15)| St Joseph
13	18v-20	Vexilla regis	4	1|4|7		H	Benayas	Invention of Holy Cross
14	20v-21	Te splendor et virtus	4	1|?		H	Benayas?	Folio almost completely torn| St Michael Archangel
15	21v-22	Ut queant laxis	4	1|3|5		H	Benayas	St John the Baptist

16	22v-23	Decora lux	4	1|6	H	Benayas	SS Peter and Paul
	23v-24	Blank folios					Paper pasted over folios.
17	24v-26	Vexilla regis	4	1|3|6|7	H	Benayas	Exaltation of Holy Cross
	26v-27	Blank folios					Paper pasted over folios.
18	27v-28	Tibi Christe splendor	4	1|4	H	Benayas	St Raphael Archangel
	28v-29	Blank folios					Paper pasted over folios.
19	29v-31	Stabat Mater	4	1|3|5|7|10	H	Benayas	Seven sorrows of the Virgin Mary
20	31v-33	Ave maris stella	4	1|3|5|7	H		Marian feasts
	33v-34	Blank folios					Paper pasted over folios.
21	34v-35	Tristis erant apostoli	4	1|3|6	H	Benayas	Nº 13 (18v-20)| Common of Apostles (Eastertide)
22	35v-36	[Deus tuorum militum]	4	1|5		Benayas?	Most of bifolio torn.
23	36v-37	Sanctorum meritis	4	1|3|6	H	Benayas	Nº 10 (14v-15)| Common of Martyrs
24	37v-38	Rex gloriose martyrum	4	1|?	H	Benayas	Nº 13 (18v-20). Final strophe from hymn *Veni creator*. Common of Martyrs (Eastertide)
25	38v-39	Iste confessor	4	1|5	H	Benayas	Most of bifolio torn.
26	39v-40	Egregie doctor	4	1|2	H	Benayas	Conversion St Paul
28	41v-42	Regis superni	4	1|4	H	Benayas	St Theresa of Ávila
29	42v-43	Domare cordis impetu	4	1|4	H		New scribe from here onwards | St Elizabeth of Portugal
30	43v-45	Salvete clarae virginis	4	1|3|5|7	H	Benayas	Nº 2 (4v-5)| SS Justa and Rufina
31	45v-46	Ista quam laeti	4	1|3|5	H		St Mary Salome
32	46v-47	Ad regias agni dapes	4	1|3|5|8	H		Easter
33	47v-48	Pater superni luminis	4	1|3|5	H	Benayas	Nº 2 (4v-5)| St Mary Magdalen
34	48v-50	Defensor alme Hispaniae	4	1|3|5|7	H		St James the Apostle
35	50v-51	Jesu corona virginum	4	1|3|5	H	Benayas	Nº 2 (4v-5)| Common of Virgins
36	51v-52	Fortem virili pectore	4	1|3|5	H	Benayas	Nº 2 (4v-5)| Common of Holy Women
37	52v-53	Iste confessor	4	1|3|5	H		Nº 93 (45v-46)| Common of Confessors
38	53v-54	Deus tuorum militum	4	1|3|6	H		Common of One Martyr
39	54v-55	Quicumque Christum	4	1|3|5	H		Nº 29 (46v-47), transposed up a second| Transfiguration
40	55v-57	Ecce Justus ecce Pastor	4	1|3|5	H	Benayas	Nº 17 (27v-28) | SS Justus and Pastor

41	57v-58	Exultet orbis gaudis	4	1|3|6	H	Benayas	Nº 25 (41v-42) |Common of Apostles (outside Eastertide)
42	58v-59	Te splendor et virtus	4	1|3|5	H		Dedication of St Michael Archangel
43	59v-60	O quot undis lacrymarum	4	1|3|5	H	Benayas	Nº 17 (27v-28)| Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary
44	60v-62	Placare Christe servulis	4	1|3|5|7	H		Nº 29 (46v-47), transposed up a second| All Saints
45	62v-63	Caelestis urbs Jerusalem	4	1|3|5	H		Dedication of a church
43	63v-65	Creator alme siderum	4	1|3|6	H		Expectation

E-TUY V

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
5	41v-43	Dixit Dominus	4	~~1~~|2|4|6|GP	1	Ps		First 3 psalms with indication ‘Vesperae B. Mariae’.
6	43v-46	Laetatus sum	4	1|3|5|7|9	4	Ps		
7	46v-49	Lauda Jerusalem	4	~~1~~|2|4|6|8|GP	8	Ps		
8	49v-52	Beatus vir	4	1|2|4|7|9|GP	3	Ps		
9	52v-53	Laudate Dominum	4	1|GP	8	Ps		
10	53v-55	Credidi	4	1|3|5|7|8|GP	6	Ps		
11	55v-57	Magnificat	4	odd	2	C	Benayas	

BOOKS KEPT IN THE BIBLIOTECA GERAL DA UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA

Manuscript choirbooks

P-Cug MM 6

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	CONCORDANCES|NOTES
7	33v-39	Magnificat	4	odd	3	C	Morales	
8	40v-45	Magnificat	4	even	2	C	L. Moran	P-Cug MM 32
10	46v-49	Magnificat	4	odd	6	C	Morales	
13	50v-51	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		
15	52v-53v	Magnificat	4	odd	8	C	Morales	
25	61v-64	Dixit Dominus	4	1|2|4|6	8	Ps		
26	64v-67	Confitebor tibi	4	1|3|5|8|9	5	Ps		
27	67v-70	Beatus vir	4	1|3|5|~~7~~|8|10	7	Ps		
28	70v-71	Laudate pueri	4	1|3|5|6	6	Ps		P-Cug MM 44. Incomplete.
29	71v-80	In exitu Israel	4	Odd 1-21 Even 22-26	8	Ps		
30	80v-81	Laudate Dominum	4	1	7	Ps		Incomplete
33	87v-88	Benedicamus Domino	4					P-Ln CIC 60
35	89v-91v	Dixit Dominus	4	1|4|6	?	Ps		Incomplete.

P-Cug MM 7

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	CONCORDANCES|NOTES
14	21v-24	Dixit Dominus	4	1|2|4|6	1|GP	Ps		
19	32[B]v	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		

P-Cug MM 8

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
1	1v-8	Magnificat	5	odd	1	C		
2	8v-14	Magnificat	5	odd	2	C		
3	14v-20	Magnificat	5	odd	3	C		
4	20v-26	Magnificat	5	odd	4	C		
5	26v-32	Magnificat	5	odd	5	C		
6	32v-38	Magnificat	5	odd	6	C		
7	38v-44	Magnificat	5	odd	7	C		
8	44v-50	Magnificat	5	odd	8	C		
9	50v-51	Benedicamus Domino	6			BD		
11	52v-58	Magnificat	5	even	1	C		
12	58v-64	Magnificat	5	even	2	C		
13	66v-68	Dixit Dominus	4	1|2|4|6|GP	1	Ps	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 18; P-Cug MM 33; P-Cug MM 53
14	67v-70	Confitebor tibi	4	1|3|~~5~~|6|8|~~9~~ |~~10~~|GP	7	Ps	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 18; P-Cug MM 36
15	69v-71	Beatus vir	4	1|3|5|~~7~~|10| SE	8	Ps	P. de Cristo	
16	71v-73	Laudate pueri	4	1|3|5|8|GP	4	Ps	P. de Cristo	
17	73v-74	Laudate Dominum	4	1|GP	7	Ps	P. de Cristo	

P-Cug MM 9

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
27	115v-121	Magnificat	4	odd	1	C	Morales	
28	121v-127	Magnificat	4	odd	3	C	L. Moran	P-Cug MM 32
29	127v-128	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		P-Cug MM 12
39	165v	O beate pater Theotoni	4	1		H		
+44	[166v; 5;168]	Ave maris stella	4	3|7		H		P-Cug MM 12 (addition); P-Cug MM 242 Fragmentary

P-Cug MM 12

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
22	89v-90	Ave maris stella	4	1		H		P-Cug MM 9 (1st verse only)
26	100v-101	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		P-Cug MM 9
27	101v-102	Ave maris stella	4	1		H		Title only
28	106v-107	Ave maris stella	4	1		H		
30	109v-110	Sicut erat	4			Dox		
33	121v-127	Magnificat	4	odd	3	C	L. Moran	P-Cug MM 32
34	127v-133	Magnificat	4	even	8	C	L. Moran	
35	133v-134	Benedicamus Domino?	4			BD		Textless
36	133v-134	Benedicamus Domino?	4			BD		Textless
37	134v-140	Magnificat	4	even	4	C	L. Moran	P-Cug MM 32
38	140v-146	Magnificat	4	even	4	C	Mouton	RISM 1534/8
39	146v-152	Magnificat	4	odd	5	C	L. Moran	
40	152v-158	Magnificat	4	even	6	C	L. Moran	P-Cug MM 32
41	158v-159	Pange lingua	4	1		H		
42	159v-161	Magnificat	4	even	5	C		

43	161v-166	Magnificat	4	odd	4	C	Peñalosa	P-Cug MM 32; P-Ln CIC 60; E-TZ 2-3
44	166v-172	Magnificat	4	odd	4	C	Vasco Pires	P-Cug MM 12 (just the start); P-Cug MM 32; P-Ln CIC 60
46	172v-173	Veni creator spiritus	4			H		Textless
47	173v-179	Magnificat	4	even	6	C	Urreda	P-Ln CIC 60; F-Pn 4379; E-TZ 2-3
48	179v-180	Sicut erat	4			Dox		
49	180v-186	Magnificat	4	even	6	C		
52	187v-188	Dixit Dominus	4	~~1~~	7	F		
53	187v-188	Dixit Dominus	4	~~1~~	8	F		
54	187v-188	In exitu Israel	4	~~1~~	1	F		
55	188v-189	Sicut erat	3			Dox		
69	207v-208	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		
70	208v-209	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		P-Cug MM 9
71	208v-209	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		
72	209v-210	Magnificat	4	odd		C	L. Moran	Part of Magnificat (nº 39). Verse: Deposuit

P-Cug MM 18

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
4	7v-9	Dixit Dominus	4	1|2|4|6|GP	1	Ps	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM8; P-Cug MM 33; P-Cug MM 53 'In festo Corporis Christi. psalmi'
5	9v-11	Confitebor tibi	4	1|3|~~5~~|6|~~8|9~~ |GP	7	Ps	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 8; P-Cug MM 36
6	11v-13	Credidi	4	1|3|5|~~7|8~~| GP	3	Ps	P. de Cristo	
7	12v-14	Beati omnes	4	1|3|4|6|SE	4	Ps	P. de Cristo	
8	14v-16	Lauda Jerusalem	4	1|3|5|7|9| SE	4	Ps	P. de Cristo	
25	52v-58	Magnificat	8	odd	8	C	P. de Cristo	SATB-SATB (SSAT-SATB in verse 5)
41	93v-95	Dixit Dominus	7	1|2|3|~~4~~|6| dox	8	Ps	P. de Cristo	SAT-SATB
43	97v-99	Laudate pueri	4	1|3|5|6|8| GP	8	Ps		
44	99v-100	Laudate Dominum	4	1|GP	5	Ps		
45	101v-104	Sanctorum meritis	8	1|3|5		H	P.de Cristo	
46	104v-106	Dixit Dominus	4	1|2|4|6|GP	1	Ps		
47	106v-109	Confitebor tibi	4	1|3|~~5~~|6|~~8|9~~ |GP	3	Ps		
48	109v-111	Beatus vir	4	2|4|7|9|GP	1	Ps		
49	111v-113	De profundis	4	2|3|~~4~~|7|GP	8	Ps		
50	113v-115	Veni creator spiritus	4	1|3|5		H	P. de Cristo	

51	115v-116	O lux beata trinitas	4	1		H	P. de Cristo	
52	116v-118	Ut queant laxis	4	1|3		H		
53	118v-122	Memento Domine	4	2|4|6|8|10|12|13|15|GP	8	Ps		

P-Cug MM 31

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
1	1v-3	Dixit Dominus	4	1|2|4|6|GP	1	Ps		'In sole*m*nitate Virginis Mariae'
2	2v-4	Laudate pueri	4	1|3|5|8|GP	7	Ps		
3	4v-6	Laetatus sum	4	1|3|5|7|9|SE	8	Ps		
4	6v-7	Nisi Dominus	4	1|2|4|GP	5	Ps		
5	7v-9	Lauda Jerusalem	4	1|3|5|7|SE	5	Ps		
7	12v-15	Magnificat	4	odd	8	C		
8	15v-18	Magnificat	4	even	8	C		

P-Cug MM 32

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
49	57v-60	Magnificat	4	odd	4	C	Peñalosa	P-Cug MM 12; P-Ln CIC 60, E-TZ 2-3
50	60v-63	Magnificat	4	even	4	C	Vasco Pires	P-Cug MM 12; P-Ln CIC 60
51	63v-66	Magnificat	4	odd	1	C	L. Moran	MM 12
52	66v-69	Magnificat	4	odd	5	C	L. Moran	MM 12
53	69v-72	Magnificat	4	even	4	C	L. Moran	MM 12
54	72v-75	Magnificat	4	odd	3	C	L. Moran	MM 9
55	75v-81	Magnificat	4	even	2	C	L. Moran	MM 6
56	81v-85	Magnificat	4	even	6	C	L. Moran	MM 12
57	85v-92	Magnificat	4	odd	8	C		
59	93v-94	Magnificat	4	even	4	C		Inc: only superius and altus of 'Fecit potentiam' and 'sicut erat'

64	97v-99	Magnificat	4	even	1	C	
65	99v-103	Magnificat	4	odd	1	C	Morales
68	107v-110	Christe redemptor omnium	4	1-7		H	

P-Cug MM 33

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	CONCORDANCES|NOTES
43	49v-51	Dixit Dominus	4	~~1~~|2|4|6|GP	8	Ps	P. de Cristo	'Psalmi Beatae Mariae Virginis'| P-Cug MM 53
44	50v-52	Laudate pueri	4	1|3|5|8|GP	7	Ps	P. de Cristo	
45	51v-54	Laetatus sum	4	1|3|5|7|9|SE	6	Ps	P. de Cristo	
46	53v-55	Nisi Dominus	4	1|2|4|GP	5	Ps	P. de Cristo	
47	54v-57	Lauda Jerusalem	4|5	1|3|5|7|9|SE	4	Ps	P. de Cristo	
48	57v-59	Dixit Dominus	4|5	~~1~~|3|5|SE	1	Ps	P. de Cristo	
49	59v-61	Dixit Dominus	4|5	~~1~~|2|4|6|GP	1	Ps	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 8; P-Cug MM 18; P-Cug MM 53
50	61v-63	Confitebor tibi	4	~~1~~|3|~~5~~|6|8|~~9~~|GP	2	Ps	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 53
51	63v-65	Beatus vir	4	1|3|5|~~7~~|~~8~~|10|SE	3	Ps		P-Cug MM 53
52	65v-67	Laudate pueri	4	1|3|5|6|8|GP	4	Ps		P-Cug MM 53
53	66v-67	Amen. Et cum spiritu	4			R		
54	67v-70	In exitu Israel	4	~~1~~|3|5|7|9|11|13|15|17|19|~~20~~|22|24|26|SE	6	Ps	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 44
57	82v-87	Magnificat	4	odd	4	C	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 44
58	87v-90	Pange lingua	4|5	1|3|5|6		H		Melody from St^{a}. Cruz

73	118v-123	Magnificat	4	odd	6	C	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 44
74	123v-124	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 44
75	123v-124	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD	Aires Fernandez	P-Cug MM 44
76	124v-125	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		P-Cug MM 53
77	124v-125	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		P-Cug MM 53
78	125v-126	Benedicamus Domino	5			BD		P-Cug MM 53
79	126v-[127]	Benedicamus Domino	5			BD		P-Cug MM 53
80	126v-[127]	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		P-Cug MM 53

P-Cug MM 36

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
2	1v-3	Dixit Dominus	4|5	1|2|4|~~6~~|GP	8	Ps		
3	3v-5	Confitebor tibi	4	1|3|~~5~~|8|9|GP	3	Ps	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 8; P-Cug MM 18
4	5v-7	Beatus vir	4	1|3|5|~~7~~|10|SE	6	Ps		
5	7v-9	Laudate pueri	4	1|3|5|8|GP	5	Ps		
7	10v-12	Laetatus sum	4	1|3|5|7|9|GP	3	Ps		
8	12v-13	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		

9	12v-13	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		
10	13v-16	In exitu Israel	4	~~1~~|3|5|7|9|1 1|13|15|17 19|~~20~~|22| ~~24~~|SE		Ps		
12	16v-17	O lux beata Trinitas	4	1		H	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 18
17	21v-23	Magnificat	4	odd	7	C	P. de Cristo	
41	45v-50	Magnificat	4	odd	5	C		Two doxologies
43	50v-54	Ave maris stella	4|3	1|3|5|7		H		
46	56v-57	Dixit Dominus	4	1|3|5|7| SE	1	Ps	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 33; P-Cug MM 53

P-Cug MM 44

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
1	1v-2	Domine ad adjuvandum me	4			r		
2	2v-4	Dixit Dominus	4	1|2|4|6|GP	3	Ps	Diego Ortiz	P-Pm MM 40
3	4v-7	Confitebor tibi	4	1|3|~~5~~|8|10| GP	8	Ps		P-Pm MM 40
4	7v-10	Beatus vir	4	1|3|5|~~7~~|~~8~~| 10|SE	5	Ps		P-Pm MM 40; P-O Pasta 4
5	10v-12	Laudate pueri	4	1|3|5|6|8| GP	6	Ps		P-Cug MM 6
6	11v-13	Laudate Dominum	4	1|GP	7	Ps		P-Cug MM 6
7	14v-18	Dixit Dominus	4	1|2|4|6|GP	4	Ps		
8	17v-20	Confitebor tibi	4	~~1~~|3|~~5~~|6|8|~~9~~ |GP	5	Ps		
9	20v-23	Beatus vir	4	~~1~~|3|5|~~7~~|~~8~~| 10|SE	5	Ps		
10	23v-25	Laudate pueri	4	1|3|5|6|8| GP	?	Ps		

11	24v-26	Laudate Dominum	4	1|GP	2	Ps		
12	26v-29	Dixit Dominus	4	1|2|4|6|GP	1	Ps		P-Cug MM 7
13	28v-32	Confitebor tibi	4	1|3|~~5~~|6|8|9 10|GP	5	Ps		
14	31v-34	Credidi	4	1|3|5|6|~~7~~|8 GP	3	Ps		
15	33v-35	Beati omnes	4	1|3|4|6|SE	4	Ps		
16	35v-38	Lauda Jerusalem	4	1|3|5|7|9 |SE	5	Ps		
17	38v-41	Dixit Dominus	4	1|2|4|6|GP	8	Ps	Diego Ortiz	
18	40v-42	Laudate pueri	4	1|3|5|6|8| GP	7	Ps		P-Pm MM 40
19	42v-43	Laetatus sum	4	1|3	6	Ps		Incomplete
20	43v-45	Nisi Dominus	4	1|2|4|GP	5	Ps		P-Pm MM 76-79
21	45v-48	Lauda Jerusalem	4	1|3|5|7|9| SE	7	Ps		P-Pm MM 76-79
22	48v-49	Fabordão	4		1	F		Psalm-tone fabordón
23	48v-49	Fabordão	4		2	F		Psalm-tone fabordón
24	48v-49	Fabordão	4		2	F		Psalm-tone fabordón
25	49v-50	Fabordão	4		3	F		Psalm-tone fabordón
26	49v-50	Fabordão	4		3	F		Psalm-tone fabordón
27	49v-50	Fabordão	4		4	F		Psalm-tone fabordón
28	50v-51	Fabordão	4		5	F		Psalm-tone fabordón
29	50v-51	Fabordão	4		5	F		Psalm-tone fabordón
30	51v-52	Fabordão	4		5	F		Psalm-tone fabordón
31	51v-52	Fabordão	4		6	F		Psalm-tone fabordón
32	52v-53	Fabordão	4		7	F		Psalm-tone fabordón
33	52v-53	Fabordão	4		8	F		Psalm-tone fabordón
34	54v-55	De profundis	4	1|~~2~~|3|~~4~~|5|~~7~~ |GP	4	Ps	Diego Ortiz	

35	55v-57	Laetatus sum	4	~~1~~|3|5|7|9|SE	6	Ps		P-Pm MM 76-79
36	58v-65	In exitu Israel	4	~~1~~|3|5|7|9|11|13|15|17|19|~~20~~|22|24|26|SE	1	Ps	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 33
38	66v-70	Memento Domine	4	~~1~~|3|5|7|9|11|~~12~~|14|16|18|SE	2	Ps	Francisco de Sta. Maria	
39	71v-73	Cum invocarem	4	2|3|5|7|9|GP	8	Ps	P. de Cristo	
62	107v	Fabordão	4		7	F		
63	107v	Fabordão	4		8	F		
64	108	Fabordão	4	7	1	F		
65	108	Fabordão	4	8	6	F		
66	108v-114	Magnificat	4	odd	4	C	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 33
67	114v-120	Magnificat	4	odd	6	C	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 33
68	120v-121	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD	Francisco de Sta. Maria	
69	121v-122	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 33
70	122v-123	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD	Aires Fernandez	
71	123v-124	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD	Aires Fernandez	
72	124v-125	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD	Aires Fernandez	
73	125v-126	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD	Bartolomeu Trosilho	P-Pm MM 40; P-Pm MM 76-79

74	126v-132	Magnificat	4	odd	8	C	P. de Cristo	
75	132v-133	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD	Francisco de S^{ta}. Maria	

P-Cug MM 47

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
	52v-54	Dixit Dominus	4	1|2|4|6|GP	8	Ps		
	54v-57	Confitebor tibi	4	1|3|~~5~~|8|~~9~~|GP	3	Ps		
	57v-60	Beatus vir	4	1|3|5|~~7~~|10|SE	6	Ps		
	60v-62	Laudate pueri	4	1|3|5|6|8|GP	7	Ps		
	62v-63	Laudate Dominum	4	1|GP	2	Ps		
	63v-64	Laudate Dominum	4	1|GP	8	Ps		
	63v-64	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		
	64v-66	Laetatus sum	4	1|3|5|7|SE	3	Ps		
	66v-68	Nisi Dominus	4	1|2|4|GP	4	Ps		
	68v-71	Lauda Jerusalem	4	1|3|5|7|9|GP	8	Ps		
	71v	Magnificat	2	odd	1	C	Morales	Incomplete

P-Cug MM 48

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
12	21v-22	Magnificat	8	odd	8	C		SATB-SATB| Incomplete. Later addition.
88	127v	Fabordão	4		1	F		Psalm-tone fabordón
89	127v	Fabordão	4		1	F		Psalm-tone fabordón

90	127v	Fabordão	4	8	F	Psalm-tone fabordón

P-Cug MM 49. Cartapácio 18

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
1	[1-8v]	Dixit Dominus	8	~~1~~|2|4|6|GP	8	Ps		SSAT-SATB - Guião
2	9-16	Beatus vir	8	1|2|3|5|6|8 |GP	5	Ps		SSAT-SATB - Guião
3	17-22v	Laudate Dominum	8	1|2|GP|SE		Ps		SSAT-SATB + Guião
4	23-30	Magnificat	8	odd	1	C		SSAT-SATB + Guião
5	30v-35	Laetatus sum	8	1-9|SE	8	Ps		SSAT-SATB + Guião
6	35v-39	Lauda Jerusalem	8	1-9|GP	3	Ps		SSAT-SATB + Guião
7	39v-42v	Dixit Dominus	8	1-7| GP|SE	8	Ps		SSAT-SATB + Guião
8	43-46v	Confitebor tibi	8	1-10	5	Ps		SSAT-SATB + Guião 'Gloria patri Canto Cham/Sicut erat Orgão' [fol 46v]

P-Cug MM 51. Cartapácio 19

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
14	13-15	Christe redemptor omnium	8	1|~~3~~|~~5~~|~~7~~		H		SSAT-SATB + Guião| Only the last 2 verses of strophes 3, 5 and 7 are polyphonically set.
26	41v-46	Credidi	8	1-10| GP|SE	1	Ps		SSAT-SATB + Guião
27	46v-49v	Beati omnes	8	1-6| GP|SE	1	Ps		SSAT-SATB + Guião

P-Cug MM 52[548]

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
20	22v-23	In exitu Israel	4			Ps		'Verso Inexito pª tiple ou tenor'.
21	23v-25	In exitu Israel	4	------		Ps		'Inexito pª contralto'| Incomplete.
22	25v-26v	In exitu Israel	4	-----		Ps		Inexito pª contralto' .

P-Cug MM 53

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
36	37v-39	Magnificat	4	odd	8	C	P. de Cristo	
43	47v-48	Dixit Dominus	4	1|2|4|6|GP	8	Ps	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 33
45	49v-51	Confitebor tibi	4	~~1~~|3|~~5~~|6|8|~~9~~ |GP	2	Ps		P-Cug MM 33
47	51v-53	Beatus vir	4	1|3|5|~~7~~|~~8~~| 10|SE	3	Ps		P-Cug MM 33
48	53v-55	Laudate pueri	4	1|3|5|6|8| GP	4	Ps		P-Cug MM 33
50	55v-56	Dixit Dominus	4	~~1~~|3|5|7|SE	1	Ps		P-Cug MM 33; P-Cug MM 36
58	67v-69	Laetatus sum	4	1|3|5|~~6~~|8| SE	8	Ps		
59	68v-71	Domine clamavi	4	1|3|~~5|7|8~~| ~~10~~|SE	3	Ps		
61	71v-72	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		P-Cug MM 33
62	71v-72	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		P-Cug MM 33
63	72v-73	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		P-Cug MM 33

[548] In all likelihood a book for the *ministriles*. A series of *concertados*, whose chant has not yet been identified, may or may not be items for the Vespers Office. See P. Estudante, 'Les pratiques instrumentales de la musique sacrée portugaise dans son contexte ibérique, XVI-XVIIe siècles: Le ms 1 du fond Manuel Joaquim (Coimbra)' (Ph.D dissertation, Université de Paris IV – Sorbonne/ Universidade de Évora, 2007), 282-9.

64	73v-74	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		P-Cug MM 33
65	73v-74	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		P-Cug MM 33
66	74v-76	Dixit Dominus	4	1|2|4|6|GP	1	Ps	P. de Cristo	P-Cug MM 8; P-Cug MM 18; P-Cug MM 33

P-Cug MM 70- part book of set of 5. Others lost. Information therefore incomplete

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	CONCORDANCES|NOTES
8	8v-9	Ut queant laxis	5	1|3		H		
43	54v-56	Magnificat	5	odd	5	C		'In festo sanctorum innocentium'
48	65v-66	Magnificat	5|6	odd	8	C		
49	66v-67v	Magnificat		even	8	C		
75	97v	Virginis Mariae visitationem			8	Mag. A		'A*ntipho*na ad Mag*nificat* in native[tate] in concepcione ac in visitatione virginis m*aria*e'

P-Cug MM 221 (Origin: cathedral of Coimbra)

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	CONCORDANCES|NOTES
1[549]	9v-12	Conditor alme siderum	4	1|3|5		H		Advent
2	12v-16	Christe redemptor omnium	4	1|3|5|7		H		Christmas
3	16v-19	Hostis Herodes	4	1|3|5		H		Epiphany
4	19v-22	Audi benigne	4	1|3|5		H		Lent
5	22v-26	Vexilla regis	4	1|3|5|7		H		Passion Sunday
6	26v-30	Ad cenam agni	4	1|3|5|7		H		Easter Sunday
7	30v-33	Jesu nostra redemptio	4|5	1|3|6		H		Ascension
8	33v-37	Veni creator spiritus	4|3|5	1|3|5|7		H		Pentecost
9	37v-39	Adesto sancta trinitas	4	1|3		H		Trinity| Original text altered to 'O lux beata trinitas'

[549] The numeration given is the one adopted by Bernadette Nelson in the indexation of this source. See Bernadette Nelson, 'A polyphonic hymn cycle in Coimbra', *Pure Gold*, 200-05.

10	39v-42	Pange lingua	4|5	1|3|5	H		Corpus Christi
12	46v-49	Gaude mater	4|2|4	1|3|5	H		Transfiguration
13	49v-52	Christe redemptor omnium (conserva)	4|3|6	1|3|7	H		All Saints
14	52v-56	Ave maris stella	4|2|4	1|3|5|7	H		Marian feasts
15	56v-57	Petrus beatus catenarum	4	1	H		S Peter in chains
16	57v-58	Quodcumque vinclis	4	1	H		St Peter's chair
17	58v-59	Doctor egregie Paule	4|5	1	H		St Paul
18	59v-62	Ut queant laxis	4	1|3|5	H		St John the Baptist
19	62v-64	Aurea luce	4	1|3	H		SS Peter and Paul
20	64v-65	Nardi Maria pistici	4	1	H		St Mary Magdalen
21	65v-67	Tibi Christi splendor	4|5	1|3	H		St Michael archangel
22	67v-70	Exsultet coelum laudibus	4|5	1|3|5	H		Common of Apostles
23	70v-73	Deus tuorum militum	4|3|4	1|3|5	H		Common of one Martyr
24	73v-76	Sanctorum meritis	4	1|3|5	H		Common of Martyrs
25	76v-79	Iste confessor	4	1|3|5	H		Common of Confessors
26	79v-82	Jesu corona virginum	4|3|5	1|3|5	H		Common of Virgins
27	82v-85	Urbs beata Jerusalem	4|3|6	1|3|5	H		Dedication of a church
29	88v-94	Tristes erant apostoli	4|3\\6	1|3|5|7|9	H		Common of Apostles (Eastertide)
30	94v-97	Deus tuorum militum	4|3|5	1|3|5	H		Common of one Martyr (double feasts)
31	97v-101	Vexilla regis	4	1|3|5|6	H		Invention of Holy Cross
	101v-103	Ave maris stella	4	1|3|5	H	Ceballos	P-Pm MM 40| Later addition

P-Cug MM 228. Cartapácio 4

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
	14v-21	Dixit Dominus	11	1-7 |GP|SE	6	Ps		SA + Guião.-SAT–SATB-SSA+ 3 Instr. + Guião
	41v-44v	Dixit Dominus	8	1-7 |GP|SE	7	Ps		SSAT-SATB - Guião
	44v-46	Beatus vir	8	1-3|6-8| GP|SE	8	Ps		SSAT-SATB - Guião

P-Cug MM 229. Cartapácio 21

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
	47v	Confitebor tibi	4	1	2	Ps	J. Lourenço Rebelo	Incomplete|Textless

P-Cug MM 234. Cartapácio 11

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
31	30-30v	Credidi	8	1-4	8	Ps		SATB-SATB| Incomplete
36	52-58	Lauda Jerusalem	9	1-9 |GP|SE	8	Ps		S-SATB-SATB + Guião
37	58-61	Confitebor tibi	9	1-10	8	Ps		S-SATB-SATB + Guião
38	61v-65	Laudate pueri	9	1-3|7|9	8	Ps		S-SATB-SATB + Guião

P-Cug MM 238. Cartapácio 14

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
10	12-15v	Credidi	6|2	1-10| GP|SE	3	Ps		SA-SAT + Guião

P-Cug 239. Cartapácio 10

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
1	1-4	Beati omnes	12	1-6| GP|SE	8	Ps		SSAT-SATB-SATB + Guião
22	17v-20	Beati omnes	9	1-5	8	Ps		S-SATB-SATB
27	23v-27	Nisi Dominus	9	1|2|4	8	Ps		S-SATB-SATB + Guião
76	49-55v	Credidi	12	1|2|4|5|9| 10	5	Ps		SSAT-SATB-SATB
98	85v-90v	Credidi	9	1-10| GP|SE	8	Ps		S-SATB-SATB + Guião
100	91-95v	Laetatus sum	9	1-9| GP|SE	4	Ps		S-SATB-SATB + Guião

P-Cug MM 242

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
80	88v	Ave maris stella	4	1		H		Textual incipit only.
100	103v-104	Ave maris stella	4	1		H		Textual incipit only.
101	104v-104v	Pange lingua	4	1		H		Textual incipit only.
103	105v	Ave maris stella	4	1		H		Textual incipit only.
104	105v-106	Ave maris stella	4	1		H		Textual incipit only.
110	108-108v	[Pange lingua]	3			H		Textless
155	143-143v	Ave maris stella	4	1		H		Textual incipit only.
234	172v-173	Pange lingua	4	1		H		Textual incipit only.
235	173	Pange lingua	4	1		H		Textual incipit only.

236	173-173v	Pange lingua	4	1		H	Nº 262 |Textual incipit only.
242	175	Ave maris stella	4	1		H	Textual incipit only.
243	175	Ave maris stella	4	1		H	Textual incipit only.
244	175v	Ave maris stella	4	1		H	Textual incipit only.
245	175v	[Ave maris stella]	4			H	Textless
246	176	Ave maris stella	4	1		H	Textual incipit only.
262	183	[Pange lingua]	4			H	Nº 236|Textless

P-Cug MM 243. Cartapácio (no number attributed)

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	CONCORDANCES|NOTES
10	63v-67v	Beatus vir	8	1-10| GP|SE	1	Ps		SSAT-SATB + Guião
11	68-71v	Laudate pueri	8	1-9| GP|SE	6	Ps		SSAT-SATB + Guião
12	71v-75	Laudate Dominum	8	1-2 GP|SE	1	Ps		SSAT-SATB + Guião
13	75v-79v	Magnificat	8	even	1	C		SSAT-SATB + Guião

P-Cug MJ1[550]

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	CONCORDANCES|NOTES
?[551]	73v-75	Magnificat	4-5	odd		C	Navarro	N 283| First three verses missing.

[550] Possibly a book for the *ministriles*. See P. ESTUDANTE, 2007, 431-57.
[551] The first twenty folios are missing, therefore it is not possible to know attribute a number to this specific setting.

Printed choirbooks (P-Cug MI)

P-Cug MI 2: Duarte LOBO, *Cantica B. Mariae Virginis, vulgo Magnificat* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1605)

Modern edition: Manuel JOAQUIM, ed., *Composições polifónicas de Duarte Lobo* (Lisbon: Instituto para a Alta Cultura, 1945).

P-Cug MI 7: Tomás Luis de VICTORIA, *Cantica B. Virginis, vulgo Magnificat* (Rome: Zanetti, 1581)

Modern editions: Christian HOFIUS ed., *Magnificat – Kompositionen* (Ammerbuch: Verlag C. Hofius, 2017) and Felipe PEDRELL ed., *Tomas Luis de Victoria: Opera Omnia*, 8 vols. (Lipsiae: Breitkopf et Härtel, 1902), vol. 3

P-Cug MI 8: Tomás Luis de VICTORIA, *Hymni totius anni* (Rome: Zanetti, 1581)

Modern editions: Christian HOFIUS ed., *Motetten*, 5 vols (Ammerbuch: Verlag C. Hofius, 2014), vol. 5 and Felipe PEDRELL ed., *Tomas Luis de Victoria: Opera Omnia*, 8 vols. (Lipsiae: Breitkopf et Härtel, 1902), vol. 5

P-Cug MI 12: Manuel CARDOSO, *Cantica Beatae Mariae Virginis* (Lisbon: Craesbeeck, 1613)

Modern edition: José Augusto ALEGRIA ed., *Cantica Beatae Mariae Virginis: Magnificat*, Portugaliae Musica 26 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1974)

P-Cug MI 16: Filipe de MAGALHÃES, *Cantica beatissimae Virginis* (Lisbon: Craesbeeck, 1636)

Modern edition: There is no modern edition of this collection.

P-Cug MI 19: Juan NAVARRO, *Psalmi, hymni ac Magnificat* (Rome: Francesco Torneri, 1590)

Modern edition: Samuel RUBIO, ed., *Psalmi, hymni, Magnificat* (Madrid: Real Monasterio de El Escorial, 1978)

P-Cug MI 25: Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA, *Hymni totius anni* (Rome: Francesco Coattino, 1589)

Modern editions: Franz ESPAGNE ed., *Hymnen von Pierluigi da Palestrina* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1878) and Rafaelle CASIMIRI ed., *Inni di tutto l'anno a 4,5 e 6 voci: secondo la stampa originale del 1589* (Rome: Fratelli Scalera, 1942)

P-CS LC S/C – VESPERAL KEPT IN THE CHURCH OF SANTA CRUZ IN COIMBRA

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	FEAST|CONCORDANCES|NOTES	HANDS
1	0v-2	Dixit Dominus	4	1|2|4|6|GP	1	Ps			Hand 1
2	2v-4	Confitebor tibi	4	1|3|~~5~~|8|~~9~~|GP	8	Ps			
3	4v-6	Beatus vir	4	1|3|5|6|~~7~~|~~8~~|10|SE	5	Ps			
4	6v-8	Laudate pueri	4	1|3|5|8|GP	4	Ps			
5	8v-9	Laudate Dominum	4	1|GP	3	Ps			
	9v-10	Blank folios							
6	10v-12	Dixit Dominus	4	1|3|5|7|SE	1	Ps		P-AR Ms. 32, 2v-4; P-Pm MM 76-79, pp 17-18 Significant differences with the Arouca manuscript	
7	12v-15	Confitebor tibi	4	1|2|4|7|9|~~10~~|SE	3	Ps		P-AR Ms. 32, 4v-7; P-Pm MM 76-79, pp 19-21 Significant differences with the Arouca manuscript.	
8	15v-18	Beatus vir	4	1|2|4|7|9|GP	4	Ps		P-AR Ms. 32, 8v-11; P-Pm MM 76-79, pp 21-22. Significant differences with the Arouca manuscript	
9	17v-20	Laudate pueri	4	1|2|4|7|9|SE	8	Ps		P-AR Ms. 32, 11v-13; P-Pm MM 76-79, pp 23-24. Significant differences with the Arouca manuscript.	
	20v-21	Blank folios							
10	21v-23	Dixit Dominus	4	1|2|4|6|GP	8	Ps			
11	23v-25	Laudate pueri	4	13|5|8|GP	5	Ps			
12	25v-27	Laetatus sum	4	1|3|5|7|9|SE	3	Ps			
13	27v-29	Nisi Dominus	4	1|2|4|GP	4	Ps			
14	28v-31	Lauda Jerusalem	4	1|3|5|7|9|SE	8	Ps		Striking similarities with P-Cug MM 31 fols 7v-9 [according to Owen]	
	31v-32	Blank folios							
15	32v-34	Credidi	4	1|2|4|7|9|SE	3	Ps		P-Pm MM 76-79, pp 24-26	

16	34v-36	Beati omnes	4	1|2|~~3~~|5|GP	4	Ps			
17	36v-38	De profundis	4	1|~~2~~|4|6|8|SE	4	Ps		P-Pm MM 76-79, pp 41-42	
18	38v-42	Memento Domine	4	1|2|4|6|8|10|12|13|15|17|GP	8	Ps		P-Pm MM 76-79, pp 42-45	
19	42v-46	In exitu Israel	4	1|3|4|9|12|15|18|~~20~~|26|SE	2	Ps	Navarro	N 283, 33v-37	
	46v-47	Blank folios							
20	47v-49	Jesu redemptor	4	3|7		H	Navarro	Christmas | N 283	Indication of feast in red.
21	49v-51	Hostis Herodes	4	3|6		H		Epiphany	
22	51v-53	Salutis humanae sator	4	3|5		H	Navarro	Ascension | N 283	
23	53v-55	Veni creator spiritus	4	3|5		H	Navarro	Pentecost | N 283	
24	55v-57	Pange lingua	4	2|4		H	Navarro	Corpus Christi | N 283	
25	57v-59	Vexilla regis	4	3|6		H		Exaltation of Holy Cross	
26	59v-61	Ave maris stella	4	3|5		H		Marian feasts	
27	61v-63	Sanctorum meritis	4	3|5		H		Common of Martyrs	
28	63v-65	Iste confessor	4	3|5		H		Common of Confessors (St Theotonius in this source)	
29	65v-67	Quid lusitanos	4	3|5		H		St Anthony of Lisbon/Padova	
30	67v-69	Ut queant laxis	4	3|5		H		St John the Baptist	
31	69v-70	Decora lux	4	3		H	Navarro	SS Peter and Paul | N 283	
32	70v-72	Dixit Dominus	4	1|2|4|6|GP	1	Ps	J. Lourenço Rebelo 'Joannis Laurentij Rebello'	D-MÜs SANT HS 3362 (Nr 1), P-Evc Ms 5, 1v-6; P-Evc Ms 6, 1v-5; P-Es s.s.; P-VV J 18/A, pp 1-8	Hand 2
33	72v-74	Placare Christe	4	3|7		H	Navarro	All Saints | N 283	Hand 1

34	74v-77	Confitebor tibi	4	1|3|5|8|9|GP	2	Ps	J. Lourenço Rebelo	I-Rli Musica M 13; P-Cug MM 229 47v (inc.); P-Evc Ms 5, 6v-12; P-Evc Ms 6, 5v-8; P-Es s.s.; P-VV J 18/A, pp 9-20	Hand 2
35	77v-80	Beatus vir	4	1|2|4|7|9|GP	8	Ps	J. Lourenço Rebelo	P-Evc Ms 5, 12v-17; P-Evc Ms 6, 8v-11; P-Es s.s.; P-VV J 18/A, pp 21-30	
36	79v-82	Laudate pueri	4	1|3|5|8|GP	5	Ps	J. Lourenço Rebelo	P-Evc Ms 5, 17v-22; P-Evc Ms 6, 11v-14; P-Es s.s.; P-VV J 18/A, pp 31-40	
37	81v-83	Laudate Dominum	4	1|2	3	Ps	J. Lourenço Rebelo	P-Evc Ms 5, 22v-24; P-Evc Ms 6, 14v-15; P-Es s.s.; P-VV J 18/A, pp 41-44	
	83v-84	Blank folios							
38	84v-89	Magnificat	4|3	odd	1	C	Guerrero	G 4873	Hand 1
39	89v-93	Magnificat	4|3	odd	4	C			
40	93v-98	Magnificat	4|3	odd	8	C		P-AR Ms. 32, 81v-87 Significant differences with the Arouca manuscript. The 'Et misericordia' is concordant with the second version of this verse in Arouca (87v-88)	
41	98v-103	Magnificat	4|3	odd	1	C	Guerrero	G 4868; G 4873	
42	103v-106	Magnificat	4	even	2	C			
43	106v-109	Magnificat	4	even	1	C			
44	109v-112	Magnificat	4	even	5	C			
45	112v-115	Magnificat	4	even	8	C			Hand 4
46	115v-118	Magnificat	4	odd	4	C	J. Lourenço Rebelo 'Joannis Laurentii Rebello'	P-VV MJ 18, pp 165-176 Alegria omits this setting from his Rebelo's edition.	Hand 2

47	118v-120	Laetatus sum	4	1|2|4|6|8|GP	6	Ps	J. Lourenço Rebelo	P-EVc 5 24v-29; P-EV6 15v-18; P-VVJ 18, pp 45-54; P-Es s.s., pp 19-20	Hand 3
48	120v-122	Nisi Dominus	4	1|2|4|GP	4	Ps	J. Lourenço Rebelo	P-EVc 5, 29v-33; P-EV6, 18v-20; P-VVJ 18, pp 55-62 ; P-Es s.s., pp	
49	122v-124	Lauda Jerusalem	4	1|2|4|6|8|GP	1	Ps	J. Lourenço Rebelo	P-EVc 5, 33v-38; P-EV6, 20v-23; P-VVJ 18, pp 63-72; P-Es s.s., pp	
50	124v-128	Credidi	4	1|3|5|~~7~~|8|GP	1	Ps	Pedro Vaz Rego	P-EVc 6, 23v-26	
51	128v-129	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD	Airez Fernandez	P-Cug MI 19, 108v-109; P-Cug MM 44, 124v-125	Hand 1
52	128v-129	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD	Aires Fernandez	P-AR Ms. 32, 29v-30; P-Cug MM 44, 123v-124; P-Cug MI 19, 107v-108; P-Pm MM 40, 296v-297	
53	129v-130	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD			
54	129v-130	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD			

MONASTERY OF SANTA MARIA DE GUADALUPE

E-GU II

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	CONCORDANCES|NOTES
1	[1v-4]	Lauda Jerusalem				Ps	Navarro	'A dos choros.' Lost folios. Items listed in initial table of contents.
2	[4v-5]	Laudate Dominum				Ps	Navarro	'A dos choros.'Lost folios. Items listed in initial table of contents.
3	[5v-7]	Lauda Jerusalem				Ps	Boluda	'A tres choros.'Lost folios. Items listed in initial table of contents.
4	[7v]-10	Lauda Jerusalem	4	2|4|6|8|GP	2	Ps	Navarro	'A dos choros.' Folio 7v lost.
5	9v-12	Lauda Jerusalem	4	3|6|9|SE	2	Ps	Navarro	'A tres choros.'
6	12v-15	Lauda Jerusalem	4	2|4|6|8|GP	3	Ps	Boluda	'A dos choros.'
7	15v-17	Lauda Jerusalem	4	3|6|9| SE	3	Ps	Navarro	'A tres choros.'
8	17v-18	Laudate Dominum	4	2|SE	4	Ps	Roque de Salamanca	'A dos choros'
9	18v-20	Lauda Jerusalem	4	3|6|9|SE	5	Ps	Navarro	'A tres choros.'
10	20v-21	Laudate Dominum	4	2|SE	5	Ps	Navarro	'A dos choros.'
11	21v-23	Lauda Jerusalem	4	3|6|9|SE	6	Ps	Torrentes	E-Tc 12 A tres choros'
12	23v-24	Laudate Dominum	4	2|SE	6	Ps	Navarro	'A dos choros'
13	24v-27	Lauda Jerusalem	4	2|4|6|8|GP	7	Ps	Navarro	MEX-Pc 7; E-SA 4; E-SE 4; E-Tc 24; P-VV 8| N 283 'A dos choros.'
14	27v-28	Laudate Dominum	4	2|GP	7	Ps	G. de Boluda	'A dos choros.'
15	28v-30	Lauda Jerusalem	4	3|6|9|SE	8	Ps	Navarro	'A tres choros.'
16	30v-31	Laudate Dominum	4	2|GP	8	Ps	Navarro	'A dos choros.'
17	31v-36	Memento Domine	4	3|6|9|12| 15|18	8	Ps	Guerrero	'A tres choros.'
18	37v-41	Domine probasti me	4	2|5|8|11|1 4|17|20|23	2	Ps	Navarro	MEX-Pc 7; E-TZ 13; E-Tc 24; N 283 'A dos choros.'

19	42v-48	In exitu Israel	4	3|6|9|12|15|18|21|24|27|SE	Ton. peregr.	Ps	Navarro	E-TZ 13; N 283 'A tres choros'
20	48v-50	Aurea luce	4	2		H	Ceballos	SS Peter and Paul
21	50v-52	Exultet caelum	4	2		H	G. de Boluda	Common of Apostles
22	52v-54	Deus tuorum	4	2		H	G. de Boluda	Common of One Martyr
23	54v-56	Sanctorum meritis	4	2		H	G. de Boluda	Common of Martyrs
24	56v-58	Jesu corona virginum	4	2		H	G. de Boluda	E-Tc 12 (strophe 1)| Common of Virgins
25	58v-60	Iste confessor	4	2		H	G. de Boluda	Common of Confessors
26	60v-61	Lauda mater ecclesiae	4	2		H	Navarro	E-Ac 3 ('Pater superni); N 283|Mary Magdalen
27	61v-62	Quicumque Christum	4	2		H	Navarro	E-SA 4; E-SE 2; E-SE 4; N 283 Transfiguration.
28	62v-64	Tibi Christe	4	2		H	Navarro	E-SE 2; N 283 St Michael Archangel
29	64v-66	Christe redemptor omnium conserva	4	2		H	Navarro	MEX-Pc 7; E-SA 4; E-SE 2; E-SE 4; N 283 All Saints
31	66v-70	Vexilla regis	4	2|4		H	Navarro	Passion Sunday
32	70v-72	Christe redemptor omnium	4	2		H	Morales	Christmas
33	72v-74	Hostis Herodes	4	2		H	Ceballos	E-GRcr 4 ('Quicumque quaeritis') Epiphany.
34	74v-75	Iste confessor	4	2		H	Navarro	E-P 4; E-SA 4; E-SE 2; E-SE 4; P-VV 8; N 283 Common of One Confessor.
35	75v-77	Veni creator spiritus	4	1		H	F. Bernal González	E-Tc 12; E-Tc 24 Pentecost
36	77v-79	Ave maris stella	4	1|4		H	Navarro	E-SA 4; E-SE 2 ('Sumens illud Ave'); E-Tc 24; N 283 Assumption (as indicated in ms.)
37	79v-81	Ave maris stella	4	1|4		H	Navarro	Assumption| Not listed in initial table of contents.
38	81v-83	Ave maris stella	4	4		H	Morales	Assumption.
39	83v-84	O lux beata trinitas	4	2		H	Navarro	E-SA4, E-SE 2; E SE 4; N 283 Trinity

40	84v-86	Pange lingua	4	2		H	Urreda	For concordances, see K. Kreitner, 'The musical warhorses of Juan de Urrede', *Fontes Artis Musicae* 51(2004), 13 Corpus Christi.
41	86v-88	Pange lingua	4	4		H	Ceballos	MEX-Pc 19; E-Zac 34; P-VV 8
42	88v-95	Magnificat	4	odd	2	C	Ceballos	CO-B
43	96v-103	Magnificat	4	odd	4	C	B. Ribera	
44	103v-104	~~Benedicamus Domino~~	~~4~~			~~BD~~	~~Ceballos~~	~~Not listed in initial table of contents.~~
45	104v-105	Benedicamus Domino	4			BD		

E-GU III

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	CONCORDANCES|NOTES
24	276v-278	De profundis	4			Ps	Vivanco	
28	284v-290	Vexilla regis	4	1|4|6|7		H	Vivanco	Passion Sunday

E-GU IV: Manuscript copy of the collection of odd and even-verse Magnificat settings by Cristóbal de Morales. Fols. 7v-8 include a four-voice 'Gloria Patri' by Guerrero.

MONASTERY OF SAN LORENZO DE EL ESCORIAL

Manuscript choirbooks originating at El Escorial

E-MO 750

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	CONCORDANCES|NOTES
12a	36v-37	Dixit Dominus	4	1	1	F	Ceballos[552]	
12b	36v-37	Dixit Dominus	4	1	2	F	Ceballos	
12c	37v-38	Dixit Dominus	4	1	3	F	Ceballos	
12d	37v-38	Dixit Dominus	4	1	4	F	Ceballos	
12e	38v-39	Dixit Dominus	4	1	5	F	Ceballos	
12f	38v-39	Dixit Dominus	4	1	6	F	Ceballos	
12g	39v-40	Dixit Dominus	4	1	7	F	Ceballos	
12h	39v-40	Dixit Dominus	4	1	8	F	Ceballos	
12i	40v-41	Dixit Dominus	5	1	8	F	Ceballos	

E-PAS s.s.: Manuscript copy of the collection of odd and even-verse Magnificat settings by Cristóbal de Morales

US-NYhsa 253a

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	CONCORDANCES|NOTES
1	1v-2	Gloria Patri	4	GP		Dox.	Guerrero	E-PAS s.s.
3a	9v-10	Dixit Dominus	4	1	1	F	Ceballos	
3b	9v-10	Dixit Dominus	4	1	2	F	Ceballos	
3c	10v-11	Dixit Dominus	4	1	3	F	Ceballos	
3d	10v-11	Dixit Dominus	4	1	4	F	Ceballos	

[552] Attribution given by R.SNOW, *The extant music of Rodrigo de Ceballos*, 32-3 and 79-81.

3e	11v-12	Dixit Dominus	4	1	5	F	Ceballos	
3f	11v-12	Dixit Dominus	4	1	6	F	Ceballos	
3g	12v-13	Dixit Dominus	4	1	7	F	Ceballos	
3h	12v-13	Dixit Dominus	4	1	8	F	Ceballos	
3i	12v-13	Dixit Dominus	4	1	8 (irr.)	F	Ceballos	8th tone 'irregularis' in ms.

US-NYhsa 869: Manuscript copy of the collection of odd and even-verse Magnificat settings by Cristóbal de Morales

US-NYhsa 870: Manuscript copy of the collection of odd and even-verse Magnificat settings by Cristóbal de Morales

Manuscript choirbooks kept in the Library of El Escorial

E-E LP 27

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
3	59-60v	Dixit Dominus	3			Ps		SSA
4	60v-62v	Beatus vir	3			Ps		SSA
5	62v	Laudate Dominum	3			Ps		SSA
6	63v-64	Laetatus sum	3			Ps		SSA
7	64v-65v	Lauda Jerusalem	3			Ps		SSA
8	66-67	Magnificat	3			C		SAT
14	82-84v	Magnificat	4			C		SSAT + B.C.
15	85-87v	Laetatus sum	4			Ps		SSAT + B.C.
16	88-90v	Lauda Jerusalem	4			Ps		SSAT + B.C.
17	91-95v	Beatus vir	4			Ps		SSAT + B.C.

18	96-96v	Laudate Dominum	4		Ps		SSAT + B.C.
19	97-99v	Magnificat	4		C		SSAT + B.C.
20	100-106	Magnificat	8		C		2 x SATB
24	130v-138v	Magnificat	8	4	C	Diego de Torrijos	C1952 SSAT/SATB 1st verse, 4 vv.
25	139-146	Magnificat	8	8	C	Diego de Torrijos	C1952 SSAT/SATB 1st verse, 4 vv.
26	146v-147v	Credidi	4		Ps		SSAT + B.C.
28	150-153	Laudate Dominum	8		Ps	Carlos Patiño	SSAT/SATB
39	172-181v	Magnificat	8		C	Diego de Torrijos	C1951 SATB/SATB + B.C. for each choir
42	186v-187v	Laudate Dominum	8		Ps	Diego de Torrijos	C 1943 SSAT/SATB

E-E LP 28

NR.	FOLIOS	TITLE	VV	VRS|STRPH	TONE	GENRE	AUTHORSHIP	CONCORDANCES|NOTES
28a	56v-61v	Dixit Dominus	12		3	Ps	Acosta	SA/ST/SATB/SATB + B.C.
28b	61v-62	Beatus vir	12			Ps	Acosta	SA/ST/SATB/SATB + B.C. Incomplete| Both psalms are presumably part of a full Vespers setting.

E-E LP 29 (Music for the organ)

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
2	3v-5	Laetatus sum	4		7	Ps		
3	5v	Dixit Dominus	4		5	Ps		Incomplete
8	12	Pange lingua	3			H	Diego de Torrijos	
9	12v	Pange lingua	3			H		
41	82v-84v	Fabordones accidentales	4			F		For all 8 tones. ‘El tercero lo mismo que el segundo’
42	84v-87	Fabordones accidentales un punto alto	4			F		For all 8 tones. ‘El tercero lo mismo que el segundo’. Eight tone has got two *fabordones*
43	87v	Tres fabordones	4		2|2|8	F		
44	88-92	Fabordones glosados	4			F	Diego de Torrijos	For all 8 tones, except 3rd (refers to 2nd)

E-E LP 30 (Music for the organ)

Nr.	Folios	Title	Vv	Vrs|Strph	Tone	Genre	Authorship	Concordances|Notes
7	13v-14	Lauda Jerusalem	4			Ps		Organ accompaniment
8	14	Pange lingua	3			H		
9	14v	Pange lingua	3			H		SST
10	14v	Pange lingua	3			H		
11	15	Pange lingua	4			H	José Perandreu	
12	15v	Pange lingua	4			H	José Perandreu	
13	16	Pange lingua	4			H	José Perandreu	
14	16v	Pange lingua	4			H	José Perandreu	
15	17	Pange lingua	4			H	Jiménez	

16	17v	Pange lingua	4	H	Jiménez
17	17v	Pange lingua	3	H	Jiménez
18	18	Pange lingua	3	H	Jiménez
19	18v	Pange lingua	3	H	Aguilera
20	18v-19	Pange lingua	3	H	Jiménez
21	19	Pange lingua	3	H	Jiménez
22	19v	Pange lingua	3	H	Diego de Torrijos
23	19v	Pange lingua	3	H	Diego de Torrijos
24	20	Pange lingua	3	H	Jiménez
25	20v	Pange lingua	3	H	Jiménez

APPENDIX II

Polyphony for Vespers in historical inventories of Iberian religious institutions

This appendix includes historical inventories and other documentary sources from fourteen different Iberian religious institutions, listed in alphabetical order. For each one, the date, type of document, archival source, and secondary source where they were consulted is provided. Where there is more than one inventory per institution, there are cases of choirbooks listed in multiple inventories, at different times. In these cases, the reference is given (in square brackets) for where that choirbook was listed in the previous inventory. In books which are still extant, the RISM sigla is provided.

CATHEDRAL OF ÁVILA

1524 – 1630 Inventories of the music books of the cathedral of Ávila

Sources: Archivo Histórico Nacional. Sección Clero, Ávila, Códice 926 B, fols 103 -

Archivo de la Catedral de Ávila: actas capitulares (Chapter acts): 1528 – 1630

Transcribed in Ana Maria SABE ANDREU, 'Los libros de música de la catedral de Ávila hasta 1630' in Javier Suarez-Pajares and Manuel del Sol, eds, *Tomás Luis de Victoria. Estudios* (Madrid: ICCMU, 2013), 395-408 [396-404]

Inventory:

Cabreo de la catedral de Ávila o inventario de los objectos de culto, ornamentos y libros: y de las rentas y censos que posee la fábrica de la iglesia[553]

Fol 103:

…

[Item 7] Otro libro nuevo que se compró de uno que se llamava vaena, es de himnos y magníficas[554]

[Item 8] Otro libro que se hizo nuevo de misas y maníficas [sic]: hizole hacer el Racionero Barrionuevo.[555]

…

[Item 11] Un libro de nueve magníficas de canto de órgano de marca mayor

[553] This inventory is not dated. Archivists at Archivo Histórico Nacional propose 1524 as the date on which this codex (in which this inventory is written) would have been collated. Posterior additions were made to the original listing of books, made clear from two hands other than the original one. Items 1 to 13 are the ones included in this inventory. Several of them are simply described as 'Libro de canto de organo' without any reference to contents. Items 14-45 are described or mentioned in chapter acts. None of the books mentioned in any these documents have survived.

[554] 'Vaena' could refer to either the owner, the seller, or the author of this choirbook. Admitting the latter, it could be referring to composer Gonçalo de Baena (c. 1476-c. 1540). The tablature book *Arte novamente inventada* (Lisbon: Galharde, 1540) includes, besides works by a series of Franco-Flemish and Italian composers, one *Ave maris stella* by the composer. For more on this tablature, see Tess KNIGHTON (ed), *Arte para tanger: Edição e estudo introdutório* (Lisbon: Colibri/CESEM, 2012).

[555] Juan de Barrionuevo was chapel master at Ávila between 1519-22 and *maestro de canto de organo* between 1528-29. It is possibly to him that the inventory is referring to.

Chapter acts:

Archivo capitular de Ávila. Actas capitulares nº 18, 26/03/1550, fol 28v:

[Item 17: Magnificats by Morales]: 'se libren al maestro de capilla tres ducados para un libro de música de 16 magníficats de Morales'.

Archivo capitular de Ávila. Actas capitulares nº 21 bis, 23/03/1564, fol 159:

[Item 21: Guerrero, *Cantica Beatae Mariae*] 'Envió Guerrero, maestro de capilla de Sevilla, un libro de magnificats y mandáronle gratificar de fábrica y mesa 16 ducados, según parecerá por libramento'.

Archivo capitular de Ávila. Actas capitulares nº 22, 07/01/1566, fol 38v:

[Item 22: Manuscript hymns by Navarro] 'Que se libren al maestro de capilla [Navarro] 300 reales abendo consideración al libro que ha hecho de himnos en canto de órgano para gratificación de las representaciones que se han hecho en la festividad del santísimo nascimiento de nuestro señor'.

Archivo capitular de Ávila. Actas capitulares nº 25, 09/01/1577, fol 108v:

[Item 24: Victoria, *Liber primus qui missas, psalmos, Magnificat*…]: 'Juan Luis de Victoria dio una petición ofreciendo un libro de canto de órgano que también dio con ella, para que si fuere a propósito para la dicha iglesia le tome, dando por él la gratificación que a sus mercedes pareciere, que le había compuesto un maestro de capilla sobrino suyo criado en esta iglesia. Sus mercedes que le vea el maestro de capilla y refiera su parecer y si la iglesia tiene necesidad de él'

Ibid, 30/1/1577, fol 115: 'Se le resolvieran que el libro de canto de órgano que trajo a la iglesia Juan Luis de Victoria se le vuelva, porque la fábrica está muy alcanzada y no tiene al presente con qué le poder pagar'

Ibid, 06/09/1577: 'Juan Luis de Victoria por una petición ofreció para el servicio desta santa iglesia un libro de canto de órgano del maestro Victoria, su sobrino. Sus mercedes le mandaron recibir y poner en el inventario de los libros de la música'.

…

Archivo capitular de Ávila. Actas capitulares nº 21 bis, 20/12/1581, fol 150:

[Item 26: 1581 print by Victoria: either *Hymni totius anni* or *Cantica Beatae Virginis*]: 'El arcediano de Ávila propuso que Victoria, maestro de capilla que reside en Roma había escrito a Pedro Hernández, tiple de esta santa iglesia, que deseaba enviar para esta santa iglesia un libro de canto de órgano que ha compuesto y que le enviaría si se le pagase el porte que costaría traer, que será como 100 reales. Sus mercedes determinaron y

acordaron que el dicho racionero Pedro Hernández le escriba que envíe el libro y se le recibirá y pagará dicho porte'.

Ibid, 16/05/1582, fol 188: 'El racionero Pedro Hernández trajo a este cabildo un libro de canto de órgano que había enviado a esta santa iglesia el maestro de capilla Tomé [sic] de Victoria. Sus mercedes lo mandaron recibir y encuadernar y que se le pague el porte que ha costado traer'.

Archivo capitular de Ávila. Actas capitulares nº 33, 06/06/1601, s.f.:

'Recebieron en este cabildo una carta de Bartolomé de Vitoria, cappelan de la emperatriz, con diez cuerpos de libros de canto de órgano, impresos y encuadernados, los ocho de a cuartilla y los dos de a medio pliego; remitiéronse al maestro de capilla [Vivanco] para que los vea y refiera su parecer en cabildo'.

Idem, 08/06/1601

'El maestro de capilla y los cantores dicen que esos libros no son a propósito para esta santa iglesia […] que se le volvan a enviar al dicho Bartolomé de Victoria, y que se le escriba una carta con buenas palabras, agradeciendóle el cuidado y memoria que tuvo de esta santa iglesia'.[556]

…

Archivo capitular de Ávila. Actas capitulares nº 37, 16/04/1608, fol 65v:

[Item 39: Vivanco, *Liber Magnificarum*]: 'Marcos Esteban de Castro, maestro de capilla de la dicha santa iglesia entro en este cabildo y dio a sus mercedes una carta misiva del maestro Sebastián de Vivanco, catedrático de propiedad y maestro de capilla de la santa iglesia de Salamanca y un libro de Magníficas de canto de órgano compuesto por el dicho maestro de capilla […] el señor deán propuso y dixo a sus mercedes que será bien se responda a la dicha carta agradeciéndole mucho […] y que en gratificación del trabajo se le mandasen dar doscientos reales o veinte ducados o lo que sus mercedes determinaren […] y determinaron que el dicho libro se reciba y se entregue al maestro de capilla para que le guarde con los demás libros de canto de órgano de la dicha santa iglesia y se le responda a la dicha carta como está como está dicho…'.

…

Archivo capitular de Ávila. Actas capitulares nº 41, 05/07/1619. s.f.:

[Item 41: Benavides, Manuscript book of Magnificat settings]: 'Recebieron una carta de Sevastián de Benavides organista de la seo de Zaragoza con un libro de magnificas de canto de órgano. Cometióse al señor maestrescuela que con el maestro de capilla vea el dicho libro y se es necesario para el servicio de la iglesia y refieran su parecer al cabildo'.

[556] V1435 did not therefore become part of the cathedral's music collection, at least at the time. There is equally no extant exemplar of it in Ávila. It is included here, nevertheless, so as to show that it was sent by the composer to this institution.

Ibid, 12/07/1619: ‘El señor maestrescuela referió con el maestro de capilla y los demás músicos ha visto el libro de canto de órgano que envió el organista de Zaragoza y todos han dicho es cossa muy buena y conveniente para el servicio de la iglesia y que aunque no es precisamente necesario es de importancia para el servicio de la iglesia y habiendo entendido la dicha relación resolvieron y determinaron que el dicho libro se quede para el servicio desta santa iglesia y habiendo conferido en razón de que se podría dar por el a la persona que le envió, por mayor parte resolvieron y determinaron se le de doce ducados…’

Archivo capitular de Ávila. Actas capitulares nº 42, 28/05/1621, fol 200v:

[Item 42 Diego Bruceña, *Libro de misas y vísperas*]: ‘Recibieron una carta de Deigo Briceño, maestro de capilla de la santa iglesia de Zamora con la qual presenta un libro de canto de órgano para el servicio de esta santa iglesia. Mandaron se le librar cien reales para ayuda al trabajo de la impressión del y que se los pague el mayordomo de la fábrica’.

Archivo capitular de Ávila. Actas capitulares nº 45, 10/05/1630, fol 484:

[Item 45: Manuel Cardoso, either *Cantica beatae Virginis* or *Missae quaternis, quinis et sex vocibus*]: ‘El dicho maestro de capilla [Marcos Esteban de Castro] trujo a este cabildo un libro de canto de órgano compuesto por el padre Manuel Cardosso [sic], maestro de capilla de Lisboa, de mucha ynportancia para el servicio de la iglesia. Determinaron se reciba y ponga en el ynbentario con los demás libros de capilla y le mandaron librar çient reales en agradecimiento de la buena memoria desta santa iglesia y que se los pague el mayordomo de la fábrica’.

CATHEDRAL OF BADAJOZ

1602 - Inventory of the music books donated by canon Pedro Vergara

Source: Archivos eclesiásticos de Mérida-Badajoz, Libro de actas capitulares (1600-1606), fols 33-33v

Transcribed in Alonso Gomes GALLEGO, 'La Música de Victoria en la Catedral de Badajoz', *Revista de Musicología* 35/1 (2012), 342-43 and in Santiago KASTNER, 'La música en la catedral de Badajoz' (años 1601-1700)', *Anuario musical* 12 (1957), 21-22

Este día y cabildo el sr. Ldo. Al[ons]o perez dixo y propuso como El sr. canº / Pedro de uergara quería hacer gracia y donación a esta sta. Yglesia / de unos libros de canto que tenía para lo qual los presentaua /ante sus ms. que son los contenidos en una memoria que dio en la / forma sigte.

…

[Item 4] otro libro de magnificas de morales enquadernado en pergamino /de molde com 64 fojas

1631 - Inventory of the music books of the cathedral of Badajoz

Source: E-BA, *Libro de plata y ornamentos*

Transcribed by Alonso Gomez GALLEGO

…

[Item 1] Vn Libro de mano de psalmos y Himnos aforrado en badana

…

[Item 4] Otro libro de psalmos y otras cosas las maneçuelas al revés

…

[Item 7] Otro Libro Grande del mismo Autor [Victoria] de Magnificas

…

[Item 10] Otro Libro del mismo autor [Palestrina] de Himnos

[Item 11] Vn libro de Morales de Magnificas

…

[Item 13] Otro libro de Morales impresso de Magni/ficas el Aforro blanco [Item 4 in 1602]

…

[Item 22] Quatro Cartapacios donde esta el Te Deum Laudamus y Benedictus y Magnificas y versos del Claustro aforrados en Colorado

…

[Item 24] Ocho Cartapacios del Maestro Velasco de Missas y psalmos aforrados /en bitela com cintas de colores

…

[Item 27] Ocho Cartapacios de psalmos viejos de Piñero

…

[Item 32] Vn libro de Victoria de Magnificats de Cuerpo mediano

CATHEDRAL OF BARCELONA

1613-03-02 - List of books which Jaume Tapies, singing master (*maestro de canto*) at the cathedral, left to chapelmaster Juan Pujól.

Inventarium confectum per adm. Rdos. Marcum Anthonium de Navel archdiaconum Beatae Mariae de Mari et Petrum Font, canónicos Ecclesiae Barcinonensis, operarios majores dictae ecclesiae, de libris cantus reconditis intus quoddam scrinium scholae cantus dictae Ecc.

Source: Arxiu Capitular de Barcelona. Llibre d'Inventaris 1498-1734, fols 183 and following

Transcribed in LPH at https://hispanicpolyphony.eu/node/19991 and also at Higini ANGLÈS, *Johannis Pujol. Opera Omnia*, vol. 1 (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1926), vii-viii.

[Item 1] – Primo, un libre de paper de cant de orgue, imprés, de hymnes y Magnificats y Salms de Joan Navarro, stampat, ab cubertes de cartró, cubertes de pregamí, lo qual es de papel de la forma major

…

[Item 5] – Item altre libre de Magnificats de Xristovol Morales, lo qual es de cant y imprés, ab sas cubiertas com los predits [pregamí]

…

[Item 7] – Item altre libre de paper, de la forma major, de cant de orgue, stampat, de Hymnes de Vittoria ab cubertes de cartró cubertes de pregamí

[Items 10-19] – Item deu llibres vuyt petits y dos mitjaners, de misses y altres coses de cant de orgue, stampats, del meteix autor Thomas Victoria, ab cubertes de cuyro vermell ab uns fils de or

1626 – 05 – 18a – Books written by Juan Pujol, with his own works, while taking the post as chapelmaster in this cathedral [1612-26].[557]

Source: Arxiu Capitular de Barcelona. Llibre d'Inventaris 1498-1734, fols 261-65

Transcribed in LPH at https://hispanicpolyphony.eu/node/19991 and also at Higini ANGLÈS, *Johannis Pujol. Opera Omnia*, vol. 1 (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1926), ix-x.

…

[557] There are several extant Vespers works by Pujol.Vespers works by this composer are included in mss E-Bbcs 683, 786, 787, 788,789, E-SE 2. None of the ones listed in LPH seems to correspond to the ones described in this inventory, at least as described as the historical inventories.

[Item 5] – Item altre tomo en forma mayor, ab cubertes de cartró intitulat in festo Concepcionis beatae Mariae ad vésperas, etc.

[Item 6] – Item altre tomo in folio intitulat In primis et secundis vesperis Sancti Georgii.

[Item 7] – Item altre llibre de forma mayor ab cubertes de cartró intitulat de Vespras de Santa Eularia y a la darreria esta lo hymne Jesu, corona virginum y lo hymne de Vexilla, etc. y de Crux. Etc.

[Item 8] – Item vuyt llibres de paper comu scrites de ma de mossén Vergés per al servey de la esglesia en los quals están continuats motets a dos cors, ço es, salmos y magnificats, etc.

1626 – 05 – 18b – Books which were at the house where Pujol died, which are the property of the cathedral.

Source: Arxiu Capitular de Barcelona. Llibre d' Inventaris 1498-1734, fols 261-65

Transcribed in LPH at https://hispanicpolyphony.eu/node/20020 and also at Higini ANGLÈS, *Johannis Pujol. Opera Omnia*, vol. 1 (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1926), ix.

Inventari dels llibres de cant que se son trobats en una caxa que estava en la casa hont es mort lo senyor Juan Pujol, mestre de la cant de la Seu, las quals son propris de la Iglesia.

[Item 1- Item 1 in 1613] – Primo: Un tomo de full de forma major, ab cubertes de cartró forrades de pregamí intitulats Joannis Navarri, hispalensis

[Item 3. Item 5 in 1613] – Item altre tomo ab consemblants cubertes, intitulats Magnificat omnium tonorum cum quatuor vocibus Christofori Moralis, hispani

[Item 4. Item 7 in 1613] – Item altre llibre ab consemblants cobertes, intitulats Thomae Ludovici a Victoria, abulensis, hymni totius anni

[Items 13-22. Items 10-19 in 1613] – Item dos libres in folio ab cubertes de cartró forrats de cuyro vermell ab três fills de or intitulats Thomae Ludovici de Victoria, abulensis, missae, magnificat, etc., y vuyt llibrets guarnits de la matexa manera intitulats com los propdits

1635 - Inventory of the polyphonic choirbooks of the Cathedral of Coimbra made by Fernandes de Carvalho, canon at this Cathedral.

Title: *Inventario de todas as pecas de prata Ornamentos e mais couzas que há no thesouro da see de Coimbra, o qual fez o doutor Fernandes de Carvalho cónego desta mesma see, e obreyro, o anno de 1635*.

Source: Seminário maior de Coimbra, 3-2-1, fols 99-99v

Photographed in ABREU, José e Paulo ESTUDANTE, 'A propósito dos livros de polifonia impressa existentes na Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra: Uma homenagem ao musicólogo pioneiro Manuel Joaquim', *Revista de História das Ideias* 32, 2011, 81-130, at 101-102.

Livros de canto d'orgam que estam em poder do Padre António Vaz Toscano sochantre desta see

…

[Item 2] Dous livros de Duarte lobo, um de missas, e outro de Magnificas [P-Cug MI 2?]

[Item 3] Hum livro de vesporas, e missas de Esquivel

…

[Item 5] Hum livro de pergaminho branco de Himnos [P-Cug MM 221?]

[Item 12] Hum livro de Magnificas de Morales [P-Cug MI 22?]

COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF DAROCA

1596 Inventory of the music books of the collegiate church of Daroca (Zaragoza)

Sources: 'Inventario del oro y plata que hay en la Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de los Corporales', *Inventarios de la Colegial, siglo XVI y XVII*. E-D s/c

Transcribed in Pedro Calahorra Martínez, 'Dos inventarios de los siglos XVI y XVII en la colegial de Daroca y dos pequeñas cronicas darocenses' Revista de Musicología 3 (1980), 33-75

Inventario de los libros de Coro

…

[Item 37] Otro libro de magníficats de Morales, escrito de mano

…

[Item 40] Otro libro de salmodia, escrito de mano, de canto de órgano

(In the margin) Libros de Castrillo [chapel master between 1579-1585]

…

[Item 61] Otro de todas las magníficas y salves

…

[Item 64] Otro de la psalmodia

01/07/1635 Inventory of the music books of the collegiate church of Daroca (this inventory was a revision of a previous one, dated 1603).

Inventario de los libros de canto de órgano

…

[Item 2] Un cuerpo de himnos de todo el año, de Palestrina

[Item 3] Otro cuerpo de Victoria, de magnificats y motetes, en cuerpo grande

…

[Item 16] Otro libro de mano: comienza con una salmodia de Sebastián Ponce, de mano, y en el mismo folio hay una misa de Palestrina

[Item 17] Otro libro grande, de mano, comienza con la salmodia de Robledo

…

[Item 19] Otro libro grande, comienza con Salve de Ponce, y magníficats de Morales…

…

[Item 21] Otro libro pequeño, de mano, comienza con salmodia Dixit Dominus y hay tres magníficats de Castrillo

…

[Item 23] Otro libro grande, de mano, que comienza In memoriam, hay magníficats de Abadía…

[Item 16][558] Otro libro grande, de mano de Ponce, que comienza la Salmodia. Este libro esta dos veces puesto, como se ve al principio de este libro

…

[Item 25] Otro libro grande, de mano, que comienza con la misa de Gabriel Archangelus y magníficats de Morales, la segunda parte de ellas

…

[Item 32] Un libro grande, de imprenta, de magníficats y salves, de mano, de Morales, Richafort y Jacquet [Possibly item 61 in 1596]

…

[Item 35] Item, otros ocho libros, de imprenta, de Sebastián Lopez Velasco, con el de la partitura al órgano, que todos son nueve cuerpos

Todos esos libros de canto de órgano se dieron hoy, el primeiro de julio de 1635, por inventario al licenciado Miguel de Aguilar, maestro, los quales recibió y se firmó.

[558] As the author himself explains, he listed the same item (Ponce's psalm settings) twice.

CAPILLA REAL - GRANADA

1592 - Inventory of the music books of the Capilla Real, Granada

Source: Archivo de la Capilla Real de Granada, Libro , Libro de Visitas, fol 203v

Transcribed in José LOPEZ-CALO, 'El Archivo de Música de la Capilla Real de Granada', *Anuario Musical* 13 (1958), 103-28, [121-27]

Libros de canto de organo grandes

…

[Item 4] Vn libro de çavallos de fauordones de uisperas. Esta maltratado.

…

[Item 7] Vn libro de manifica de guerrero [in 1629 added: 'hallose con las tablas colorado']

[Item 8] Vn libro de magnificas de morales en pergamino

…

[Item 13] Vn libro de fauordones de guerrero en pergamino

libros pequeños de motetes

[Item 14] ocho libros de bitoria [sic]

…

[Item 19] çinco libros de çauallos de fabordones

…

[Item 13][559] - 12. Un libro de magnificas y motetes de xptoual de Morales y franz[is]co Ruiz de espinosa/escrito en hojas de pergamino enquader/nado en tabla y becerro con sus abraza/deras de hierro tiene diez y sete magnificas y diez y seis motetes tres salues y un imbita/torio esta el índice en la primera hoja.

[Item 14] - 13. Otro libro de Magnificas de thomas/ Luis de Victoria de tres quartas de alto/ dedicado al cardenal miguel bonelo/ estampadas sus armas en la primera/foxa ympresso en Roma año de 1581 tiene/ en la última foxa el indiçe y Tiene diez/ y seis magnificas y ocho antiphonas de/ nuestra señora que dicen al cauo del/ rrezado enquadernado en pergamino

[559] Item 7 in the original catalogue (Alonso Lobo's *Liber primus missarum*, RISM L2588) is not attributed a number, and item 8 is then mistakenly attributed number 7. Hence the difference in the numbering of the items between their actual number and the one given by Juan Martos in 1657, Number 12 is thus actually the 13th item and so on. This inconsistency is further enhanced at item 14 in the original inventory, where a book with Guerrero's Passions is described as 'pegado' (put together with) with Victoria's *Hymni totius anni* and thus considered as a single item. The counting of multiple books (such as Victoria's *Missae. Magnificat. Motecta*…) are also considered as a single item.

[Item 15] - 14. Otro libro del mismo thomas Luis / De uictoria ympresso en Roma ano de / 1581 dedicado a Gregorio decimotercio / estampada en la primera hoxa sus armas / y en la segunda la dedicatoria en el / qual se contienen todos los himnos del / discursso del año Y en la ultima foxa tiene el indize don se contienen treinta / y dos himnos Y quatro psalmos a ocho / uozes que sson = dixit dominus laudate / pueri dominum = nisi Dominus = Laudate Dominum omnes gentes. [Currently E-JA s.s. (11)].

…

[Item 17] - 15. Otro libro de magnificas de Franzco Guerrero / ympresso en Lobaina año de 1563 tiene / en la primera hoja estampadas las armas / Reales Y a la buelta la dedicatoria a PHe / lipe segundo Y en la segunda foxa el indize / de diez y seis mangnificas con el tono que cada / vna es desde el primero hasta el octauo

…

[Items 23-30] - 17. Otros ocho quadernos cassi del mismo tama / ño que los passados enquadernados en / vecerro colorado con sus florones Y listas / de oro tiene por titulo en la primera foxa / de thomas Luis de uictoria missas magni / ficas y motetes ympressos en madrid año / de 1600 En la segunda foxa dedicado a Phelippo terçero Y a la buelta della el / yndiçe de los motetes y missas El primero / de a ocho voces = El segundo de a doçe Y el ter / cero de a quatro

…

[Item 40] - 19. Otro quaderno de Franzco Guerrero de mano / a donde se contiene el psalmo = in exitu = de / tres quartos de alto y dos tercios de ancho en / quadernado en pergamino este cuaderno esta / trasladado nuebo y contiene el = te deum lau/ damus

[Item 59][560] - otro libro del dicho frai manuel cardoso / en que se contienen diez y seis magnificas tiene / en la primera hoja vna imagen de nrâ / Sra con el niño en brazos y la vltima / foja el indice de las dichas diez y seis / magnificas esta inpreso en Lisboa / año de 1613 y esta enquadernado en becero / colorado. [Currrently E-JA s.s. (13)].

[Item 60] - Otro libro de eduardo Lobo inpreso en / antuerpia año de 1605 con diez y seis / magnificas y la primera hoja tiene mu / chas figuras [con -tachado-] tocando diferentes intrumentos / no tiene indice y esta enquadernado / en becero colorado.

[Items 76-84] - tro juego de nuebe libretes de quartilla de / agustino agaçario [sic] y antonio cifra Romano / y fabio constantino Romano en que con / tiene salmos y motetes y en la primera / oja de cada vno [tienen] pintado vn organo enquadernados / en pergamino. [Currently E-JA 5; E-JA 6; E-JA 68/4]

…

[Items 97-104] - otro juego de ocho libretes de a quartilla / de el maestro flacomio en que se contienen / muchos salmos y vna misa y vna magnifica / y algunos motetes y en la primera oja / vnas armas con cinco estrellas i vna banda / y dos angeles tiniendo vna corona i estan / inpresos en Benecia año de 1611 en / quadernados en pergamino

[560] At item 44 - 'catorçe libros de canto' ('fourteen [unspecified] books of polyphony') Juan Martos stopped numbering the items in this inventory.

CATHEDRAL OF GRANADA

1667 - Inventory of the music books of the cathedral of Granada[561]

Source: E-GRc leg. 17, *Allegationes Ecclesiae Granatensis*, vol 4, 176-176v

Transcribed in José LOPEZ-CALO, *La música en la catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI*, 2 vols (Granada: Fundación Rodriguez Acosta, 1963), vol 1, 131-32.

…

Vísperas

[Item 10] Un libro de vísperas manuscrito, todo de psalmos 1

[Item 11] Otro libro de vísperas manuscripto de himnos y magnificas 1

[Item 12] Otro libro, todo de magníficas de Aguilera 1

[Item 13] Otro libro de magníficas manuscripto, de Morales 1

[Item 14] Otro de las salves y en el están las pasiones y algunos motetes manuscriptos 1

[Item 15] Otro libro de magníficas de Lobo, el de Lisboa, y faltan algunas hojas 1

Motetes

…

[Item 18] Otro juego de motetes de Victoria, de ocho libretes 8

…

[Item 21] Otro juego de motetes, de misas, de vísperas, de a ocho, de Velasco, son nueve libretes 9

[Item 22] Otro juego de motetes y de misas de a ocho, de Pedro Flaconio [sic], son ocho libretes 8

[561] This is the first complete catalogue of polyphonic choirbooks made after 1535. According to Lopez-Calo (vol 2, XII), there are no inventories from the second half of the sixteenth century. It is clear, according to him that most of that repertory is now lost. There are unidentified Vespers psalms and hymns, which Lopez-Calo believes are by Ceballos, but has not been able to confirm, and therefore has not included in this publication.

1614 – Inventory of music books from the Iglesia Parroquial de Valdemoro

Source: Iglesia Parroquial de Valdemoro, Libro de inventarios, 1582-1719, fols 79v-82

Fully transcribed in LPH at https://hispanicpolyphony.eu/node/16981 and by Antonio GALLEGO, 'Un siglo de música en Valdemoro (1582-1692)', *Revista de Musicología* 1-2 (1978), 243-53 [244-45].

…

[Item 21] – Un libro de mano de Salmodia y motetes de Çavallos y otros autores

[Item 22] – Otro libro de mano de Magnificas e Himnos[562]

[Items 24-31] – Ocho libros de motetes de Victoria

1654 – Inventory of music books from the Iglesia Parroquial de Valdemoro

Source: Iglesia Parroquial de Valdemoro, Libro de inventarios, 1582-1719, fol 33

…

[Items 34-40?] – Otros Siete libros de la Salve y Salmos que quedaran por muerte del Sr. Diego Sanchez.[563]

[562] According to GALLEGO 'Un siglo de música', 245, an inventory dated 1585 attributes these works to Morales. This item, as well as number 22 are already listed in an inventory from 1582. GALLEGO, idem.
[563] Gallego mentions this 1654 inventory without specifying its contents, saying that three items were, on this date, added to the ones already listed in 1614. GALLEGO, Idem. Diego Sanchez was also *maestro de canto llano* at the cathedral of Seville in the late 1590s, thus working alongside Guerrero (Robert SNOW, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), 42 and Juan B. ELÚSTIZA and Gonçalo Castrillo HERNÁNDEZ eds, *Antologia Musical: siglo de oro de la música litúrgica de España: polifonia vocal siglos XV y XVI* (Barcelona: Rafael Casulleras, 1933), xxi) and also a scribe. The only know extant source copied by him is the main layer of polyphonic choirbook E-Vp s.s (Parroquia de Santiago,Valladolid), known as the 'Diego Sánchez Codex'.

1634-04-27 – Inventory of music books from the Sacra Capilla de El Salvador

Source: Sevilla, Casa de Pilatos, archive of the Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, Sección Sacra Capilla del Salvador de Úbeda, leg. 4, pieza 1

Fully digitised and transcribed in LPH at https://hispanicpolyphony.eu/node/24467

Inventario que hizo el señor licenciado Miguel Díaz Ayllón, canónigo de la iglesia colegial del Sacromonte de la ciudad de Granada y visitador de la Sacra Iglesia del Salvador de esta ciudad de Úbeda, de todos los bienes, ornamentos, joyas, plata y otras cosas, que en la dicha sacra iglesia se hallaron.

…

[Margin] - Libros de canto de órgano y contrapunto:

[Item 41] – Un libro de a folio de papel de marca mayor encuadernado en pergamino escrito en canto de órgano de magnificats de Guerrero.

[Item 42] – Otro libro antiguo de canto de órgano con algunas misas y salmos también encuadernado en pergamino maltratado.

…

[Item 51] – Otros ocho libretes de a cuarto impresos de molde de Tomás de Victoria impreso[s] en Madrid año de 1600 encuadernados todos de una manera.

CATHEDRAL OF JAÉN

1657-02-19 - Inventory of the music books of the Cathedral of Jaén ordered by the provisor and vicar general Diego Velázquez de Cuéllar, compiled by the treasurer Juan de Gerica Martos, with the assistance of canon Juan Izquierdo de Lara and precentor Lucas de Ledesma (proposed by the provisor), started on 19 february 1657]

Source: Jaén, Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Jaén, leg. 452, ff. 253r-257

Transcribed in LPH at https://hispanicpolyphony.eu/node/24562 and Javier MARÍN-LOPEZ, 'Music Books for an 'iglesia principal y calificada': the 1657 inventory of Jaén Cathedral in Context' in *New Perspectives on Early Music in Spain*, Tess Knighton and Emilio Ros-Fábregas eds (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2015), 108-60

…

[Item 13][564] - 12. Un libro de magnificas y motetes de xptoual de Morales y franz[is]co Ruiz de espinosa/escrito en hojas de pergamino enquader/nado en tabla y becerro con sus abraza/deras de hierro tiene diez y sete magnificas y diez y seis motetes tres salues y un imbita/torio esta el índice en la primera hoja. [Non extant]

[Item 14] - 13. Otro libro de Magnificas de thomas/ Luis de Victoria de tres quartas de alto/ dedicado al cardenal miguel bonelo/ estampadas sus armas en la primera/foxa ympresso en Roma año de 1581 tiene/ en la última foxa el indiçe y Tiene diez/ y seis magnificas y ocho antiphonas de/ nuestra señora que dicen al cauo del/ rrezado enquadernado en pergamino. [Non extant]

[Item 15] - 14. Otro libro del mismo thomas Luis / De uictoria ympresso en Roma ano de / 1581 dedicado a Gregorio decimotercio / estampada en la primera hoxa sus armas / y en la segunda la dedicatoria en el / qual se contienen todos los himnos del / discursso del año Y en la ultima foxa tiene el indize don se contienen treinta / y dos himnos Y quatro psalmos a ocho / uozes que sson = dixit dominus laudate / pueri dominum = nisi Dominus = Laudate Dominum omnes gentes. [Currently E-JA s.s. (11)].

…

[Item 16] - 15. Otro libro de magnificas de Franzco Guerrero / ympresso en Lobaina año de 1563 tiene / en la primera hoja estampadas las armas / Reales Y a la buelta la dedicatoria a PHe / lipe segundo Y en la segunda foxa el indize / de diez y seis mangnificas con el tono que cada / vna es desde el primero hasta el octauo. [Non extant]

…

[Items 18] - 17. Otros ocho quadernos cassi del mismo tama / ño que los passados enquadernados en / vecerro colorado con sus florones Y listas / de oro tiene por titulo en

[564] Item 7 in the original catalogue (Alonso Lobo's *Liber primus missarum*, RISM L2588) is not attributed a number, and item 8 is then mistakenly attributed number 7. Hence the difference in the numbering of the items between their actual number and the one given by Juan Martos in 1657. Number 12 is thus actually the 13th item and so on. Item 14 in the original inventory- Victoria's *Hymni totius anni* is described as 'pegado' (bound together with) a manuscript with Guerrero's Passions) and is thus considered as a single item. Even though the LPH database considers the passions as a new item, I opted to follow the criterion of the original inventory (i.e. one volume corresponding to one item).

la primera foxa / de thomas Luis de uictoria missas magni / ficas y motetes ympressos en madrid año / de 1600 En la segunda foxa dedicado a Phelippo terçero Y a la buelta della el / yndiçe de los motetes y missas El primero / de a ocho voces = El segundo de a doçe Y el ter / cero de a quatro. [Non extant]

[Item 19] 18. Otros nuebe quadernos maiores enquader / nados en pergamino con sus listones de / seda colorada y uerde ympresso en Madrid / ano de 1628 dirigido al marques de astor / ga Don Aluaro Perez osorio con sus armas / estampadas y en la tercera hoxa estan / padas las armas Reales y en indice que combe / nia la primera missa = tota pulchra est, de / a cinco uoçes Y la ultima = Salue Regina = de / ocho uoçes [Non extant]

…

[Item 20] - 19. Otro quaderno de Franzco Guerrero de mano / a donde se contiene el psalmo = in exitu = de / tres quartos de alto y dos tercios de ancho en / quadernado en pergamino este cuaderno esta / trasladado nuebo y contiene el = te deum lau/ damus. [Non extant]

[Item 26][565] - otro libro del dicho frai manuel cardoso / en que se contienen diez y seis magnificas tiene / en la primera hoja vna imagen de nrâ / Sra con el niño en brazos y la vltima / foja el indice de las dichas diez y seis / magnificas esta inpreso en Lisboa / año de 1613 y esta enquadernado en becero / colorado. [Currrently E-JA s.s. (13)].

[Item 27] - Otro libro de eduardo Lobo inpreso en / antuerpia año de 1605 con diez y seis / magnificas y la primera hoja tiene mu / chas figuras [con -tachado-] tocando diferentes intrumentos / no tiene indice y esta enquadernado / en becero colorado. [Non extant]

…

[Item 29] - tro juego de nuebe libretes de quartilla de / agustino agaçario [sic] y antonio cifra Romano / y fabio constantino Romano en que con / tiene salmos y motetes y en la primera / oja de cada vno [tienen] pintado vn organo enquadernados / en pergamino. [Currently E-JA 5; E-JA 6; E-JA 68/4]

…

[Item 32] - otro juego de ocho libretes de a quartilla / de el maestro flacomio en que se contienen / muchos salmos y vna misa y vna magnifica / y algunos motetes y en la primera oja / vnas armas con cinco estrellas i vna banda / y dos angeles tiniendo vna corona i estan / inpresos en Benecia año de 1611 en / quadernados en pergamino. [Non extant].

[565] At item 44 - ‘catorçe libros de canto’ (‘fourteen [unspecified] books of polyphony’) Juan Martos stopped numbering the items in this inventory.

CATHEDRAL OF SARAGOSSA

1590, 29 March – Book of expenses, fols 123-123v

Source: E-Zs, Recibos del Común, 1590, Carpeta 65

'Yo, Raphael Brueva, otorgo aver rescebido… deziocho libras y nueve sueldos por ciento y veinte y tres hojas que apunte de los Hymnos y Magnificats de Robledo…'

1594 - Inventory of the polyphonic choirbooks of the cathedral of Saragossa

Source: E-Zs, Sacristia, Inventario de 1594

Photographed in Asensio, Carlos Bonal, 'Los ministriles polifónicos en la catedral de El Salvador de Zaragoza', *Nassarre* 35 (2019), 171-201, at 175

Libros de canto de organo

…

[Item 3] Otro tomo de Magni[fica]t de los 8 tonos doblados de Morales

…

[Item 6] Dos tomos de las obras de Robledo[566]

…

[Item 14] Cuatro cuadernos de pange lingua en pargamino [sic]

…

[Margin: 'Nuevos']

…

[Item 22] Un tomo de himnos de Palestrina

…

[Item 25] Un libro de tablas dorado, de magnificat y misas y motetes de Morales

[566] One of these would have been the book of hymns and Magnificat settings by Robledo copied in 1590.

CATHEDRAL OF TARAZONA

Inventory dated **29-05-1570**

Source: Archivo Capitular. Armario L. Caxa 2. Ligarza 7. No 1.

Original document in digital format in LPH, containing a total of thirty items in ten unnumbered folios, 210 x 290 mm. This document is incomplete, as can be seen in the 1591 inventory, which makes a full (and revised copy) of this one, with 78 items. Fully transcribed by Pedro Calahorra Martinez.[567]

[Item 3] Ytem un libro de motetes de diversos autores con unas cubiertas negras los quales motetes son estos.

…

Pastrana Ave maris stella

Lupus Veni creator [spiritus]

[Item 4] Item otro libro de motetes y lamentationes y himnos con unas cubiertas coloradas son los siguientes

…

Himnos

Pastrana Vexilla regis

Pastrana O crux ave spes unica [Vexilla regis]

…

Pastrana Non ex virili [Veni redemptor str. 2]

Pastrana Ibant magi [Hostis Herodes str. 2]

…

Pastrana Ignis vibrante [Beata nobis gaudia, str. 2]

Pastrana Nobis natus nobis datus [Pange lingua, str. 5]

Pastrana Ubi patres precellentes [Gaude mater pietatis, str. 2]

Basurto Sumens illud ave [Ave maris stella, str. 2]

Pastrana Ave maris stella

Montes Sumens illud ave

Pastrana Exultet caelum laudibus

Pastrana Beata quoque agmina [Christe redemptor omnium… conserva, str. 2]

[567] Pedro CALAHORRA MARTINEZ,'Los fondos musicales en el Siglo XVI de la Catedral de Tarazona. I. Inventarios', *Nassarre: Revista Aragonesa de Musicología* VIII/2 (1992), 9-56.

Motetes

…

Andres Silva Laetatus sum

[Item 5] Item outro libro con unas cubiertas coloradas donde ay motetes y magnificas son los siguientes

…

Pastrana Magnificat

…

Pastrana Pange lingua

Maestre Juan In exitu Israel

…

Bacan Magnifica

Morales Magnifica

Pastrana Magnifica

Bargas Magnifica

Morales Magnifica

…

Morales Magnifica

Basurto Magnifica

Peñalosa Magnifica

Morales Magnifica

Alonso Magnifica

Morales Magnifica

Esquinas Magnifica

[Item 6] Item otro libro de tablas con una cubierta blanca tiene hymnos Motetes Magnificas son los siguientes [Currently E-TZ 2-3]

Vtredo Pange lingua

Porto Magnifica

Anchieta Magnifica

Segovia Magnifica

Peñalosa Magnifica

Peñalosa Magnifica

Peñalosa Magnifica

Peñalosa Magnifica

Peñalosa Magnifica

Peñalosa Magnifica

Morales Magnifica

Morales Magnifica

Anchieta Magnifica

Villa Magnifica

Tordesillas Magnifica

Tordesillas Magnifica

…

Falta la rubrica deste libro que es la segunda parte

[Item 8] Ite*m* otro libro afforrado en un pergamino/ es de magnificas y motetes y himnos son los q*ue* se siguen

…

Pastrana Psalmos de nra Señora cinco

Pastrana Magnificat

Morales Magnificat

…

Pastrana Exultet coelum

Pastrana Ave maris stella

…

Morales Magnificat

Marlet Magnificat

Cepa Magnificat

[Item 11] Item otro libro con unas cubiertas de pergamino de missas y motetes y magnificas son los siguientes [Currently E-TZ 5]

…

Pastrana Magnificat

Gomez Magnificat

Pastrana Magnificat

Pastrana Magnificat

Pastrana Magnificat

…

Pastrana Benedicamus [Domino]

Ribaflecha Benedicamus [Domino]

[Item 12] Ite [sic] otro libro es de motetes con unas cubiertas de pargamino [sic] moreno son los siguientes (note on the side: Este libro esta sin tabla)

…

Escort Pange lingua

[Item 14] Item otro libro de unas cubiertas coloradas de motetes y magnificas y himnos de diversos auctores son los que si siguen. Este es de mano de Lobayna y sin rubrica y otro de las quince misas del mesmo Lobayna.[568]

Morales Sumens illud ave [Ave maris stella, str.2]

…

Morales Ave maris stella

Pastrana Vexilla regis

…

Silva Laetatus sum

…

Jusquin [sic] In exitu

…

[568] Lobayna was a clergyman from the cathedral, who possessed several musical manuscripts, some of which were used by the *capilla*.

Pastrana fabordones. Son ocho

Pastrana Beata quoq*ue*

Pastrana Pange lingua

…

Pastrana Ave maris stella

Pastrana Hostis Herodes

Pastrana Exultet caelum laudibus

Pastrana Non ex virili [Veni redemptor, str. 2]

…

Monton [sic] Magnificat

Monton Magnificat

Basurto Vexilla regis

…

[Item 22] Ite [sic] otro libro viejo en que se hace platica de misas y magnificas [contents not specified]

[Item 30] Item quatro cuadernos con la pange lingua y sacris solemnys

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1591

Source: Archivo Capitular. Armario L. Caxa 2. Ligarza 7. No 1.

Cover of original document in digital format in LPH. Catalogue fully transcribed by Calahorra, and Emilio Ros-Fábregas.[569] The first section of this catalogue – the first 30 items – is a revised copy of the incomplete 1570 inventory. There are some differences, namely in the number within each source – a lot more numerous, in some cases, than the ones in the first inventory, which means these were added later, either by the filling of blank folios or the addition of new ones. The spelling of the composers' names differs in quite a few cases. In the specific case of Vespers, the differences in the listing of some hymns show the alterations made as a result of the adoption of the 1568 Breviary. These are indicated as a footnote on this list.

[569] Emilio ROS-FÁBREGAS, LPH at https://hispanicpolyphony.eu/node/16460 and P. CALAHORRA MARTINEZ,'Los fondos musicales'. Ros-Fábregas only transcribes the items corresponding to choirbooks. Hence, the transcription in LPH has a gap between items 15 and 79.

Item 4 [Item 4 in 1570. Non extant.]– Mas ay un libro de motetes y lamentaciones y himnos con unas cubiertas coloradas son los siguientes

…

Pastrana, Vexilla regis

Pastrana, O crux [Vexilla regis, str. 2]

…

Pastrana, Tu lumen [Christe redemptor omnium ex patre, str. 2][570]

Pastrana, Ibant magi [Hostis Herodes, str. 2]

…

Pastrana Qui paraclitus [Veni creator spiritus, str 2][571]

Pastrana, Nobis natus [Pange lingua, str 5]

Pastrana, Ubi patres [Gaude mater pietatis, str 2]

Vasurto, Sumens illud [Ave maris stella, str 2]

Pastrana, Sumens illud[572]

Montes, Sumens illud

Pastrana, Vos secli[573]

Pastrana, Beata quoque [Christe redemptor omnium, str 2]

…

Andres Silva, Laetatus sum

Item number 5 [Item 5 in 1570. Non extant]. Mas ay un libro con cubiertas coloradas donde ay motetes, Magnificas, Salves y himnos

…

Pastrana, Mag*nifica*t

[570] Text altered in source, from 'Non ex virili' [*Veni redemptor*], in order to comply with the text of the 1568 Breviary.

[571] Text altered in source, from 'Ignis vibrante' [*Beata nobis gaudia*] in order to comply with the text of the 1568 Breviary.

[572] The 1570 inventory gives this item the title of 'Ave maris stella'. Both Calahorra and Ros -Fábregas transcribe this as 'Sumens illud'. There are two possible explanations for this. One is that the text was altered, from the first strophe to the second – which seems unlikely, since the most common phenomenon is the opposite, that is, replacing the second strophe with the first, especially from the late sixteenth century onwards. The other possibility is that the writer of the 1570 inventory had a lapse and wrote the name of the hymn instead of specifying the strophe: 'Sumens illud'. The musical source does not survive, and it is therefore not possible to confirm which hypothesis is correct.

[573] Text altered in source, from *Exultet caelum*, in order to comply with the text of the 1568 Breviary.

…

Pastrana, Nobis datus

Mastre Joan, In exitu

…

Bazan, Anima mea D*omin*um

Morales, Magnificat

Pastrana, Magnificat

Vargas, Magnificat

[Not attributed] Magnificat[574]

…

Morales, Mag*nifica*t

Vasurto [sic], Mag*nifica*t

Peñalosa, Mag*nifica*t

Morales, Mag*nifica*t

Alonso[575], Mag*nifica*t

Alonso, Mag*nifica*t

Morales, Mag*nifica*t

Esquinas, Mag*nifica*t

Item 6 [Item 6 in 1570. Currently E-TZ 2-3] - Mas ay un libro con cubierta blanca tiene himnos, motetes, magnificas son los siguientes

…

[Not attributed] Ibant magi [Hostis Herodes, str. 2]

Escobar, Non ex birili [sic] [Veni redemptor str. 2]

Alva, Hostis Herodes

Alva, Vexilla

Senabria, Cuyus corpus [Ad cenam agni, str. 2]

Peñalosa, Que te vicit [Jesu nostra redemptio, str. 2]

Alva, Beata nobis [gaudia]

[574] This Magnificat is attributed to Morales in 1570.
[575] According to LPH, this Alonso is Alonso Fernandez de Tordesillas.

Alva, Veni creator

Peñalosa, O lux [beata trinitas]

Urreda, Pange lingua[576]

…

Alva, Ut queant

…

Escobar, Sumens illud [str. 2 of Ave maris stella]

Escobar, Sumens illud [str. 2 of Ave maris stella]

Alva, Tibi Christe

Alva, Christe redemptor

Escobar, Vos secli [str. 2 of Exultet caelum laudibus]

Escobar, Hic nempe [str. 2 of Deus tuorum militum]

Escobar, Sanctorum meritis

Escobar, Yste [sic] confessor

Portho Magnificat

Anqueta [sic] Magnificat

Segovia Magnificat

Peñalosa Magnificat

Peñalosa, Magnificat

Peñalosa, Magnificat

Peñalosa, Magnificat

Peñalosa, Magnificat

Peñalosa, Magnificat

Morales, Magnificat

Marlet, Magnificat

Anqueta [sic], Magnificat

Vila, Magnificat

Tordesillas, Magnificat

[576] This is the first item listed in both inventories. All the previous hymns are absent from the 1570 inventory. Both inventories place this hymn on the same folio: 10.

Tordesillas, Magnificat

Item number 8 [Item 8 in 1570. Non extant] – Mas ay un libro con cubiertas de pergamino de magnificas motetes y himnos son los siguientes

…

Pastrana, Psalmos de Nra. Señora

Pastrana, Magnificat

[Without attribution. Morales[577]?], Magnificat

…

Pastrana Exultet celum

Pastrana Anna [sic] maris stella

…

Morales Magnificat

Marlet Magnificat

Cepa Magnificat

Item 11 – Mas ay un libro de cubiertas de cuero negro de/ Missas motetes y ma*gnifi*cas de dibersos auctores/son los siguientes [Item 10 in 1570. Currently E-TZ 5]

…

Pastrana, Magn*ifica*t

Gómez, Magnificat

Pastrana, Magnificat

Pastrana, Magnificat

Pastrana, Magnificat

…

Pastrana, Benedicamus Domino

Ribafrecha [sic] Benedicamus Domino

Item 12 – [Item number 12 in 1570. Non extant] - Mas ay un libro de cubiertas de pergamino moreno de motetes/ y lamentaciones son los siguientes:

[577] In LPH, Ros-Fabregas asks: 'Pastrana?', but the 1570 inventory attributes the second Magnificat in this source (after the setting by Pastrana) to Morales.

…

Elcort, Pange lingua

[Without attribution],[578] In exitu

[Item 14. Item 14 in 1570. Non extant] – Mas ay un libro de cubiertas coloradas de motetes magnificas/ y himnos de dibersos auctores son los siguientes

Morales, Sumens illut [Ave maris stella, str. 2]

…

Morales, Ave maris stella

Pastrana, Vexilla regis

…

Jusquin, In exitu

…

Pastrana fabordones. Son ocho

Pastrana Beata quoq*ue*

Pastrana Pange lingua

…

Pastrana Ave maris stella

Pastrana Hostis Herodes

Pastrana Illustre quidam [Quicumque Christum, str. 2][579]

[Pastrana Non ex virili][580]

…

Monton [sic] Magnificat

Monton Magnificat

…

Basurto Vexilla regis

[578] Ros-Fábregas suggests: 'Vargas?'

[579] In this case, the 1570's *Exultet caelum*, the hymn for the feast of Transfiguration is replaced with Quicumque Christum the post tridentine hymn for the Common of Apostles.

[580] This hymn, listed in the 1570's inventory, is absent from this one. The indication of folios is the same for the items which precede and succeed this one, in this source.

[Item 22. Item 22 in 1570. Non extant] – Mas ay un libro grande de tablas cubiertas de cuero pardisco/ muy viejo para enseñar no bale ya para otro por estar hecho pedaços]

[Item number 31] – Mas ay un libro de papelón con cuero blanco que al principio/ y al fin tiene fabordones y en medio hymnos motetes y/ salbes son los siguientes:

Morales, Sumens illut ave

Morales, Sumens illut ave

…

Robledo, Sumens illut

…

Navarro, Nobis datus

[Item 70] – Ay mais una Magnificat a 5 em çinco papeles pecceños [sic] comiença Anima mea y es del sexto tono [Non extant]

[Item 73] – Mas ay un himno Co bulneratus [sic] a 5. [Quo vulneratus. Vexilla regis, str. 2]

[Item 78. Possibly item 30 in 1570. Non extant] – Ay mas tres o quatro papelçillos viejos donde esta Sacris/ solemniis y Pange lingua.

Asta aqui es lo que había/ en el inbentario viejo que se hizo en 29 de Mayo 1570. / Y se han hallado algunas otras cossas mas de lo que havia. / Que las ha hecho poner Joan Arnalte limosnero por inchir/ papel blanco que sobraba en algunos de los libros viejos/ y también algunas cosas de las que están aquí que por ser/ muy viejas y estar malescriptas no pueden servir las ha hecho/ sacar en otros libros.[581]

Item 79 [Currently E-TZ 4] Primeramente ay un libro grande de tablas con cubiertas/ de cuero blanco con motetes a quatro de las fiestas del año /de Palestrina con missas [sic] y salves de diversos auctores son los siguientes:

…

[581] [The items listed] up to this point are the ones from the old inventory, made on 29 May 1570. Other things were added to the ones that were already there, and this has been done by Juan Arnalte, limosnero, in order to fill some blank paper that had been left in the old books, and also other things [items] that are here, being very old and incorrectly written, and no longer fit for use he [Arnalte] has had them copied in other books.

Joan Arnalte, Beata quoque agmina [Christe redemptor … conserva, str. 2]

…

Joan Arnalte, Tu lumen [Christe redemptor omnium ex patre, str. 2]

Item 80– Mas ay un libro de tablas grande con cubiertas de cuero/ negro de motetes de diversos auctores desde el folio 1 hasta 136 [Item 80a. Currently E-TZ 9] y con nueve magnificas que se siguen después començando/ con otro folio 1 hasta el fin [Item 80b. Currently E-TZ 9] y son los siguientes:

Vinccenzio Rufi, Domine ad adjbandum

Vinccenzio Rufi, Magnificat

Vinccenzio Rufi, Magnificat

Vinccenzio Rufi, Magnificat

Vinccenzio Rufi, Magnificat

Vinccenzio Rufi, Magnificat

Vinccenzio Rufi, Magnificat

Vinccenzio Rufi, Magnificat

Vinccenzio Rufi, Magnificat

[Without attribution], Hic tempe mundi gaudia [Deus tuorum, str. 2]

[Without attribution], Illustre quiddam cernimus [Quicumque Christum, str. 2]

[Item 82. Non extant] – Mas ay un libro de salves y de motetes de diversos/ auctores son los siguientes y con cubiertas de pergamino:

…

Palestrina, Beatus vir

…

Robledo, Vexilla regis

…

Robledo, O crux ave spes [Vexilla regis, str. 2]

…

Guerrero, Sumens illut

…

Guerrero, Sumens illut

[Item 85. Non extant] – Mas ay un cuaderno con cubiertas de pergamino tiene/ asta veinte y seis hojas donde ay una Salve de Palestrina /con un motete Regina caeli. Ay un himno de Joan/ Arnalte que dice Cuius corpus [Ad cenam agni, str. 2]. Ay mas los himnos del/ Corpus de diversos auctores.

[Item 86. Currently E-TZ 1] – Mas ay un libro grande con cubiertas de pergamino blanco/ con motetes desde la Septuagesima asta la Resurreccion y otros /de otros tiempos con una misa y Salves de diversos actores [sic] y 4/ Magnificas de Joan Arnalte son los siguientes:

[Not attributed] Cuius corpus [Ad cenam agni, str. 2]

…

Nabarro, Magnificat

…

[Without attribution] Vexilla

…

Joan Arnalte, Ibant Magi

…

[Without attribution] Magnificat

[Without attribution] Magnificat

Joan Arnalte, Magnificat

Joan Arnalte, Magnificat

Joan Arnalte, Magnificat

Joan Arnalte, Magnificat

[Item 90. Non extant] – Mas ay un libro de cubiertas de pergamino escripto que/ contiene una missa y salves y lo demás que se sigue:

…

[Non attributed], Magnificat

[Item number 91. Non extant] – Mas ay un libro de tablas con cubiertas de cuero negro/ que tiene dieziseis magnificas todas de Morales y al fin tiene otros dieziseis tercios e duos.

[Item 93. Currently E-TZ 7] – Mas ay un libro grande quon cubiertas de pergamino / tiene ciento y quarenta hojas contiene lo infrascripto:

[Juan Arnalte] Los cinco psalmos de las Vispras de Navidad

Joan Arnalte, Qui prius prudens [Iste confessor, str. 2]

[Juan Arnalte] Los cinco psalmos de las Vispras del Corpus

…

[Juan Arnalte] Pange lingua

…

[Juan Arnalte] Pange lingua

CATHEDRAL OF ZAMORA

Note: In 1591, a fire broke out in Zamora cathedral, destroying the library and the archive. The consequence is that none of the books listed in these inventories have survived. An inventory made in 1595 already does not include any polyphonic choirbooks whatsoever.

1558 Inventory of the music books of the Cathedral of Zamora

Source: Catedral de Zamora, archivo capitular, Libro de visitas, manuscrito 231, fol 25v

Transcribed in BOTAS, Vicente Bécares, 'Los libros de la catedral de Zamora en el siglo XVI', *Anuario del instituto de estudios zamoranos Florian de* Ocampo (1994), 237-, at 241-42

…

Libros de canto de organo

…

[Item 68] otro libro enquadernado de la mesma manera [en tablas coloradas] de hinos y magnificas de Peñalosa y Basurto y Vargas y otros autores

…

[Item 72] quatro libretes pequeños de todas quatro vozes enquadernados en quero [sic] colorado de missas y magnificas y motetes de Morales

…

[Item 75] otro libro mediano enquadernado en pergamino de molde con magnificas de Carpentras.

[Item 76] dos quadernillos pequeños enquadernados en pergamino con algunos motetes antiguos y prosas y himnos y te deum laudamus y invitatorio de navidad escritos de mano.

…

[Item 78] ytem un libro de obras de Rº [Rodrigo] ordoñez de hymnos, magnificas, motetes, passiones, tractos, de vidi aquam, asperges, fabordones, lamentaciones y otras cosas, scripto de mano, es grande, enquadernado en bezerro con tachones de latón, ano de 566 [later addition]

1577 - Inventory of the music books of the Cathedral of Zamora at the visit of bishop D. Rodrigo de Castro

Source: Catedral de Zamora, archivo capitular, Mitra, Leg. 33, Doc. 1, s. f.

Libros que se expresan en la visita del Obispo D, Rodrigo de Castro, año de 1577

…

Libros de canto de órgano

…

[Item 65] otro libro enquadernado de la mesma manera [en tablas coloradas] de hymnos y magnificas de Peñalosa, Basurto y otros [Item 68 in 1558]

…

[Item 69] quatro libretes pequeños de todas quatro vozes enquadernados de cuero colorado de missas y magnificas y motetes de morales [Item 72 in 1558]

…

[Item 72] yten otro libro mediano, enquadernado en pergamino, de molde con magnificas de carpinteros [sic] [item 75 in 1558]

[Item 73] yten dos quadernillos pequeños enquadernados en pergamino con algunos motetes antiguos, prosas y hymnos y te deum laudamus, invitatorio de navidad, scritos de mano [item 76 in 1558]

…

[Item 75] yten un libro de obras de Rodrigo Ordóñez, de himnos, magnificas, motetes, passiones, tractos, vidiaquam [sic], asperges, favordones, lamentaçiones, y otras cosas, scrito de mano, enquadernado en beçerro, con tachones de latón [Item 78 in 1558]

1582

Source: Catedral de Zamora, archivo capitular, Libro de visitas, manuscrito 231, fol 123v

Libros de canto de organo

…

[Item 71] yten otro libro grande de manificas, ignos y motetes enquadernado en vezerro colorado tachonado alrrededor de oja de lata

[Item 72] yten otro libro que llaman de la fábrica de ignos, manificas, motetes, lamentaçiones y pasiones enquadernado en tabla cubierta de bezerro colorado

[Item 73] yten otro libro de mano de manificas misas y otras cosas enquadernado en papelón negro

…

[Item 75] yten otro libro de cartintras [sic] de manificas enquadernado en pergamino [item 75 in 1558 and 72 in 1577]

…

[Item 77] yten tres libros grandes de Rodrigo ordoñez de misas, ignos y motetes y otras cosas enquadernados en pargamino blanco [Item 78 in 1558 and 75 in 1577?]

[Item 78] yten dos libros grandes de molde enquadernados en pargamino que dio el liçençiado bernardo graçia, el uno de ellos de es manificas de guerrero y el otro de manificas y misas de Vitoria [sic]

Libros pequenos de bernardo garçia

…

[Item 85] yten seis libros de manificas de orlando enquadernados en bezerro colorado con unas antas verdes

…

[Item 107] yten otros quatro libros de manificas de morales enquadernados en pargamino escripto

Appendix III

TRANSCRIPTION AND CRITICAL COMMENTARY OF NAVARRO'S HYMNS IN P-CS LC S/C

COMMENTARY

1. SELECTION OF WORKS:

The works selected for musical transcription were the ones seen as most relevant in trying to demonstrate a certain point or argument made in the dissertation. In this case, the hymns by Navarro, as copied in P-Cs LC s/c, show the permanence of this repertory in late sources, in which new elements are inserted in the copy. In the case of this manuscript, these elements include not only with the texts from the 1632 Breviary but also – as shown in some of these cases –completely different musical material than the one used in the 1590 edition.

2. PRESENTATION:

Each work is presented with its corresponding number in the indexation table. The notes for each work include the concordances (with their RISM sigla) and the indication of the modern musical edition. The full text of the works, in Latin, is provided, as well as the liturgical context (i.e. feast) for each of these works.

3. SOURCES:

Main source: P-Cs Lc s/c

Secondary sources: N 283[582]

4. TEXT

The text underlay follows, as much as possible, the one in the manuscript. The text is also fully written in the editorial notes of each work and the strophes used in the manuscript - the ones which are meant to be sung - are highlighted in bold.

[582] There are multiple manuscripts which include copies of these hymns. In the impossibility of consulting all of these, the musical variants are given from the source which was available to me at this moment.

5. MENSURATION

The note values were kept in this edition the same as in the main source. At the end of a section or work where, in a cadential context, the movement of a given voice/s may require the prolongation of the note on another voice beyond the value indicated in the manuscript. This is indicated in the transcription notes

6. TRANSCRIPTION NOTES: READING GUIDE

The transcription notes are given in the following order: name of voice; bar number, note number within each bar (presented as an exponent); rhythmic value of the note in the source (ex: $B23^{2}$ Br: in the Bassus voice, the second note of bar 23 is a brief). Regarding the height reference of the notes, the Helmholz system is adopted, where middle C corresponds to *c'*.

Abbreviations:

S= Superius; A= Altus, T= Tenor; B= Bassus
L= Long; Br = Breve; Sb = Semibreve; M = Minim; Sm = Semiminim

20. JESU REDEMPTOR – FOLS 47V-49

MAIN SOURCE: P-CS Lc s/cSECONDARY SOURCE: N 283

LITURGICAL OCCASION/FEAST: First and second Vespers of Christmas

TEXT:

1. Jesu redemptor omnium
Quem lucis ante originem
Parem paternae gloriae
Pater supremus edidit

2. Tu lumen et splendor Patris
Tu spes perennis omnium
Intende quas fundunt preces
Tui per orbem servuli

3. Memento rerum conditor
Nostri quod olim corporis
Sacrata ab alvo Virginis
Nascendo formam sumpseris

4. Testatur hoc praesens dies
Currens per anni circulum
Quod solus e sinu Patris
Mundi salus adveneris

5. Hunc astra tellus aequora

Hunc omne quod coelu subest

Salutis auctorem novae

Novo salutat cantico

6. Et nos beata quos sacri

Rigavit unda sanguinis

Natalis ob diem tui

Hymni tributo solvimus

7. Jesu tibi sit gloria

Qui natus es de Virgine

Cum Patre et almo Spiritu

In sempiterna secula

TRANSCRIPTION NOTES:

P-Cs LC s/c:

B 32: Br pause

N283

S 18-19: Ligature

T 23^{1}: Br

Second strophe: a totally different polyphonic setting, for five voices (SSATB), with only vague similarities in the hymn melody (in S1 line), even though both sources set the last, doxological, strophe.[583]

[583] Naturally with different texts: the 1568 one for the print and the 1632 one for the Coimbra manuscript.

22. SALUTIS HUMANAE SATOR – FOLS 51V-53

MAIN SOURCE: P-CS Lc s/c

SECONDARY SOURCE: N 283

LITURGICAL OCCASION/FEAST: First and second Vespers of Ascension

TEXT:

Salutis humanae sator

Jesu, voluptas cordium

Orbis redempti conditor

Et casta lux amantium

Que victus es clementia

Ut nostra ferres crimina?

Mortem subires innocens

A morte nos ut tolleres?

Perrumpis infernum chaos

Vinctis catenas detrahis

Victor triumpho nobili

Ad dexteram Patris sedes

Te cogat indulgentia

Ut damna nostra sarcias

Tuique vultus compotes

Dites beato lumine

Tu dux ad astra et semita

Sis meta nostris cordibus

Sis lacrymarum gaudium

Sis dulce vitae premium

TRANSCRIPTION NOTES:

P-Cs LC s/c:
S 66^3 Br
A, T, B 66^2 Br

N283
All voices: indication of time and prolation: ¢
$S2^2$-3^2: ligature (all three notes)
$S18^1$: indication of b' flat
$S17^1$-18^2: ligature (all three notes)
S25-26 and 27-28: ligature
$S30^{2:}$ no indication of c' sharp
A30: ligature
T 1^1-1^2: ligature

Second strophe: a totally different polyphonic setting. The print sets strophe 4 (the penultimate) of the Tridentine version of this hymn,('Ipsa te cogat' of *Jesu nostra redemptio*) whereas the Coimbra source sets the last, doxological, fifth strophe of *Salutis humanae sator*. The musical setting is completely different.

23. VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS– FOLS 53V-55

MAIN SOURCE: P-CS Lc s/c

SECONDARY SOURCE: N 283

LITURGICAL OCCASION/FEAST: First and second Vespers of Pentecost

TEXT:

Veni creator spiritus
mentes tuorum visita
imple superna gratia
quae tu creasti, pectora.

Qui diceris Paraclitus
donum Dei altissimi
fons vivus, ignis, caritas
et spiritalis unctio.

Tu septiformis munere
digitus paternae dexterae
tu rite promissum Patris
sermone ditans guttura.

Accende lumen sensibus
infunde amorem cordibus
infirma nostri corporis
virtute firmans perpeti.

Hostem repellas longius
pacemque dones protinus
ductore sic te praevio
vitemus omne noxium.

Per te sciamus da Patrem
noscamus atque Filium,
teque utriusque Spiritum
credamus omni tempore.

Deo Patri sit gloria
et Filio, qui a mortuis
surrexit, ac Paraclito
in saeculorum saecula.

TRANSCRIPTION NOTES:

P-Cs LC s/c:
S 57^{4} Br

N283
T 28^{2} b flat
S 56-57 M pause – Sb: c’’- M: b’- Br: b’
A 34^{2} g
A 55^{2}-56 Sb:d’ - dotted Sb:e’ (ligature) – M: d’
T 50-51 Ligature
T 52^{1-2} Ligature
T 54^{1} b natural
T 57 Br
B 55^{3}-56 Br:d – M:c – Sb:c – M: G

24. PANGE LINGUA– FOLS 55V-57

MAIN SOURCE: P-CS Lc s/c

SECONDARY SOURCE: N 283

LITURGICAL OCCASION/FEAST: First and second Vespers of Corpus Christi

TEXT:

Pange, lingua gloriosi
Corporis mysterium,
Sanguinísque pretiosi,
Quem in mundi pretium
Fructus ventris generosi
Rex effudit gentium.

Nobis datus, nobis natus
Ex intacta Vírgine,
Et in mundo conversatus,
Sparso verbi semine,
Sui moras incolatus
Miro clausit ordine.

In supremæ nocte coenæ
Recumbens cum frátribus
Observata lege plene
Cibis in legalibus,
Cibum turbæ duodenæ
Se dat suis manibus.

Verbum caro, panem verum
Verbo carnem efficit
Fitque sanguis Christi merum,
Et si sensus deficit,
Ad firmandum cor sincerum
Sola fides sufficit.

Tantum ergo sacramentum
Veneremur cernui:
Et antíquum documentum
Novo cedat ritui:
Præstet fides supplementum
Sensuum defectui.

Genitori, Genitoque
Laus et jubilatio,
Salus, honor, virtus quoque
Sit et benedictio:
Procedenti ab utroque
Compar sit laudatio.
Amen. Alleluia.

TRANSCRIPTION NOTES:

P-Cs LC s/c: ----------

N283

The whole hymn setting is written in *tempus perfectum* – whereas in the Coimbra source it is rewritten in *tempus imperfectum*. The *tactus*, for both, is the semibreve. This is clear in the way the pauses are presented, in the print, at the very beginning of the tenor and bass parts. The present edition was made using *tempus perfectum*, making each breve of the melody fall in the beginning of a bar.

T 33^{1} Sb: f – Sb: a

T 57^{5} M – M

T $61^{1\text{-}2}$ Sm:b – Sm: c’ – Sm:d’ – Sm: b – Sm: d’

31. DECORA LUX – FOLS 69V-70

MAIN SOURCE: P-CS Lc s/c

SECONDARY SOURCE: N 283

LITURGICAL OCCASION/FEAST: First and second Vespers Ss Peter and Paul

TEXT:

1. Decora lux aeternitatis auream
Diem beatis irrigavit ignibus
Apostolorum quae coronat Principes
Reisque in astra liberam pandit viam

2. Mundi magister, atque cli janitor
Romae parentes, arbitrique gentium
Per ensis ille, hic per crucis victor necem
Vitae senatum laureati possident

3. O Roma felix, quae duorum Principum
Es consecrata glorioso sanguine
Horum cruorum purpurata ceteras
Excellis orbis una pulchritudines

4. Sit trinitati sempiterna gloria
Honor, potestas, atque jubilatio,
In unitate gubernat Omnia
Per universa saeculorum saecula

TRANSCRIPTION NOTES:

P-Cs LC s/c: ----------

N283:

S 4^{2} - 5: ligature

S 5^{2} – 6^{2}; coloured Br and Sb

A 5^{2}: d

S 11 and S 13: ligature

B 20^{3} – 21^{1}: ligature; B 21^{1-2}: coloured Sb and M

S 25 – 26: ligature; S 25^{2} – 26^{1}: Br-Br

T 39^{2-3}: ligature; T39^{3} – 40^{2}: coloured Sb and M

A 40^{1}: b natural

Memento rerum
[Jesu Redemptor]

fols 47v-49

Navarro




2
8
tor nos - - - tri quod
nos - tri quod o - lim cor - po - ris, [nos -
- tri quod o - lim cor - po - ris
tri quod o - lim, nos - tri quod o -
12
o - lim cor - - - - - po -
tri quod o - lim cor - po - ris] sa -
[nos - tri quod o - lim cor - - - po -
lim cor - - - po - ris
15
ris sa - - - - -
cra - - ta ab al - - vo
ris] sa - cra - ta ab al - vo vir -
sa - cra - ta, sa - cra - ta


18
cra - - - ta
sa - cra - ta ab al - vo vir - gi -
- - - - - - - - - gi -
ab al - vo, sa - cra - ta ab al - vo vir -
21
ab al - - vo vir - - gi - nis
nis [sa - cra - ta ab al - vo vir - - -
nis, ab al - vo vir gi - nis nas -
gi - nis nas - cen - do for - ma
24
nas - - - cen - -
- gi - nis nas - cen - do
cen - do for - ma sump - se - ris,
sump - - se - ris, [nas - cen - do


4
27
- - - do for - ma sump -
for - ma sump - se - ris, [nas - cen - do for - ma
[nas - cen - do for - - - - - ma sump -
for - ma sump - - se - ris, nas - cen - do
30
- - se - Je - su
sump - se - ris.
- se - ris. Je - su ti - bi sit glo - ri -
for - ma sump - se - ris.
34
ti - bit sit glo - - - - - - -
Je - su ti - bi sit
a, [Je - su ti - bit sit glo - ri - a,
Je - su ti - bi sit glo - ri - a, [Je -


38
5
- - - - - - - ri - a qui
glo - - - - - ri - a
Je - su ti - bi sit glo - ri - a]
su ti - bi sit glo - ri - a] qui na - tus
41
na - tus es de Vir - - - - - gi -
qui na - tus es de Vir -
qui na - tus es qui na - tus
es, qui na - tus es de
44
ne, [qui na - tus es de vir -
- - - - - - gi - ne
es de vir - - gi - ne, [qui
vir - gi - ne, [qui na - tus es de

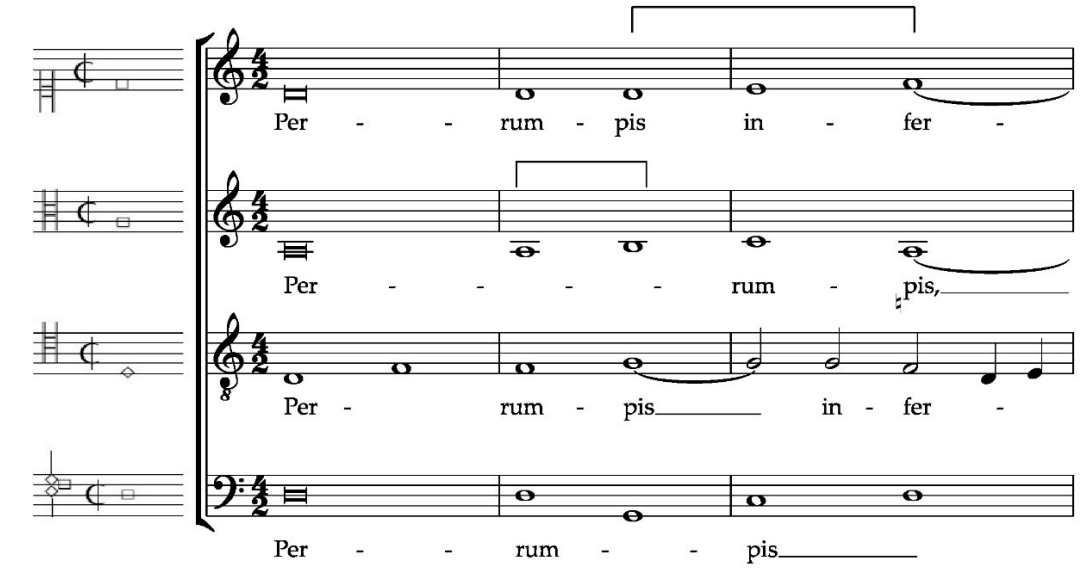

6
47
- - gi - ne] cum Pa - treet al -
cum Pa - - -
na - - tus es de - vir - gi - ne] cum
vir - - gi - ne] cum Pa - tre et
50
mo, cum Pa - tre et al - mo spi -
treet al - mo spi - ri -
Pa treet al - mo spi - ri - tu, [cum Pa - tre et
al - - mo spi - ri - tu
53
- ri - tu in sem - pi - ter - na -
tu in sem - pi -
al - - mo spi - ri - tu] in
in sem - pi - ter - - na se - cu - la,

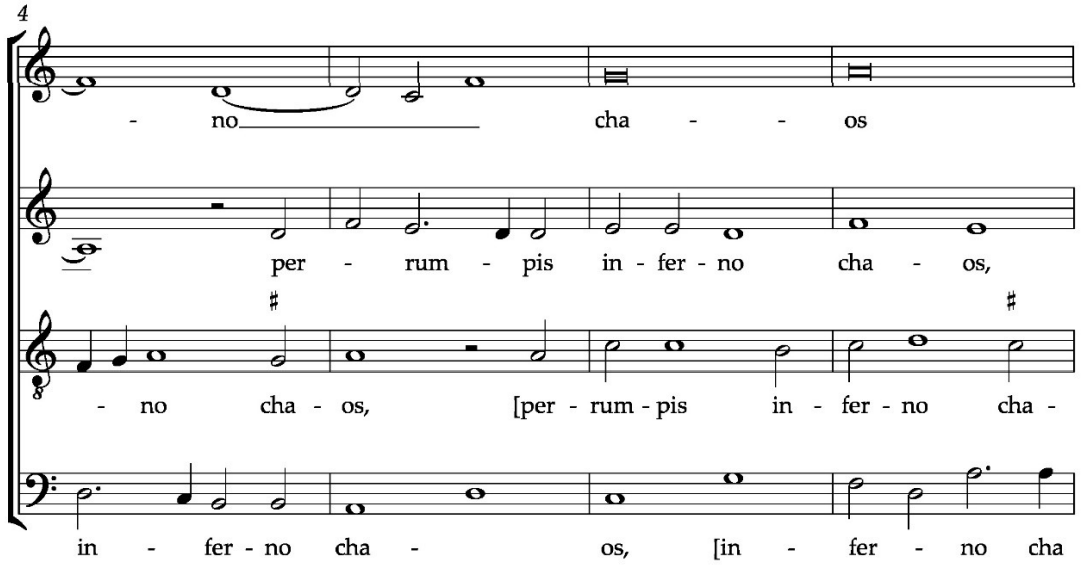

56
- - se - cu - la, [in sem - pi -
ter - na se - cu - la A -
sem - pi - ter - na se - cu - la, in sem -
[in sem - pi - ter - na se - cu -
59
ter - na se - cu - la A - men.
- - - - - - men.
- pi - ter - na se - cu - la,A - men.
la] A - - - men.

Perrumpis inferno
[Salutis humanae sator]

fols 51v-53

Navarro






8
vinc - tis ca - te -
vin - ctis ca - te - nas, [vinc - tis ca -
os] vinc - tis ca - te - nas de - tra -
os] vinc - tis ca - te -
11
nas de - tra - - - - - -
te - nas de - tra - - - - his
his, [vinc - tis ca - te - nas de - tra -
nas, [vinc - tis ca - te - nas] de - - - tra -
14
- his vic -
vic - tor tri - um - pho no -
his] vic - tor tri - um - pho,
his vic - tor tri - um -


17
tor tri - um - pho no -
- bi - li, [vic - tor tri - um - pho no - bi -
[vic - tor tri - um - pho] no - bi - li
pho, [vic - tor tri - um - pho no - bi - li, [vic - tor tri -
21
- - bi - li ad dex -
li ad dex - te - ram Pa - tris
ad dex - te - ram Pa - tris se - des, [ad
um - - pho no - bi - li] ad dex - te -
24
te - - - ram Pa - - -
se - - - des, [ad dex - te - ram
dex - te - ram Pa - - - - - - -
ram Pa - tris se - des, [ad dex - te - ram


27
- - - tis se -
Pa - tris se - - - - - - des,
- - tris se - des, ad dex - te -
Pa - tris se - des, ad dex - te - ram
30
- - - des.
se - - des]. Tu dux
ram Pa - tris se - des]. Tu dux ad as - tra
Pa - tris se - des.
35
ad as - tra et se - - - - - -
et se - - - - - - - - - mi -
Tu dux ad as - tra, et se -


39
Tu dux ad
- - mi - ta, [ad as - - tra
ta sis me - ta, me - - ta
42
as - tra et se - - - - - - - -
et se - mi - ta] sis me -
cor - - - - - di - bus,
-mi - ta sis
45
- - mi - ta sis - - -
ta no - stri cor - - - - - - - -
[sis me - ta cor -
me - ta nos - tri cor - - - - -


48
- me - ta nos - tris cor - - -
-di - bus [sis me - ta cor - - - - -
- di - bus, sis me - ta cor -
-di - bus, [sis - - me - ta nos -
51
- - di - bus sis la -
- di - bus] sis la - cri - ma - rum gau -
- - - di - - - bus]
-tri cor - di - bus] la - cri - ma
55
cri - ma - rum gau - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - di -
sis la - cri - ma - rum gau -
rum gau - - - - - - -


58
- di - um
sis
um
sis dul - ce vi - tae prae -
- - - - - - - di - um,
sis
- - - - di - um,
sis dul -
61
dul - ce vi - ta pre -
- - - - mi - um, [prae - - - - -
dul - ce vi - ta
prae - - - - - - -
ce - vi - ta prae - mi - um,
[vi - ta
64
- - mi - um, A - - - men.
- mi - um], A - - - - men.
-mi - um, A - - - - - men.
prae - mi - um, A - - - men.

Tu septiformis
[Veni creator spiritus]

fols 53v-55

Navarro




7
ne - re,
mu - - - - - - ne - re] di -
re, [tu sep - ti - for - mis mu - - ne -
- ne - re, di - gi -
10
di - gi - tus Pa -
- gi - tus pa - ter nae - - dex - te - rae,
re] di - gi - tus pa - - te
tus pa - ter - na dex - te - rae, [pa -
13
- ter - - nae dex - te - rae,
[di - gi - tus pa - ter - - nae dex - - -
nae dex - - - - - - - te - rae
- ter - nae dex - te - rae] tu


16
tu ri - ri - - - te
- - - - te - rae] tu ri - - te pro -
tu ri - te pro - mis - sum Pa -
ri - - - - te pro - mis - sum
19
pro - mis - sum Pa - - tris
mis - sum Pa - tris ser -
tris ser - - mo - ne di -
Pa - - - - tris ser - mo - ne di - tans
23
ser - - - - mo - - - - ne
mo - ne di - tans gut - tu - ra, [ser - mo - ne
- tans gu - - - - - tu - ra, [ser -
gut - tu - ra, [ser - mo - ne


26
di - tas gut - - - tu - ra.
di - tans gut - tu - - ra.
mo - ne di - tans gut - - - - tu - ra].
di - tans gut - - tu - - ra].
30
Hos - - tem re - pel - las
Hos - tem re - pel - las lon - gi - us, [Hos - tem
Hos - tem re -
Hos - tem re - pe - las lon - gi -
34
lon - - gi - us pa - cem - que
re - pel - - - - las lon - - - gi -
pel - - - las lon - gi -
us, [hos - tem re - pel - las lon - gi -


37
do - - - - - nes pro - - - - - ti -
us] pa - cem - que do - nes pro -
us pa - cem - que
us] pa - cem - que do - nes pro - - - - ti - nus,
40
nus, [pa - cem - que do - nes pro - ti - nus]
- ti - nus, [pa - cem - que do - nes pro - ti -
do - - - - - - - - nes pro -
[pa - cem - que do nes pro - ti - nus]
43
duc - to - re sic te
nus, pa - cem - que do - ne pro - - - - - ti -
ti - nus duc - to - - - -
duc - to - re sic te prae - - - - -

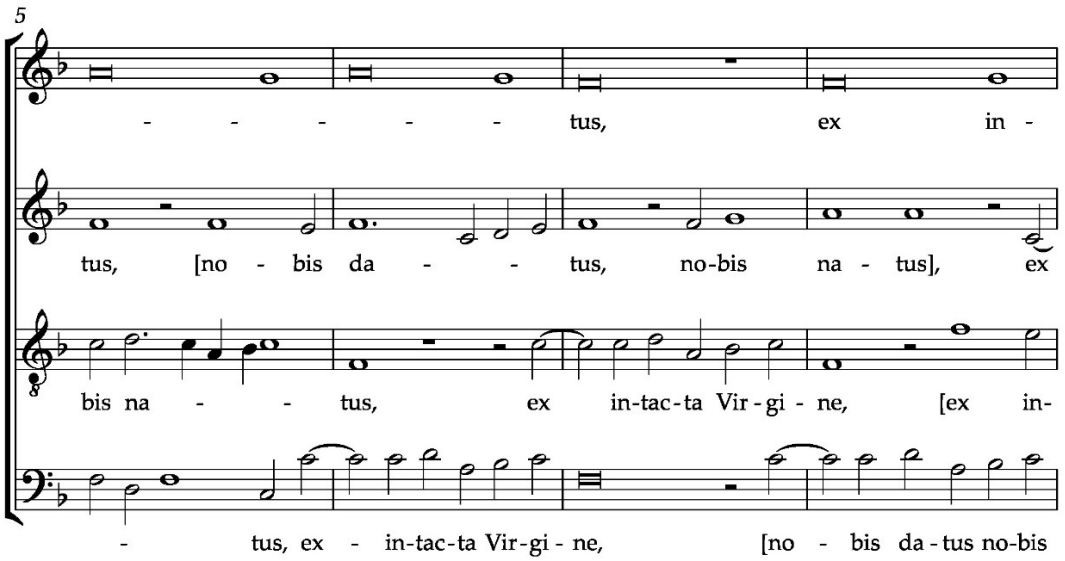

46
prae - - - - - vi - o vi -
nus] duc - to - re sic te prae - - vi -
- re sic te prae - - - - vi -
- vi - o, [duc - to - re sic te prae - vi -
49
te - mus om - ne no - - xi - um,
o vi - te - mus om - ne no - xi - um, [vi -
o vi - - - - te - - -
o vi - te - mus om - - ne no - xi - um,
52
[vi - te-mus om - ne xi - um].
te-mus om - - - ne no - - - xi - um].
mus om - me no - - - xi - um.
[vi - te - mus om - ne, vi - te-mus om-ne no-xi - um].

Nobis datus
[Pange lingua]

fols 55v-57

Navarro






9
tac - ta Vir - gi - ne, et in
in tac-ta Vir - gi - ne, [ex - in tac ta Vir - gi - ne], et
tac - ta Vir - gi ne], et in mun - do con-ver-sa - tus,
na - tus ex in - tac-ta Vir - gi - ne] et in mun - do,
13
mun - do con - ver - sa - tus
in mun - do con - - ver - sa - tus spar-so ver
[et in mun - do con-ver - sa - - tus], spar - so
[et in mun - do] con-ver-sa - tus spar - so ver - bi
17
spar - so ver - bo se - mi - ne,
- bo se - - mi - ne, [spar - so ver - - - bo se-mi
ver - bi se-mi - ne, [spar - so ver - bi se - mi - ne], sui
se - mi - ne [et in mun-do con - ver - sa - tus spar - so ver-bi


21
sui mo - - ras in - co -
ne], sui mo - ras in - co - la - tus, [sui mo - ras in - co -
mo - ras in-co - la - tus, sui mo - ras in - co - la -
se - mi - ne], sui mo - ras in co - la - tus,
25
la - - - - - tus,
- la - tus, sui mo-ras in - co - la - tus],
- tus, sui - mo - ras in - co - la - tus], mi - ro
[sui mo - - ras in - co - la - tus], mi - ro clau-sit
29
mi - - ro clau - sit or - di - ne.
mi - ro clau - sit or - - - - - - di - ne.
clau - sit or - di - ne, [mi - ro clau - - sit or - di - ne].
or - di - ne, [mi - ro clau - sit or - di -


33
Ver - bum ca - ro pa - nem ve - -
Ver - bum ca - ro pa-nem ve - rum, [pa - nem
Ver - bum ca-ro pa-nem ve - rum, [ver-bum ca - ro pa -
Ver-bum ca - ro pa-nem ve - rum, [ver - bum ca - ro pa -
37
- - - - - - rum, ver - bo
ve - rum] ver - bo car - nem ef - - fi - cit,
- nem ve - rum], pa-ne ve-rum, ver-bo car - nem ef - fi-
nem ve - ro], ver-bo car - nem ef-fi - cit, [ver - bo
41
car - nem ef - fi - cit fit - que
[ver - bo car - - - nem ef-fi-cit] fit - que san guis
cit, [ver-bo car - nem ef-fi - cit], sit-que san -
car - nem ef - fi - - - - cit] sit -

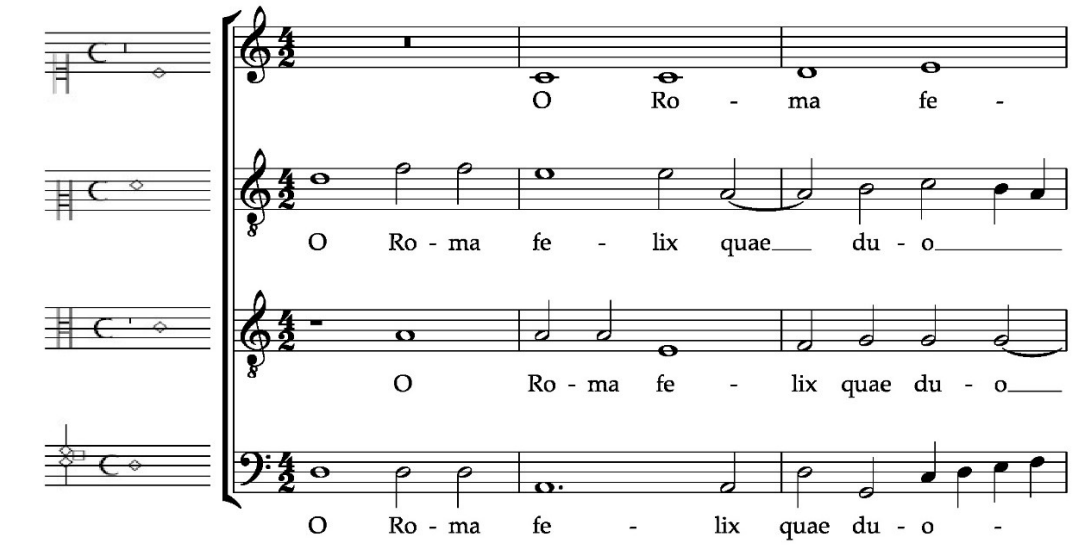

45
san - guis Chris - ti me - rum,
Chris-ti me - - - - rum et si sen -
- guis Chris - ti me - - rum, et si
que san - guis Chris - ti me-rum, et si sen-sus
49
Et si sen - sus de - fi - cit
- sus de-fi-cit, [et si sen - sus de - -
sen - sus de - fi - cit et si sen - sus de -
de-fi-cit, [et si sen - sus de - fi - cit, et si sen-sus
53
ad fir - man - dum cor - sin -
-fi - cit] ad fir-mandum cor sin - ce - rum, [ad fir-
- fi-cit],ad fir man-do cor sin-ce - rum, ad fir man do cor sin
de-fi-cit], ad fir-mandum cor sin - ce - rum,

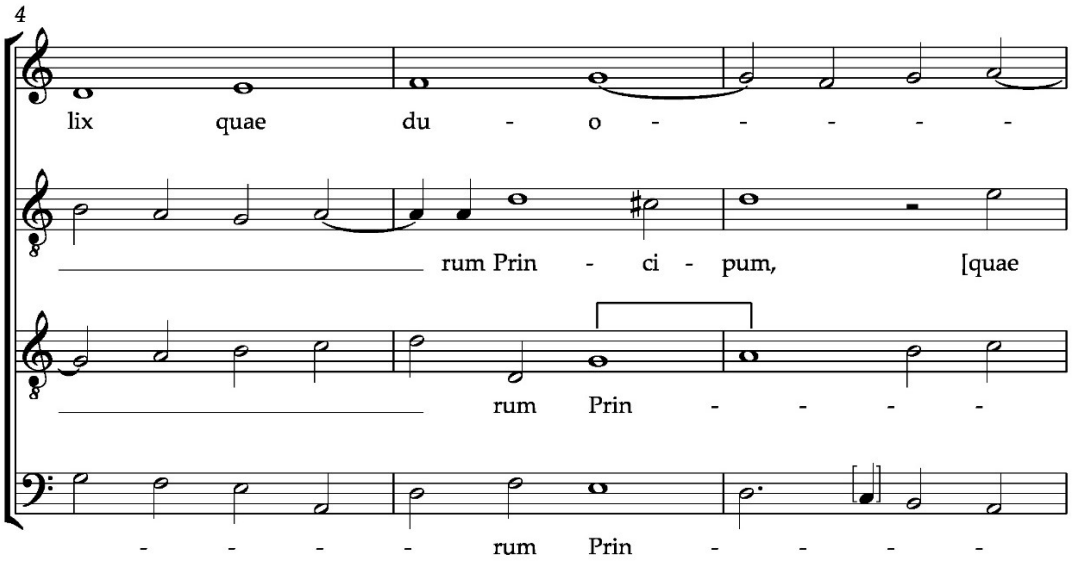

57
ce - - - - - - - - - rum,
man - dum cor sin - ce - rum so - la fi - des suf - fi - cit, [so -
ce - - - rum, cor - sin - ce rum so - la fi - des suf - -
[ad firm - man dum cor - sin - ce - rum] so - la fi - des suf - fi -
61
so - - la fi - des suf - - fi -
la fi - des suf - fi - cit, so - la fi - des suf - fi - cit].
- - - - fi - cit [so - la fi - des suf - - fi - cit].
cit, [so - la fi - des, so - la fi - des suf - fi -

O Roma felix
[Decora lux]

fols 69v-70

Navarro

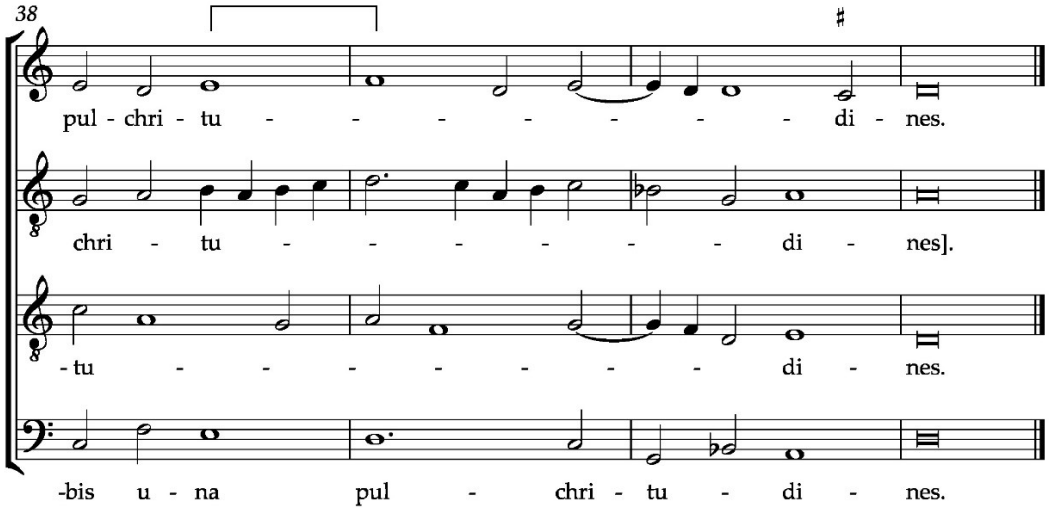





7
- rum Prin - - - ci - pum
du - o - - rum Prin - ci - pum], Es
- ci-pum Es con - se - cra - - -
- ci - pum Es con - se - cra -
10
Es con - - se - -
con - se - cra - - ta, [con - se - cra - - - -
- - ta, [es con - se - cra - - - -
- - ta, [con - se - cra - -
14
cra - - - - ta, [es
-ta, con - se - cra - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - ta]
ta] glo -


17
con - se - cra - -
- - - - ta] glo - ri - o - so san - gui - ne,
glo - ri - o - - so san - gui
- ri - o - so san - gui - ne, [glo -
20
ta] glo - ri - o - - so
[glo - ri - o - so san - - - - - - -
ne, [glo - ri - o -
ri - o - so san - - - - - - -
23
san - - - - - - gui - ne:
- - - - gui - ne: Ho - - -
so san - - - - - - - gui - ne:]
- - - - - - - gui - ne:] Ho - rum cru -


27
Ho - rum cru - o - re pur -
- rum cru - o - - re pur - pu -
Ho - rum cru - o - - - re
o - re, [ho - rum cru
30
- pu - ra - ta ce te - ras
ra - ta ce - te-ras Ex - cel - lis or - -
pur - pu - ra - ta ce - - te - ras Ex -
o - re pur - pu - ra - ta ce - - - - -
34
Ex - cel - lis or - - bis u - - - - na
-bis u - na pul - chri - tu - di - nes, [pul -
- cel - lis or - bis u - na pul - chri -
-te - ras Ex - cel - lis or - -


38
pul - chri - tu - - - - - - - - di - nes.
chri - tu - - - - - - - di - nes].
- tu - - - - - - - - di - nes.
-bis u - na pul - chri - tu - di - nes.