

Iberian Early Music Studies 1

**New Perspectives
on Early Music in Spain**

Tess Knighton
& Emilio Ros-Fábregas (eds.)



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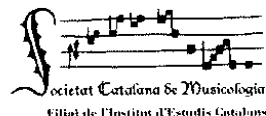
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MUSIC BOOKS FOR AN IGLESIA PRINCIPAL
Y CALIFICADA: THE 1657 INVENTORY
OF JAÉN CATHEDRAL IN CONTEXT

Javier Marín López

Our understanding of sacred musical culture in the Iberian Peninsula during the early modern period has taken a significant step forward in recent decades. One of the sources that has revolutionized our knowledge are inventories of music libraries, a documentary typology known about for some time, yet whose crucial implications have still to be explored sufficiently. Despite the inherent limitations of inventories, various studies have shown their enormous potential, especially as regards Spain, where, as fate would have it, whole libraries have disappeared. Inventories provide a snapshot of the repertory available at a given time and place, regardless of whether or not it was performed; they also, together with other types of documentary evidence, shed light on important information regarding both local production and the processes of the book trade, circulation and integration of the foreign repertory. In a broader sense, they reveal other details such as the degree of modernity or the attractiveness of certain institutions. This essay illustrates these aspects using a detailed inventory of music books held at Jaén Cathedral and dating from 1657. I will present a transcription, commentary and identification of its contents, and attempt to establish its importance in the context of other contemporary inventories

The research conducted for this essay forms part of the Excellence Research Project "La música policoral en las catedrales andaluzas durante el siglo XVIII", financed by the Consejería de Innovación, Ciencia y Empresa of the Junta de Andalucía (HUM-7130). Its preparation would not have been possible without access to the music and documents held at the Archivo Histórico Diocesano of Jaén, and I would like to express my gratitude to the distinguished scholar and Canon Archivist, Francisco Juan Martínez Rojas.

in order to further our knowledge of music libraries during the seventeenth century, which are generally less well known than those of the sixteenth century.¹

Located in south-central Spain, Jaén constitutes an interesting case study. Due to its importance as a frontier city during the Reconquest, it became an episcopal see in 1246 and the capital of what was historically known as the "Holy Kingdom of Jaén" (Santo Reino de Jaén), one of the four ancient kingdoms forming what is now Andalusia. The sixteenth century witnessed a demographic expansion that led to a growth in the population to over 20,000 inhabitants in 1587, although the tendency began to be reversed at the end of the century.² The cultural development of the city was always conditioned by two decisive factors: its poor communication (the royal road that connected Madrid with Andalusia, reaching the Holy Kingdom, split into three directions, none of which went through the capital); and its proximity to two of the most important cultural focal points, the university cities of Granada and Baeza. For this reason, printing was introduced only in the 1620s in Jaén when Pedro de la Cuesta moved his workshop from Baeza. An inevitable consequence was the absence of substantial libraries in the city (a situation exacerbated by the limited presence of titled nobility), as was the notable

- 1 As regards the sixteenth century, Emilio Ros-Fábregas published a useful compilation of 68 music inventories. "Libros de música en bibliotecas españolas del siglo XVI (I-III)", *Pliegos de Bibliofilia*, 15 (2001): 37-62; 16 (2001): 33-46; 17 (2002): 17-54, to which at least another seven can be added: José María Álvarez Pérez, *La música sacra al servicio de la catedral de León* (León: Asociación de Amigos del Órgano, Catedral de León, 1995), 156-157; Emilio Duro Peña, *La música en la catedral de Orense* (Orense: Caja de Ahorros Provincial, 1996), 106-107; María del Pilar Barrios Manzano, *La música en la catedral de Coria (Cáceres) 1590-1755* (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 1999), 122; Ángel Manuel Olmos, "Aportaciones a la temprana historia musical de la Capilla de las Descalzas Reales de Madrid (1576-1618)", *Revista de Musicología* 26/2 (2003): 439-89; Esperanza Rodríguez García, "El repertorio polifónico de la Colegiata de Orihuela según un inventario de mitad del siglo XVI", *Anuario Musical* 63 (2008): 1-23; Alberto Cebolla Royo, "Inventarios 'musicales' de la catedral de Albarracín (ss. XIV-XX)", *Nassarre: Revista Aragonesa de Musicología* 25/1 (2009): 137-176; and Manuel F. Chaves & Natalia Maillard Álvarez, "Música, libros y torneos: don Pedro de Zúñiga y el patrimonio cultural de un segundón de la nobleza castellana", in *Testigo del tiempo, memoria del universo. Cultura escrita y sociedad en el mundo ibérico (siglos XV-XVIII)*, ed. Manuel F. Fernández, Carlos A. González Sánchez & Natalia Maillard Álvarez (Barcelona: Ediciones Rubeo, 2009), 59-98. See also the collection of articles compiled in *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World*, ed. Iain Fenlon & Tess Knighton (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2006).
- 2 Luis Coronas Tejada, *Jaén, siglo XVII. Biografía de una ciudad en la decadencia de España* (Jaén: Instituto de Estudios Giennenses, 1994), 95-96.

shortage of information referring to booksellers and traders, as local historians have observed.³

This rather bleak picture contrasts, however, with the cultural splendour and economic power of Jaén Cathedral, whose income was subject to a tremendous boom during the sixteenth century. A *Memorial de Iglesias* by the Cámara de Castilla, dating from around 1554, described Jaén Cathedral as *principal y calificada* [foremost and eminent].⁴ According to Javier Suárez-Pajares's list of Spanish bishoprics, ordered by level of income, Jaén was situated well above the national average (13th out of a total of 53), behind opulent archbishoprics such as Toledo, Sevilla, Santiago de Compostela, Zaragoza and others with lower incomes, although considered to be wealthy (Sigüenza, Cuenca, Plasencia, Burgos, Valencia, Córdoba, Málaga and Palencia, ranked according to their level of income).⁵ Jaén's presence among the most prosperous bishoprics continued in a 1630 document, in which there were only eight dioceses with higher incomes.⁶ Although the salary of a bishopric's musicians or the wealth of its music libraries cannot automatically be extrapolated from its level of income due to the organizational particularities of each centre and other unforeseeable circumstances, clearly the greater the income, the greater the possibilities of offering favourable conditions for its employees and purchasing items, including music books. This made Jaén Cathedral an attractive centre both in financial and honorary terms, which would explain the presence of well-known composers including Francisco Guerrero, Rodrigo Ordóñez, Francisco Peraza II and Francisco Correa de Araujo, as well as the unusual richness of its library at mid-seventeenth century.

The drawing up of music inventories was part of normal church protocol and its mission was basically fiscal, that is to say, a way of controlling the chapter's bibliographic and documentary heritage. Inventories were generally made with a change of chapelmaster, although they were also

carried out for other reasons such as pastoral visits made by bishops, donations of books or when general inventories of church assets were taken. This was the case with the inventory begun in Jaén in 1657 and included in a volume listing the ornaments, relics and silver jewellery existing at the cathedral, among which figured the books of polyphony discussed in this essay, as well as the books of plainchant and the liturgical books kept in the sacristy.⁷ As indicated at the beginning of the volume, the inventory was drawn up on the initiative of Diego Velázquez de Cuéllar, vicar-general of the bishopric, and was compiled by the treasurer Juan de Gerica Martos, with the assistance of the canon Juan Izquierdo de Lara (proposed by the chapter) and the precentor Lucas de Ledesma (proposed by the vicar-general, who acted on behalf of Bishop Fernando de Andrade y Castro). Work began on 19 February 1657, and took over a year to be completed, as on 12 July 1658 a new decree was issued requiring the treasurer to work mornings and afternoons in order to finish it.⁸ The chapelmaster José de Escobedo's level of involvement in the document's preparation is unknown. Escobedo was responsible for the use and care of the music books, meaning he was probably present the day the inventory was conducted. One of the most surprising aspects of the document is precisely the absence of works by Escobedo himself (chapelmaster since 1637) as well as by his immediate predecessor, Juan Martín de Riscos, who brought stability to the post over four decades (1598–1637) and was also a prolific composer who was well-known in his day.⁹

In some respects, the Jaén inventory can be considered a prototype for many Iberian inventories of its time (see Appendix). It includes only

- 3 Manuel López Molina, *Vida y mentalidades en el Jaén del siglo XVII* (Jaén: Patronato de Cultura, Turismo y Fiestas, Ayuntamiento de Jaén, 2005), 53.
- 4 Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Eclesiástico, leg. 4, no foliation, undated; cited by Francisco Juan Martínez Rojas, "Una Iglesia principal y calificada: las bases geográficas, demográficas y económicas de la diócesis de Jaén en el s. XVI", *Giennium* 8 (2005): 503.
- 5 Javier Suárez-Pajares, "Dinero y honor: Aspectos del magisterio de capilla en la España de Francisco Guerrero", in *Políticas y prácticas musicales en el mundo de Felipe II*, ed. John Griffiths & Javier Suárez-Pajares (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2004), 193–194.
- 6 Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La sociedad española en el siglo XVII* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1992), 2:268–269.

- 7 There are two extant copies of the inventory of polyphonic books. Copy 1 (Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Jaén [AHDJ], leg. 451, fols. 329^r–333^r), includes entries 1 to 38 of my transcription. Copy 2 (leg. 452, fols. 253^r–257^v) is a transcription of copy 1, with the addition of new books. The inventory of books in the sacristy has already been published; see Javier Marín López, "Libros litúrgico-musicales en la Sacristía Mayor de la catedral de Jaén (1657–1772)", *Códice: Revista de Investigación Histórica* 20 (2007): 45–49.
- 8 AHDJ, leg. 452, fols. 250^r–v. Its location in the book following the 1658 decree suggests that the inventory of music books was possibly carried out after this time.
- 9 Riscos was appointed chapelmaster without taking the public examination due to his reputation, as stated in his *expediente de limpieza de sangre* (AHDJ, leg. 491, 12 June 1598). Riscos's popularity was confirmed by the presence of several of his works in the magnificent music library of King John IV of Portugal; one piece, *Inducta est caro mea* (a 6), was specifically attributed to 'João Riscos of Jaén'; see *Primeira parte do index da livreria de uvsica* (Lisboa: Paulo Craesbeek, 1649), 459. Only one of his works is extant in Jaén, the Christmas hymn *Jesu redemptor omnium* with two strophes in polyphony, 'Tu lumen, tu splendor' and 'Paratum cor eius', the latter incomplete (*E-JA* s.s., fols. 14^v–15^v).

repertory of music in Latin in choirbook format, and does not list the extensive repertory in the vernacular and books for minstrels which remained in the hands of the instrumentalists themselves; Latin-texted works copied on loose sheets are not incorporated either. Only the books belonging to the chapter are itemized, and not those that belonged to Escobedo, which are only indicated in number: 14 in total. However, certain peculiarities make it a document of singular interest, not only because of the number and rarity of some of the books inventoried, but the level of detail with which they are described, which goes far beyond other contemporary inventories. Many of the entries incorporate a description of iconographical and ornamental elements, dedications, dates of printing, number of works and total or partial transcription of indexes to the printed volumes and, more interestingly, the manuscripts (Figure 8.1).¹⁰ This confirms the inclusion of international repertory by Crequillon, Sermisy and Palestrina alongside the local output of Francisco Ruiz de Espinosa (chapelmaster between 1565 and 1598), under whose supervision books [1] and [2] were probably copied.

In total, 52 collections are described, although no details are given for 14 of them; printed books clearly predominate among the remaining 38 (seven manuscript collections compared to 31 printed collections; see Table 1). It is difficult to say whether or not these numbers represent a high number in relation to contemporary inventories since, among other variables, there may have been books that were not included in the inventory as they were not located with the rest of the collection. Thus the traditional notion of an inventory as a comprehensive description of a cathedral's repertory needs to be revised.¹¹ Similarly, other specific factors must be taken into consideration such as donations of the private libraries of clergymen and musicians, a widespread practice during the sixteenth century that continued into the next century and

10 Although infrequent, the practice of itemizing the indexes of the books is not exclusive to the Jaén inventory; see Pedro Calahorra Martínez, "Los fondos musicales en el siglo XVI de la catedral de Tarazona. I. Inventarios", *Nassarre: Revista Aragonesa de Musicología* 8/2 (1992): 9–56; and Juan Ruiz Jiménez, *La librería de canto de órgano. Creación y pervivencia del repertorio del Renacimiento en la actividad musical de la catedral de Sevilla* (Granada: Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía, 2007), 329–348.

11 For example, the 1657 inventory does not record the collection of motets by Philippe Rogier, *Sacrarum Modulationum, quas vulgo motecta appellant* (Napoli: Ex Typographia Stelliolae, 1595; R1936) included in a 1760 inventory (AHD), leg. 460, exp. 4, "Razón de los papeles de música que se guardan en el Archivo de esta S^{ta} Yg^a de Jaén", 10 October 1760, unfoliated).

had a great impact on the number, variety and rarity of collections.¹² Despite these limitations, and as far as the published documentation allows for contextualisation, the Jaén inventory can be described as impressive, though obviously less so than those found in wealthy archiepiscopal sees such as Toledo (with 67 collections in 1649), but on the same level as other cathedrals with higher incomes, such as Valencia (50 collections in 1657), and more so than that of other cathedrals of greater or equal wealth such as those of Sevilla, Granada, Cuenca or Zamora (with between approximately 30 and 40 collections).¹³ The level of music book ownership in cathedrals such as those of Las Palmas, Badajoz or Albaracín, and even collegiate churches such as that of Daroca, or (slightly poorer) parishes such as that of Santa María de Viana, is equally remarkable; such institutions, given their lower incomes, would be expected to have had significantly less voluminous libraries than those indicated by the extant inventories.¹⁴

12 The donations of music books made to the cathedrals of Orense (1589), Badajoz (1602 and 1609), Zamora (around 1611) and Valladolid (1629) are paradigmatic cases; see Duro Peña, *La música en la catedral de Orense*, 106–107; Carmelo Solís Rodríguez, "El archivo musical de la catedral de Badajoz: Una aportación documental", in *El patrimonio musical de Extremadura*, ed. Jorge de Persia (Trujillo: Fundación Xavier de Salas, 1993), 20–22 and 25–26; José Luis de la Fuente Charfolé, "Inventarium Librorum Musicae: nueva aportación documental sobre el archivo musical de la catedral de Cuenca (siglos XVII–XVIII)", *Anuario Musical* 62 (2007): 179–181; and Soterraña Aguirre Rincón, "The Formation of an Exceptional Library: Early Printed Music Books at Valladolid Cathedral", *Early Music* 37/3 (2009): 384–387.

13 Michael Noone, "Printed Polyphony acquired by Toledo Cathedral, 1532–1669", in Fenlon & Knighton, *Early Music Printing*, 267–272; José Climent, "La música en Valencia durante el siglo XVII", *Anuario Musical* 21 (1966): 216–217; Ruiz Jiménez, *La librería de canto de órgano*, 323–324; José López-Calo, *La música en la catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada: Fundación Rodríguez Acosta, 1963), 1:131–132; Fuente Charfolé, "Inventarium Librorum Musicae", 179–181; and Alejandro Luis Iglesias, "La música policoral de Alonso de Tejada", *Anuario del Instituto de Estudios Zamoranos Florián de Ocampo* (1987): 344–346, who transcribes an inventory carried out in Zamora in 1699 including references to another conducted in 1627, although it is impossible to determine the exact number of collections in this earlier inventory.

14 Lola de la Torre, "El archivo de música de la catedral de Las Palmas, I", *El Museo Canario* 89–92 (1964): 184–185; Solís Rodríguez, "El archivo musical de la catedral de Badajoz", 29–30; Cebolla Royo, "Inventarios 'musicales' de la catedral de Albaracín", 155–159; Pedro Calahorra Martínez, "Dos inventarios de los ss. XVI y XVII de la Colegial de Daroca y dos pequeñas crónicas darocenses", *Revista de Musicología* 3/1–2 (1980): 53–54; and Juan Cruz Labeaga Mendiola, "La Capilla de Música de Santa María de Viana, Navarra (siglos XVI–XIX)", *Príncipe de Viana* 238 (2006): 400–401.

Table 8.1: Printed and manuscript collections in the Jaén inventory of 1657

Date	Composer	Title	City	Identification (RISM number for prints)	Inventory entry
1516	Various	<i>Liber quíndecim missarum</i>	Rome	15161	11
1544	Cristóbal de Morales	<i>Missarum, liber primus</i>	Rome	M3580	3
1544	Cristóbal de Morales	<i>Missarum, liber secundus</i>	Rome	M3582	4
1563	Francisco Guerrero	<i>Canticum beatae Mariae</i>	Leuven	G4867	17
1566	Francisco Guerrero	<i>Liber primus missarum</i>	Paris	G4870	5
1573?	Cristóbal de Morales, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and Francisco Ruiz	7 motets, 3 Masses	Jaén	MS copied by Alonso Hernández Becerra?	1
1573?	Cristóbal de Morales and Francisco Ruiz	16 Magnificat, 16 motets, 3 Salves, 1 invitational	Jaén	MS copied by Alonso Hernández Becerra?	13
1573?	not specified	Office for the Dead (a Mass and motets), Masses for Advent and Lent	Jaén?	MS copied by Alonso Hernández Becerra?	22
1574-1575?	Thomas Crequillon, Cristóbal de Morales, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Francisco Ruiz, and Claudin de Sermisy	3 Masses, 2 motets, 1 Credo	Jaén	MS copied by Alonso Hernández Becerra?	2
1581	Tomás Luis de Victoria	<i>Hymni totius anni ... cum quattuor psalmis</i>	Rome	V1428	15
1581	Tomás Luis de Victoria	<i>Cantica B. Virginis vulgo magnificat ... cum quattuor antiphonis</i>	Rome	V1430	14
1582	Francisco Guerrero	<i>Missarum, liber secundus</i>	Rome	G4872	6

1583	Tomás Luis de Victoria	<i>Missarum, libri duo</i>	Rome	V1431	12
1585?	Francisco Guerrero	<i>Passio domini nostri Jesu Christi</i>	Rome?	G4874? / manuscript?	16
1591	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	<i>Missarum ... liber primus or Missarum ... liber quintus</i>	Venice	P658 or P671	43
1592	Tomás Luis de Victoria	<i>Missae quattuor, quinque, sex et octo vocibus ... liber secundus</i>	Rome	V1434	10
1594	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	<i>Motettorum ... liber tertius</i>	Venice	P715	48
1595	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	<i>Motettorum ... liber quintus</i>	Venice	P731	50 (bound with the 1594 and 1613 motet anthologies)
1597	Francisco Guerrero	<i>Motecta Francisci Guerrerii</i>	Venice	G4877	18
1598	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	<i>Missarum ... liber secundus or Missarum, liber tertius</i>	Venice	P661 or P665	42
1598	Philippe Rogier	<i>Missae sex Philippo Rogerii</i>	Madrid	R1937/15981	9
1600	Tomás Luis de Victoria	<i>Missae, magnificat, motecta, psalmi et alia</i>	Madrid	V1435	19
1602	Alonso Lobo	<i>Liber primus missarum</i>	Madrid	L2588	7
1605	Duarte Lobo	<i>Cantica beatae Mariae Virginis vulgo magnificat</i>	Antwerp	L2590	41
no date, 1605?	Tomás Luis de Victoria	<i>Mass for the Dead [Officium defunctorum?]</i>	Madrid?	manuscript?/V1436?	23

1608	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	<i>Missarum ... liber primus or Missarum ... liber nonus</i>	Venice	P675a or P684	44
1609	Francesco Soriano	<i>Missarum, liber primus</i>	Rome	S3981	8
1610	Antonio Cifra	<i>Vesperae, et motecta</i>	Rome	C2187	46
1611	Agostino Agazzari	<i>Psalmorum ac magnificat</i>	Venice	A366	45
1611	Giovanni Pietro Placcomio	<i>Liber primus concertus</i>	Venice	F1100	52
1613	Manuel Cardoso	<i>Cantica beatae Mariae virginis. Magnificat</i>	Lisbon	C1038	40
1613	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	<i>Cantica Salomonis</i>	Venice	P727	49 (bound with the 1594 and 1595 motet anthologies)
1614	Abondio Antonelli	<i>Sacrarum cantionum ... liber primus</i>	Rome	A1270/1614 [†]	51
1614	Various (Fabio Constantino, ed.)	<i>Selectae cantiones excellentissimorum</i>	Rome	1614 [‡]	47
1625	Manuel Cardoso	<i>Missae ... liber primus</i>	Lisbon	C1039	39
1628	Sebastian López de Velasco	<i>Libro de missas, motetes, salmos, magnificats</i>	Madrid	L2822	20
no date	Francisco Guerrero	psalm <i>In Exitu</i> and hymn <i>Te Deum</i>	Jaén?	manuscript	21
no date	Cristóbal de Morales, Rodrigo Ordóñez, Francisco Ruiz	5 Masses, motets for for Lent	Jaén?	manuscript	24
unknown	unknown	16 books of music owned by chapelmaster José de Escobedo	unknown	unknown	25-38

The contents of the inventory can be clearly identified and grouped into four main categories. Chronologically speaking, a small first group consisted of the Franco-Flemish composers of the Josquin and post-Josquin generations, represented by Josquin himself, Claudin de Sermisy, Thomas Crequillon [2] and those included in the “book of the 15 masses” [11]. Secondly, and more significantly as regards the number of collections, is the autochthonous Iberian tradition, led by Cristóbal de Morales and followed by Francisco Guerrero and Tomás Luis de Victoria. The inventory records two printed books of Masses by Morales [3-4], manuscript copies of his Magnificats [13], Masses [2, 24] and motets [1], some of which were never printed, such as an *Asperges me* (a 5).¹⁵ Four or (probably) five printed collections by Guerrero are described: the two books of Masses [5-6], another book of Magnificats [17], a *cuaderno* of passions (without specifying whether manuscript or printed) [16], and his 1597 anthology of motets [18], as well as manuscript copies of individual works [21]. Victoria is well represented with another five printed collections (Masses from 1583 [12] and 1592 [10], Magnificats [14] and hymns from 1581 [15] and the 1600 polychoral anthology [19]), as well as a copy of his Requiem Mass [23]. This Iberian tradition included foreign composers active in Spain such as Philippe Rogier [9] and polyphonists from the first half of the seventeenth century, both Spanish (Alonso Lobo [7] and Sebastián López de Velasco [20]) and Portuguese (Duarte Lobo [41] and Manuel Cardoso [39-40]).

The third category represented in the inventory consists of a number of composers active in Counter-Reformation Rome from the last quarter of the sixteenth century onwards, led by Palestrina. Palestrina is the best represented non-Spanish composer in seventeenth-century Spanish music libraries and, as was the case with Morales, his printed works were still demanded in Spain and the New World over 100 years after their publication.¹⁶ Six of Palestrina’s

15 See *Códice 25 de la catedral de Toledo*, ed. Michael Noone, Patrimonio Musical Español 12 (Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid - Alpuerto, 2003), 58-59. Other manuscript transmissions of Morales’s works (which were never printed) in Jaén include the two copies of the hymn *Te Deum* (E-JA 8, fols. 2^v-11^r; E-JA 9, pp. 12-17), the invitatory for the Dead (E-JA 7, fols. 2^v-8^r; E-JA 9, pp. 107-113) and the first lesson for the same feast (E-JA 7, fols. 8^v-11^r; E-JA 9, pp. 113-116). These last two works, together with the Mass for the Dead (a 4), have concordances with a manuscript preserved at Baeza Cathedral (E-BAE 1, fols. 2^v-28^r). See Javier Marín López, “Un tesoro musical inexplorado: Los libros de polifonía de la catedral de Baeza”, in *Estudios de Humanismo Español: Baeza en los siglos XVI y XVII*, ed. María Águeda Moreno Moreno (Baeza: Ayuntamiento de Baeza, 2007), 325 and 339.

16 In 1654 Toledo Cathedral ordered a set of motets by Palestrina to be purchased (Noone, ‘Printed Polyphony acquired by Toledo Cathedral’, 263), and ten years later Puebla Cathedral (Mexico) acquired several books of motets by Palestrina that were in the

printed collections are listed in the Jaén inventory (three collections of Masses [42–44] and three of motets [48–50]), as well as some individual works [2]. Among the composers of the next generation are: Francesco Soriano [8], Pietro Flaccomio [52], Abondio Antonelli [51], Agostino Agazzari and Antonio Cifra (Figure 8.2); as well as the composers represented in the anthology of polychoral works compiled by the Roman musician and publisher Fabio Constantini [45–47]. This anthology reflected the most progressive tendencies in Roman music of his time (Figure 8.3). The significant presence of Italian composers in Jaén, which is also evident in other seventeenth-century inventories, confirms a shift as regards the international repertory of the sixteenth century: Counter-Reformation Roman composers took the place previously held by Franco-Flemish musicians.¹⁷ The final category that can be identified in the inventory comprises two local masters: the travelling composer Rodrigo Ordóñez (chapelmaster in Jaén in 1564) and the above-mentioned Francisco Ruiz, whose term as chapelmaster coincided with the last third of the sixteenth century.

The presence of composers active in post-Tridentine Rome –some of whom such as Flaccomio, Agazzari and Constantini are rarely included in seventeenth-century Spanish inventories– is significant, but equally noteworthy is the absence of publications by peninsular composers such as Juan Navarro, Juan Esquivel de Barahona, Sebastián de Vivanco and Diego Bruceña. Navarro's posthumous anthology *Psalmi, hymni ac magnificat totius anni* and the books published in Salamanca during the early seventeenth century are often included in inventories of other cathedrals. Equally surprising is the presence of works whose circulation was limited in other Spanish archives, for example, Francisco Guerrero's passions (which are only documented in Segovia and Sevilla) or the penetration of Victoria's works (almost exceptional in the Castilian context) in liturgical genres in which Guerrero's output maintained an almost insurmountable hegemony: the Requiem Mass and the hymn cycle. It is not known whether the Requiem

possession of the minstrel Juan de Carranza (Puebla, Archivo del Venerable Cabildo Angelopolitano, 8 August 1664; I am grateful to Omar Morales for this information). Palestrina's motets were still performed at Jaén Cathedral in 1775, as a note in the bass partbook of his motets indicates [40–50]. As regards the long shelf-life of Morales's music, see Tess Knighton, "Morales in Print: Distribution and Ownership in Renaissance Spain", in *Cristóbal de Morales: Sources, Influences, Reception*, ed. Owen Rees & Bernadette Nelson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), 172–173.

17 Emilio Ros-Fábregas, "Script and Print: The Transmission of Non-Iberian Polyphony in Renaissance Barcelona", in Fenlon & Knighton, *Early Music Printing*, 317. The likely role of these printed works in the assimilation process of the polychoral idiom by local composers warrants a detailed study.

Mass was the 1583 Roman version (reprinted in 1592), or the 1605 Spanish version, although its binding with a local anthology of works for the liturgy for the Dead provides evidence of use [23]. As regards the hymn cycle, it would seem that in Jaén Victoria's cycle replaced Guerrero's pre-Tridentine settings which had been used since the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁸ The presence of Victoria's book of hymns [15] symptomatically coincides with the absence of Guerrero's *Liber vespertinum*, which is not documented at Jaén Cathedral. The convergence of these factors reflects the pre-eminence of Victoria's hymn cycle, which was anthological in nature and updated in accordance with the requirements of the new Tridentine breviary, justifying its renown among Roman institutions.¹⁹ The inscriptions added to this copy of the book, and the numerous repairs made to it, reflect its use over many years; it is the only collection by Victoria to survive in Jaén.

The Jaén collection can be considered paradigmatic as regards the way in which music books were acquired. Some volumes reached the cathedral after being donated or sold by musicians, particularly minstrels or their relatives, who acted as intermediaries in these kinds of transactions. This was the case in 1640 when Bernarda Carrillo, daughter of the minstrel Lorenzo Carrillo, donated various unspecified music books, for which she received 210 *reales*. In 1647 the minstrel Juan Alonso received 200 *reales* for Duarte Lobo's book of Magnificats [41]. A decade later the chapter decided to purchase another book of Magnificats from the minstrel Juan de Quesada, possibly Manuel Cardoso's [40], and, a few years later, Francisco de Medina gave the cathedral another book by Cardoso, probably his collection of Masses [39].²⁰

18 The 1548 inventory includes a book 'of magnificats and hymns given by Guerrero' ('otro [libro] que dio guerrero de magnificas y hinos'), which contained the earliest versions of this repertory, which contributed to the composer's renown (AHDJ, leg. 448, "Libro de los hornamentos de la Sta. Yga. de Jahen, año de 1548", unfoliated, last folio). This pre-Tridentine hymn cycle by Guerrero is extant at Guatemala and Toledo cathedrals, as noted in Robert J. Snow, "Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala", *Nassarre: Revista Aragonesa de Musicología* 3/1 (1987): 178–201, and Noone, *Códice* 25, 21–22.

19 Noel O'Regan, "Music Prints by Cristóbal de Morales and Tomás Luis de Victoria in Surviving Roman Inventories and Archival Records", in *Pure Gold: Golden Age Sacred Music in the Iberian World. A Homage to Bruno Turner*, ed. Tess Knighton & Bernadette Nelson (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2011), 130. In Spain, Medinaceli Collegiate Church was one of the few institutions that used part of Victoria's hymnodic cycle; see Juan Ruiz Jiménez, "Recepción y pervivencia de la obra de Victoria en las instituciones eclesiásticas de la Corona de Castilla", in *Tomás Luis de Victoria y la cultura musical en la España de Felipe III*, ed. Alfonso de Vicente & Pilar Tomás (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica – Machado Libros, 2012), 321–322 and 337–339.

20 AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 14 September 1640, 28 January 1647, 30 October 1657, and 23 July 1666; see Pedro Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario musical de la catedral de Jaén*

As mentioned above, donations by church authorities were another important way of acquiring repertory. The canon Francisco Delgado donated to the chapter certain unspecified music books then in the possession of the organist Francisco Carrillo, who was asked to return them in 1619.²¹ In the case of Jaén, the Roman connections of three bishops who frequently travelled to the papal city on diplomatic missions should be emphasized, as these trips were often used to purchase liturgical and music books.²² Cardinal Francisco Pacheco (Bishop of Jaén from 1545 to 1554) led the delegation of Spanish clergymen Charles V sent to the Council of Trent and subsequently settled in Rome, where Morales had just published his two books of Masses.²³ Although Stevenson suggested that Morales and Bishop Pacheco might have met in person in Rome,²⁴ this is highly unlikely in view of the evidence now available; Pacheco arrived in Trent on 24 July 1545, while Morales was received as chapelmaster in Toledo on 1 September of that year. However, it is plausible that Morales was informed about the Spanish prelates who travelled to Trent and that Pacheco, in turn, knew that the most famous Spanish composer active in Rome had settled in Toledo. This could explain the presence of two books of Masses by Morales in Jaén (cited in a 1548 inventory) and, above all, the unusual familiarity with which the Jaén chapter wrote to Morales telling him to send his pupil Francisco Guerrero to take up the post of chapelmaster; perhaps Guerrero personally brought Morales's books with him in July 1546.²⁵

(Granada: Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía, 1998–2010), vol. 1, nos 1880, 2055, 2322 and 2483.

- 21 AHDJ, *Actas capitulares*, 19 September 1619 (Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, vol. 1, no. 1224). It is not known whether Pietro Flaccomio's Marian anthology was among these books [52]. Flaccomio was examined by Carrillo in 1614 (AHDJ, *Actas capitulares*, 20 December 1613; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, vol. 1, no. 949).
- 22 Knighton, "Morales in Print", 169–170.
- 23 Pacheco resided in Rome from 1522 to 1527/28, as personal valet to Pope Adrian VI and *relatori* for the Apostolic Signatura of Justice and of Grace in the Roman Curia. At the time he was appointed Bishop of Jaén in 1545, he returned to Italy, where he was appointed cardinal and, in addition to actively participating in the Council of Trent sessions, held the office of Viceroy of Napoli and various posts in the Roman Curia. See Ángel Martín González, *El Cardenal Don Pedro Pacheco, obispo de Jaén, en el Concilio de Trento* ([Jaén]: Instituto de Estudios Giennenses, 1974), 1:23, 83, and 2:144.
- 24 Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1961), 141.
- 25 AHDJ, *Actas capitulares*, 1 July 1546 (Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, vol. 1, no. 59). The series of events described is completed with the reference to a certain Cristóbal de Morales (possibly the composer) as the beneficiary of a chaplaincy in Jaén (AHDJ, *Actas capitulares*, 15 December 1546; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, vol. 1, no. 63).

The musical implications of the bibliophile bishop Francisco Sarmiento de Mendoza's ten-year stay in Rome (1560–1570), prior to being appointed Bishop of Jaén in 1580 in order to implant the Council of Trent's decrees, still remain to be researched. A large proportion of Guerrero's and Victoria's Counter-Reformation books of polyphony were received in Jaén during Sarmiento's episcopate, which lasted until 1595. Cardinal Baltasar de Moscoso y Sandoval, a relative of the Duke of Lerma and Bishop of Jaén from 1619 to 1646, was promoted to the primate archbishopric of Toledo. During Moscoso y Sandoval's stay in Rome from 1630 to 1634 on a diplomatic mission from Philip IV, he would have the opportunity to hear the polychoral repertory performed in Roman churches and to purchase this repertory or to foster its acquisition through agents.

One of the main ways in which cathedrals acquired music books was a system that has been christened "donación remunerada" (paid donation).²⁶ This system consisted of the composers themselves sending the books directly to the institution, paying the printing costs themselves in advance. The books were generally accompanied by a letter in which the composer explained the virtues of his work and requested its acceptance, which implied the payment of a certain amount of money, to be determined by the chapter according to its financial resources and the recommendations of a canon-musician and/or the local chapelmaster himself. This distinctive sales system was established by Morales and soon adopted by Francisco Guerrero, who quickly put it into practice, sending systematically almost all his publications to Jaén Cathedral. The procedure was not exclusive to Iberian composers; during the same period German composers such as Heinrich Schütz and Michael Praetorius also adopted it.²⁷ However, it appears to have been the system favoured in the Iberian Peninsula as the result of a confluence of factors: the nature of the repertory itself (collections of sacred music); the profile of its preferred recipients (ecclesiastical institutions); and the location of important churches (like Jaén Cathedral) outside the main routes of the book trade. The popularity and effectiveness of this procedure is reflected in the numerous references found in the chapter minutes of Jaén Cathedral, which record direct consignments from Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia, Géry de Ghersem, Duarte Lobo and Giovanni Pietro Flaccomio. Moreover, specifically in Jaén, seven letters sent by Francisco Guerrero, Tomás Luis de Victoria, Alonso Lobo and Sebastián López de Velasco have survived, providing in-

26 Ruiz Jiménez, *La librería de canto de órgano*, 143–144.

27 Stephen Rose, "The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600–40", *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130 (2005): 24–32.

teresting information and making Jaén one of the richest archives for this type of correspondence.²⁸

The direct consignment of six of Francisco Guerrero's collections to Jaén is confirmed by the cathedral's documentation: a manuscript, whose contents are unspecified, in 1550;²⁹ another two manuscript collections in 1557—one of Masses and Magnificats and the other of *fabordones*; a book of motets in 1571; his second book of Masses in 1583 and a further book of motets in 1597. Two further items, listed in the 1657 inventory, can also be added: the book of Magnificats (1563) and the first book of Masses (1566). The fact that prior to the publication of his Magnificats in 1563, Guerrero only presented manuscript copies to the cathedrals of Sevilla (1560) and Toledo (1561) may be an indication of the importance of Jaén Cathedral to the composer. Conversely, the chapter (which strove to acquire the best possible music at its disposal) also recognised Guerrero's prestige and authority, as the wording of the chapter's agreement in relation to the purchasing of his 1570 collection of motets subtly suggests. Contrary to the procedure followed in other consignments, the chapelmaster was not consulted in determining the suitability of the books, and they were directly accepted by the chapter and sent for binding so that, once "enquadernados los bea el maestro de capilla e ymforme que hobra es para que se le gratifique al dcho Guerrero" ("bound the chapelmaster could see them and identify the work in order to pay the aforementioned Guerrero").³⁰

A careful reading of the two letters Guerrero sent to Jaén reveals certain aspects of his personality and his particular relationship to the cathedral. Unlike Victoria's letters, which explicitly seek a *merced* (or payment) for

28 Of these seven letters, three are from Victoria (dated 1583, 1593 and 1601), two from Guerrero (1583 and 1597), one from Alonso Lobo (1603) and the other from Sebastián López de Velasco (1632). The three letters from Victoria are transcribed, reproduced and discussed extensively by Alfonso de Vicente in Tomás Luis de Victoria, *Cartas (1582-1606)*, ed. Alfonso de Vicente (Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid, 2008), 58-61, 72-77 and 84-89. The other four are reproduced in Appendix II of this essay. Guerrero's 1597 letter is the only one of the four that was known previously, being published by Pedro Jiménez Cavallé & Luis Coronas Tejada, "La música en la catedral de Jaén durante el magisterio de Francisco Guerrero", *Guadalbullón* 7 (1992): 35-42. These two authors located and published two of the three missives by Victoria (1593 and 1601) in "Dos cartas autógrafas de Tomás Luis de Victoria en el Archivo de la catedral de Jaén", *Boletín de Archivos* 3 (1978): 345-355.

29 In August 1549 Guerrero had leave of absence for 20 days to go to Sevilla, but he never returned to Jaén, leaving the position of chapelmaster vacant for several months. The fact that he sent a music book in September 1550, barely a year after his sudden departure, could be interpreted as a way of compensating the Jaén chapter for his poor behaviour.

30 AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 3 August 1571 (Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1.no. 395).

the expenses he had incurred, Guerrero implies that his only interest was that the books were received and his music performed. In the first of the letters, dated August 1583 (Figure 8.4), he asked the chapter to accept "mi ofrenda con la voluntad q. la enbio y mande q. algunas vezes se cante en su capilla, por q. seria gran favor p. mi" (my gift in the spirit in which I send it in the hope that sometimes it will be sung in your chapel, which would be a great honour for me). In the second missive, dated November 1597, an elderly Guerrero asked the chapter to accept his motets "y mande q. le sirua en el coro de su sancta iglesia en memoria de mi buena voluntad" (and instruct that they be used in the choir of your Holy church in memory of my goodwill) (Figure 8.5). Clearly, Guerrero's relationship with Jaén went beyond the purely professional. In his first letter the composer from Sevilla acknowledged the affection he professed for the cathedral "por ser hijo de ella" (for being one of its sons), while in the 1597 letter he emotionally recalled his stay in the capital of the Holy Kingdom: "porq. aunq. lo soy [maestro de capilla y racionero] de la [santa iglesia] de Seuilla, mi coraçon esta tan entero en esa, como quando en mi juventud con alegria cantaua en ese coro" (because although I am [chapelmaster and prebendary] of the [Holy church] of Sevilla, my heart is completely given over to [Jaén Cathedral], as when I joyfully sang in this choir as a child). The emotional tone of the letters Guerrero sent to Jaén contrasts with the more professional nature, for example, of the missive sent to Málaga Cathedral in November 1584 with his second book of Masses and his *Vespers* anthology.³¹

The practice of paid donations was adopted by Victoria. The fact that Victoria was the only composer who directly presented his books to Roman institutions without resorting to booksellers as intermediaries shows the extent to which he took the initiative in the distribution of his printed works.³² Victoria agreed to send his publications to Jaén at Guerrero's request; he coincided with the Sevillian composer in Rome in 1581-1582. In the first of Victoria's three letters preserved in Jaén, dated in Rome, December 1583, he offered his books of Masses and motets published that same year "ynformado de la merced que Vuestra Señoria haçe a semejantes trabajos" (aware of the favour that Your Lordship grants such works), very probably an allusion to the references Guerrero must have given him. The positive response to this initial consignment, for which he received 12 *ducados*, encouraged Victoria to repeat this act on at least two other occasions (in 1593

31 Carlos Messa Poulet, "Una carta de Francisco Guerrero en el archivo catedralicio malagueño", *Cuadernos de Arte de la Universidad de Granada* 26 (1995): 47-52.

32 O'Regan, "Music Prints by Cristóbal de Morales and Tomás Luis de Victoria", 114.

and 1601). In his 1593 letter, Victoria promised to send the remainder of his publications in the event of receiving a gratification: “quedaré obligado a servirle a V^a S^a con ynuar las demas cosas que sacare a luz” (I will be obliged to send Your Lordship the other works I bring to light”) and the evidence points to the composer having kept his promise.

Alonso Lobo seems to have been aware of the fact that his teacher Francisco Guerrero (with whom he trained at Sevilla Cathedral from 1566) spent some time in Jaén. In the letter accompanying his *Liber primus missarum*, Lobo explained that he had been fond of Jaén Cathedral since he was a boy and it was for that reason that it was one of the first he sent his book to: “era justo comenzar por la de Jaén, a quien desde mis primeros años tuue la afición que deuen tener todos los fieles, y desseo servirle como cualquier ministro” (it was fair to begin with that of Jaén, which I have venerated since my early years, as all the faithful should, and which I want to serve like any minister) (Figure 8.6).³³ The musical reputation of Jaén Cathedral can also be deduced in the letter Sebastián López de Velasco sent in 1632 to accompany his *Libro de missas, motetes, salmos, magnificats* (Figure 8.7). After introducing himself as chaplain of the Descalzas Reales, López de Velasco stated that he knew “de la grandeza con que V^a ilustrísima celebra en esa santa yglesia los oficios Diuinos, en cuyo exercio [*sic*] no es la menor parte la de la musica” (of the grandeur with which His Grace celebrated the daily offices in this Holy church, in which the role of music is not insignificant). López de Velasco continued with a brief description of the contents of his partbooks, emphasizing their anthological nature (“they contain almost all that is needed, throughout the year”) and their polychoral idiom (“with choral divisions”). Composers sent their music books in an attempt to totally or partially recoup the cost of publication, and clearly Lobo and López de Velasco, like Guerrero and Victoria, ultimately sought the acceptance of their books and the resulting payment, hence the laudatory tone of their letters. However, the performance of their music at certain churches they considered to be the most important was also a way of establishing their status and professional standing, which is why the assertions made in the letters can be interpreted as a reflection of the esteem in which music at Jaén Cathedral was held during this period.

Apart from the testimonies of the composers themselves in their correspondence, there are objective indicators that may serve to establish the level of prestige of an institution: the dates the printed works were

33 Lobo's book of masses is still extant at Jaén; see Javier Marín López, “Era justo comenzar por la de Jaén: la recepción del *Liber primus missarum* (1602) de Alonso Lobo en la catedral de Jaén”, *Elucidario* 5 (2008): 97–136.

sent and received, and the amounts paid for the books. The first of these closely related aspects was motivated by a strategy of prioritized distribution and controlled directly by composers who clearly adopted a practical approach and acted in accordance with market expectations; the second factor –the amounts paid– offers an indication of the levels of institutional income and generosity, which in turn was linked to the greater or lesser degree of attractiveness for composers. Gaps in documentation (due to loss or an insufficient level of detail), and the lack of studies of the majority of the institutions, limit the realization of a complete, systematic and statistical view of both phenomena, hence the conclusions reached here are necessarily provisional. However, the information currently available, albeit fragmentary and variable in nature, takes on a more precise meaning when it is analysed as a whole, revealing specific aspects of the process of circulation of printed works by means of the system of paid donations.

The time that elapsed between the date of printing of a book and its reception at a particular cathedral clearly depended on its place of publication and destination, order of distribution, the intermediaries involved in the process and the internal dynamics of running of each chapter. A further significant variable was the existence of substantial differences of several months depending on the type of source used. The earliest date is that which figures in the composer's letter of consignment. According to the chapter minutes, the volume was usually received some months later (on average, from one to three months if the publication was sent from another Spanish city, or around eight or ten in the case of books sent from Italy). In the best-case scenario, the order of payment was recorded in the church accounts the year after reception of the book, although payment could take several months or even years, which would explain the variation in time in certain cases.³⁴ The study of the dates of reception of these consignments during the late sixteenth century reveals that an early (and in some ways exceptional) reception generally took place within a year of the book's publication; it was more normal for this to occur at some point over the next two years, although there is no shortage of references to later acquisitions.³⁵

34 The Jaén Cathedral chapter decided to purchase Victoria's 1583 book of masses in September 1584, although payment was not recorded in the church accounts book until 1586; see AHDJ, Correspondencia, 1583, and leg. 323, “Libro de las cuentas de la obra [1548–1594]”, fol. 180^r.

35 The book of Magnificats Aguilera de Heredia sent to Las Palmas Cathedral was purchased in 1624, six years after its publication (1618). At the opposite extreme was

The exact dates of arrival of 13 printed books at Jaén Cathedral are known. In 11 of these cases, they were received more or less immediately. One of Guerrero's publications (the motet collection published in 1597; Figure 8.5) and two of Victoria's (the Masses and motets published in 1583) were sent from Sevilla and Rome, respectively, the same year in which they were published; a further four books were received only the year after publication indicating that Jaén Cathedral figured among the first batch of consignments. Two of these collections were by Francisco Guerrero: the 1570 motets, received in Jaén on 3 August 1571 (months earlier, for example, than in Burgos, Málaga or Toledo), and the second book of Masses (1582), sent on 31 August 1583 (Figure 8.4).³⁶ The reception of the latter does not figure in the chapter minutes, although this must have occurred in September or October of that year. The scarcity of references to the reception of this printed work in other centres and the fact that it was occasionally sent with the *Liber vesperarum* of 1584 does not allow time lines to be compared with any certainty, although all the evidence suggests that its reception in Jaén was early in the Iberian context. The remaining two collections were by Victoria. According to the extant documentation, Jaén received his 1592 book of Masses on 7 August 1593, only a few days after Toledo Cathedral, where it is documented on 31 July, and it was subsequently received at another eleven institutions.³⁷ Just as early was the reception of Victoria's anthology published in 1600, initially received in Toledo (21 February 1601), then

Huesca Cathedral, where the volume was received the same year as its publication, because of its proximity to Zaragoza and the fact that the composer had served there as an organist; see Torre de Trujillo, "El archivo de música de la catedral de Las Palmas", 186; and Antonio Durán Gudiol, "La Capilla de Música de la catedral de Huesca", *Anuario Musical* 19 (1964): 55.

- 36 AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 3 August 1571; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, vol. 1, no. 395. The 1570 motets were purchased in Burgos in January 1572, in Málaga in February that year and in Toledo in October 1583; see José López-Calo, *La música en la catedral de Burgos*, 8 vols (Burgos: Caja de Ahorros del Circulo Católico, 1996), 3:165, no. 715; Carlos Messa Poulet, *La música en la catedral de Málaga durante el Renacimiento*, 4 vols (Tesis doctoral, Universidad de Granada, 1997), 2:561; and Noone, "Printed Polyphony", 254.
- 37 AHDJ, Correspondencia, 1593. The book was received that same month in Burgos (9 August), Granada (11 August), Ávila and Coria (13 August), Málaga (16 August), León (20 August) and, subsequently, in Palencia (6 September), Almería (October), and Huesca (5 November). The following year it can be documented in Guadix (10 May), and Las Palmas (20 May). All the dates have been taken from Victoria *Cartas*, 40-42, except that referring to Málaga, which was taken from Messa Poulet, *La música en la catedral de Málaga*, II, 561.

1601), then in Málaga (12 March) and three days later in Jaén (15 March), before another eight Castilian cathedrals.³⁸

Another example that confirms early reception of polyphony at Jaén Cathedral, is that of Alonso Lobo, who devised an intense marketing campaign for his book of Masses. As he expressly stated in the letter accompanying the volume, Lobo began the distribution of his book of Masses with Jaén Cathedral, where it arrived on 4 July 1603. A comparison with the volume's reception at ten other institutions reveals that the capital of the Holy Kingdom [of Jaén] was one of the first cathedrals to receive it.³⁹ Books by Duarte Lobo (1605), Flacomio (1611) and Aguilera de Heredia (1618) were received slightly later in Jaén, but within two years of their publication, as the chapter minutes and letters of payment show.⁴⁰ The only collections whose reception can be considered to have been late are those by Rogier, published in 1598 and received in 1603, and López de

38 AHDJ, Correspondencia, 1601. The volume was later received in Coria (April), Plasencia (14 May), Palencia (15 May), Cuenca (22 May), Ávila and Las Palmas (6 June), Salamanca (20 June), and Sigüenza (10 September); see Victoria, *Cartas*, 43-44; Messa Poulet, *La música en la catedral de Málaga*, 2:561 (for Málaga); and Ruiz Jiménez, "Recepción y pervivencia de la obra de Victoria", 346, note 36 (for Cuenca).

39 Only Granada Cathedral received the volume a few days before Jaén, on 17 June 1603. The other institutions all received it after Jaén: Oviedo (14 July), Sevilla (18 August), Burgos (22 August), Coria (4 September), and Palencia (3 October). The following year it can be documented in Badajoz (1 January 1604 according to Kastner, 17 November according to Solís Rodríguez) and Sigüenza (1 March 1604), in 1605 in Las Palmas (3 October 1605) and in 1606 in Puebla de los Angeles (23 May 1606). See Pilar Ramos López, *La música en la catedral de Granada en la primera mitad del siglo XVII: Diego de Pontac* (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1994), 1:179; Raúl Arias del Valle, "El magisterio de capilla de la catedral de Oviedo en el siglo XVII (1597-1723)", *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 93-94 (1978): 179-180; Ruiz Jiménez, *La librería de canto de órgano*, 135; López-Calo, *La música en la catedral de Burgos*, 4:55, no. 1638; Barrios Manzano, *La música en la catedral de Coria*, 122; Alejandro Luis Iglesias, "Manuscritos e impresos con polifonía en la catedral de Palencia (1535-1633)", in *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Palencia* (Palencia: Diputación Provincial de Palencia, 1990), 5:298; Santiago Kastner, "La música en la catedral de Badajoz (años 1601-1700) [II]", *Anuario Musical* 15 (1960): 79; Solís Rodríguez, "El archivo musical de la catedral de Badajoz", 23; Javier Suárez-Pajares, *La música en la catedral de Sigüenza, 1600-1750* (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 1998), 2:12, no. 315; Lola de la Torre, "Documentos sobre la música en la catedral de Las Palmas (1601-1605)", *El Museo Canario* 50 (1995): 434-435; and Puebla, Archivo del Venerable Cabildo Angelopolitano, Actas capitulares, 23 May 1606 (I am grateful to Omar Morales for the information about Puebla).

40 See AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 10 March 1607, and Correspondencia, 1606-1609; 21 April 1607 (for Duarte Lobo); 20 December 1613 (for Flacomio), and 21 January 1621 (for Aguilera de Heredia, which indicates that his book of magnificats must have been sent at the end of 1620); Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1: no 807, 949 and 1278.

Velasco, published in 1628 and sent in 1632. The commercialization of the first of these publications was atypical, as it was not marketed directly by the composer, but by his pupil, Géry de Ghersem, which may have led to a certain delay in its distribution.⁴¹

Together with the dates of consignment and reception of the books, the payments the chapters made for the books are another indicator of popularity important to an understanding of the processes of circulation of printed music between ecclesiastical institutions. The sum of money paid was not fixed, but depended on the economic possibilities of each institution and whether or not the volumes were already bound before they were sent. The amount of money composers needed to cover the costs of printing and despatching their works is unknown. In his letter to Sigüenza Cathedral in 1588, Victoria was happy to receive 20 *ducados* for the three choirbooks he had sent to this cathedral (the 1583 book of Masses and the Holy Week and motet anthologies of 1585); this works out as an average cost of around six or seven *ducados* per volume.⁴² During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a standardization in the price paid per publication appears to have oscillated between the six *ducados* (2,250 *maravedies*) paid by the more modest institutions to the 12 *ducados* (4,500 *maravedies*) paid by those with greater resources.⁴³ This sum increased significantly in the case of Latin American cathedrals, which formed a natural extension of the Peninsular cathedral network during this period.⁴⁴

41 AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 1 March 1603 (Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1: no. 741), and Correspondencia, 1632 (Figure 7). According to Ghersem's will, in 1604 payment for various copies was still outstanding; see Guy Bourligueaux, "Géry de Ghersem, sous-maître de la Chapelle Royale d'Espagne (documents inédits)", *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 2 (1966): 177-178.

42 Victoria, *Cartas*, 68-71.

43 Ruiz Jiménez, "Recepción y pervivencia de la obra de Victoria", 311.

44 The reasons for this increase lie in customs expenses, the increase in delivery charges and the inevitable participation of intermediaries. Guerrero received approximately 29 *ducados* at the exchange rate from Mexico Cathedral in 1580 for his first book of Masses (the volume was valued at 40 *pesos de tepuzque*, approximately 10,880 *maravedies*); he was paid twice that for his Vespers book in 1585, 60 *ducados* at the exchange rate (50 *pesos de oro común*, equivalent to 22,500 *maravedies*); his 1597 motet collection was purchased in 1614 for a more modest sum, between six and 10 *ducados* (the document does not specify whether the eight *pesos* paid were *de tepuzque* or *de oro común*). Juan Navarro's posthumous publication was purchased in 1597 for close to 15 *ducados* (20 *pesos de tepuzque*, approximately 5,440 *maravedies* at the exchange rate) and López de Velasco's was valued directly in 1634 in Castilian currency, 50 *ducados*. Puebla Cathedral paid between 70 and 120 *ducados* for Alonso Lobo's Masses (again, it is not specified whether the 100 *pesos* were *de tepuzque* or *de oro*), and between 29 and 48 *ducados* for a collection of Guerrero's motets in five partbooks (40 *pesos*, without specifying their

At Jaén Cathedral, the valuations of eight collections of printed music are known. With the exception of the smallest amount (six *ducados* sent to Duarte Lobo for his book of Magnificats in 1607, although it was valued at 200 *reales*, approximately 18 *ducados*, four decades later), the average payment made by the Jaén Cathedral chapter was 12 *ducados*, a sum that could be classed as generous (this was the price paid to Victoria in 1583 for his Masses and in 1603 for Rogier's and Alonso Lobo's books). This amount was subject to slight variations, as there are examples of both lower prices (such as the 10 *ducados* Victoria was paid for his Magnificats in 1583 or the 100 *reales*, approximately nine *ducados*, Guerrero was paid for his 1597 motets) and higher prices (Victoria received 16 *ducados* for his Masses in 1593). The extraordinary amount of 10,200 *maravedies* (27 *ducados*) Guerrero was paid for his second book of Masses in 1583 in addition to the payments he received for his manuscript books (10 *ducados* for one book in 1550 and another 10,000 *maravedies*, approximately 26.5 *ducados*, for two volumes in 1557) deserves special mention, and points to another important variable to consider in the study of such payments: the changing value of printed works with the passage of time, as well as the prestige of the composer in the eyes of the chapter and his relationship to the centre acquiring his work.

To conclude: by the mid-seventeenth century, and by means of different channels, mechanisms and individuals, Jaén Cathedral had consistently and consciously amassed an important music library, and composers seem to have been aware of the cathedral's desire to extend its musical repertory.⁴⁵ In the letter Guerrero sent to Jaén in 1583 accompanying his second book

condition). See Mexico City, Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo: Museo Catedral/Catedral Metropolitana, box 183, folder 25, 10 March 1580; Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitana, Actas capitulares, 13 December 1585; 31 October 1597; 31 January 1614; 1 December 1634; and Puebla, Archivo del Venerable Cabildo Angelopolitano, Actas capitulares, 23 May 1606, 20 December 1622 (I am grateful to Omar Morales for the information about the payment made in Puebla). I have used the currency conversions provided by Francisco R. Calderón, *Historia económica de la Nueva España en tiempo de los Austrias* (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988), 470: 1 *peso de oro* = 450 *maravedies*; 1 *peso de tepuzque* = 272 *maravedies*; 1 *ducado* = 375 *maravedies*.

45 The only recorded purchase of choirbooks after the mid-seventeenth century took place at the beginning of the eighteenth century with José de Torres's *Missarum liber ad usum sanctorum ecclesiarum utilissimus* (Madrid: Ex Typographia Musicae, 1703; T1009), described in the 1760 inventory as "un libro de misas a 4 del maestro Torre" (a book of four-voice masses by maestro Torres) (AHDJ, leg. 460, exp. 4, "Razón de los papeles de música", 10 October 1760, unfoliated).

of Masses he admitted it was audacious of him to send “cosa de q. tanta abundancia tiene esa sancta yglesia” (something which is so abundant in this Holy church) (Figure 8.4). Years later, Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia sent his book of Magnificats *Canticum Beatissimae Virginis dieparae Maria* (Zaragoza: Petri Cabarte, 1618; A451), but the chapter decided to return it in 1621 claiming that “hay muchos en esta iglesia” (there are many in this church).⁴⁶ Putting this evidence into context, and considering not only the size and variety of collections included in the 1657 inventory (in line with other substantial libraries of the period), but also other important parameters neglected by historiography such as the dates composers sent their books (which was generally early in comparison to other centres) and the generous payments the chapter awarded them (above the average of other cathedrals), it can be seen that the terms *principal y calificada* may accurately be applied to the musical reality at Jaén Cathedral during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

46 AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 21 January 1621 (Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, vol. 1, no. 1278). Aguilera's volume was also returned by the Borja Collegiate Church, although for very different reason: a shortage of money (Emilio Jiménez Aznar, *Actos del Cabildo de la Colegiata y del Capítulo Parroquial de Santa María la Mayor de Borja (Zaragoza), 1546–1954* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1994), no. 270). In Plasencia the letter Aguilera sent in 1620 to accompany his book is extant; see Román Gómez Guillén, “Una carta autógrafa de Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia al Cabildo de Plasencia”, *Revista de Estudios Extremeños* 36/3 (1980): 603–614.

APPENDIX 1: THE 1657 MUSIC INVENTORY: TRANSCRIPTION AND DETAILED DESCRIPTION

The 1657 music inventory was originally published by Pedro Jiménez Cavallé over 20 years ago in a little known local journal.⁴⁷ The recent rediscovery of the document (whose call number was not specified) revealed an entry omitted in his transcription. In addition, lacunae in the identification of the volumes, as well as the intrinsic interest of the document itself, prompted me to present a new transcription, accompanied by an identification of each collection and a brief commentary containing information about each book (date and cost of the purchase, composers represented, presence in inventories in Jaén and other institutions, state of conservation, etc.), using additional documentary evidence such as the chapter minutes, payment records, correspondence, subsequent inventories and the music books themselves.

Books of Polyphony⁴⁸

- [1¹] 1. Un libro grande de una uara de alto y dos / tercios de ancho escrito en foxas de perga- / mino de mano de canto de organo tiene el / título = Libro de misas y motetes de diversos / auctores como lo muestra el índice que se sigue / y en el índice ay siete motetes y tres missas de / esta manera = asperges = de cinco uoçes de xpto / ual de morales = uidi aquam de quatro uoçes / de francisco Ruiz.
2. Vn motete q comienza andreas de / cinco uoçes de xptoual de morales / vn motete de tu es Petrus de cinco uoçes del / mismo morales / otro motete exurgens maria de cinco uo- / çes de fran^{co} Ruiz / otro prudentes uirgines de cinco uoçes del / mismo Ruiz / vna missa de seis uozes de palestina sobre / ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la / otra missa de ueata Maria de cinco uozes / de fran^{co} Ruiz / otra missa de media uita de cinco uozes de / el mismo Ruiz.

47 Pedro Jiménez Cavallé, “Los inventarios de música de la catedral de Jaén en los siglos XVI y XVII”, *Senda de los Huertos: Revista Cultural de la Provincia de Jaén* 17 (1990): 71–75, recently reprinted in Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 2:20–24.

48 AHDJ, leg. 452, fols. 253^r–257^r. The original spelling has been respected in the transcription.

Commentary: The first two entries are two choirbooks of the same size (perhaps companions), copied in parchment and bound together, containing an anthology of ten works (seven motets and three Masses) by local and international composers. The contents and characteristics of this first volume indicate that it was probably the book of music Alonso Hernández Becerra copied in 1573 at the request of Francisco Ruiz de Espinosa, chapelmaster at Jaén Cathedral from 1565 to 1598. The prebendary Juan de Vilches valued this book at 188 *reales* and it consisted of seven *cuadernos* (AHD), *Actas capitulares*, 19 and 21 December 1573; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1: nos. 427 and 428). That same year Hernández Becerra received the substantial sum of 48,064 *maravedies* for “dos libros que hizo para la d[ic]ha iglesia de motetes de canto de organo” (two books of motets in polyphony he made for the church), however it is not known whether he is referring to the first two entries in the inventory (AHD), leg. 323, “Libro de las cuentas de la obra [1548–1594]”, fol. 77^r); for other books of motets containing Ruiz’s works, see entries [2, 13 & 24]. The next entry describes the iconographical motive of the miniature on the first page, which depicted King David seated on a purple throne and surrounded by flowers of the same colour. The 1760 inventory briefly mentions a “Libro de Motettes a 4 sin nombre de autor” (an anonymous book of four-part motets); AHD), leg. 460, exp. 4, “Razón de los papeles de música”, 10 October 1760, unfoliated) that may correspond to this volume.

Of the seven motets, the titles of six of them are given, three by Francisco Ruiz (*Vidi aquam* in four parts, *Exsurgens Maria* in five and *Prudentes virgines* in five) and three by Morales (*Asperges me*, *Andreas Christi famulus* and *Tu es Petrus*, all three for five voices). The last two were published several times throughout the sixteenth century and they circulated widely in manuscript sources of the period. More significant is the incorporation of Morales’s five-voice *Asperges me* as the first work in the book, instead of its better known version in four voices, published in the French edition of his *Missarum, liber primus* (Lyon: Jacques Moderne, 1545; M3581). The only version of the five-voice *Asperges* known today is a manuscript copy made in 1546 in Toledo at the request of Morales himself (*E-Tc* 25, fols. 14^v–18^r). It is not the only unpublished work by Morales preserved in Jaén, where two copies of his hymn *Te Deum* (*E-JA* 8, fols. 2^v–11^r, and *E-JA* 9, pp. 12–17, both anonymous) are extant; these are also transmitted in Toledan sources (*E-Tc* 25, fols. 34^v–41^r). It is highly likely that Guerrero directly brought Morales’s works with him from Toledo during his stay at the primatial cathedral from the end of 1545 to April/July 1546, when he was hired as chapelmaster in Jaén probably on the express recommendation of Morales (AHD), *Actas capitulares*, 16 April and 1 July 1546; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1: no. 58 and 59).

Three Masses were copied in this book, including Palestrina’s famous hexachord mass (*Missa Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la* (a 6)), published in his *Missarum, liber tertius* (originally of 1570, although reprinted on various occasions; see [42–44]), and two Masses by the above-mentioned Ruiz (*Beata Maria*

and *Media vita*, both a 5). The mention of the *Missa Media vita* is particularly interesting as there are relatively few polyphonic Masses with this title. Nicolas Gombert (ca. 1500–ca. 1560) was one of the few who composed a five-voice Mass with the same title published in 1542 (*Sex missae cum quinque vocibus*, Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1542²), and based on one of his own motets.⁴⁹ Gombert was *magister puerorum* of Charles V’s Flemish chapel, and an influential composer; his works formed part of the repertory of the Royal Chapel, as well as various cathedrals. A hypothetical point of contact between Gombert and Ruiz can be found in 1570, when the latter travelled to Baeza with a group of minstrels to celebrate Philip II’s entrance in the city (AHD), *Actas capitulares*, 30 May 1570; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1: no. 382). During this meeting, Ruiz had the opportunity to familiarize himself with the Royal Chapel’s repertory and to spend some time with the musicians; in fact, he was paid 9,000 *maravedies* by the Jaén chapter “porque dio de comer a los cantores del Rey y a los porteros del Rey” (because he provided the King’s singers and porters with lunch); (AHD), leg. 323, “Libro de las cuentas de la obra [1548–1594]”, fol. 64^r).

- [2²] 3. Otro libro del tamaño del pasado q / se intitula en latin traducido Libro, tomo / segundo donde estan tres missas y algunos / motetes de diuersos y peregrinos auctores / que muestran el indice que se sigue / esta en el d[ic]ho. indice vn asperges de qua- / tro uozes y un uidi aquam de quatro uozes / entran ambos de fran^{co} Ruiz / vna missa al cenam agni de cinco uozes de / palestina / otra missa quem dicunt homines de cinco / uozes de morales / otra missa de quis neme de cinco uozes de / thomas dechillon / vn Credo domini est tera = de quatro uozes / [fol. 253^v] de Claudin entrambos estos libros estan / enquadernados en tabla con ueçerro / cinco clauos el uno y el otro ninguno / y planchas de hierro alderredor en / la primera hoja tiene el primero pinta- / do a dauit dentro de una asilla morada / con sus flores alderredor y moradas / El segundo q tambien son las foxas de / pergamino como el primero tiene pinta- / do vn preste con su ysopo capa plubial den- / tro de una D con su laminacion y / flores alderredor.

Commentary: This volume, a companion to the previous choirbook, contains a selection of local and international repertory and was probably the work of the same copyist, Alonso Hernández Becerra. A 1574 chapter agreement authorised a payment of 32 *ducados* to him to purchase parchment for a music book he was copying at the time (AHD), *Actas capitulares*, 23 April 1574; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1: no. 433). Given that the first volume was appraised in December 1573, this order of payment seems to refer to a different book, perhaps this second volume. The book took

49 Nicolas Gombert, *Opera omnia*, ed. Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 6 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1954), 2:1–30.

several months to be completed and it was not until August 1575 that the chapter agreed to pay Hernández Becerra for his work, in accordance with the (unspecified) appraisal made by Francisco de Sepúlveda (AHDJ, *Actas capitulares*, 8 August 1575; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1:no. 467). The iconographical motive of the miniature on the first page consisted of a priest with a pluvial cope and hyssop. The 1760 inventory briefly mentions a "Libro de misas sin nombre de autor" (an anonymous book of masses); (AHDJ, leg. 460, exp. 4, "Razón de los papeles de música", 10 October 1760, unfoliated) that may correspond to this volume.

Like the previous volume, this book contained motets and Masses. The two motets, *Asperges me* and *Vidi aquam*, both a 4, are attributed to the volume's supervisor, maestro Ruiz; although named motets, their text was taken from the two ceremonial antiphons sung on Sundays prior to Mass, both during Eastertide and outside this period. The three Masses, by contrast, came from the international repertory: Palestrina's five-voice *Ad caenam agni* (published in his 1554 *Missarum, liber primus* and in some of its successive reeditions; see entries [42-44]), Morales's five-voice *Quem dicunt homines* (published in his second book of Masses, described in this inventory, entry [4⁴]), and Thomas Crecquillon's five-voice *Pis ne me peult venir* (published for the first time in the *Liber primus missarum quinque vocum*, Antwerp: Tielman Susato, 1546³). This Franco-Flemish composer was associated with Charles V's chapel throughout his life. The last of the pieces mentioned is the Credo from the *Missa Domini est terra* by Claudin de Sermisy, a work published in the last fascicle of the famous *Liber viginti missarum musicalium*, popularly known as "the book of twenty Josquin masses", of which there was a copy at Jaén Cathedral in 1548 (AHDJ, leg. 448, "Libro de los hornamentos de la Sta. Yga. de Jahen, año de 1548", unfoliated, last folio; see also the Commentary to entry [11¹¹]).

- [3-4³⁻⁴] 4. Dos libros de xptoual de morales el pri- / mero tiene pintadas las armas de los me- / dicis con una Corona en lo alto y en la / tabla dize que ai tres missas de quatro / uozes vna de ueata uirgine = otra = aspice do- / mine = otra = vulnerasti cor meum = de / cinco uozes = otras tres missas vna = aue maris / stella = otra = queramus cum pastoribus = / otra = lhome arme / otras dos de seis uozes = vna mille rregrex / otra = si bona suscepimus = en el segundo / tomo tiene al principio pintado un ponti / fize sentado en silla con su tiara y dedi- / cación que dize Paulo tercero pontifizes / maximo en el indice tiene cinco missas / de a quatro uozes - vna = tu es vas electionis = / otra = benedicta est caelorum Regina = otra / aue maria = otra = gaude Barbara = otra / lhome arme = y otras tres missas de cinco uozes / = vna = de ueata uirgine = otra = quem dicunt ho- / mines = otra = pro defunctis estan enquadernados en pergamino.

Commentary: The two choirbooks correspond to the first and second book of Masses by Cristóbal de Morales in their 1544 Roman editions: *Missarum, liber primus* (Rome: Valerio & Ludovico Dorico, 1544; M3580) and *Missarum, liber secundus* (Rome: Valerio & Ludovico Dorico, 1544; M3582). Both books contain 16 masses (whose titles are meticulously noted in the inventory) and were planned as a set, using Antico's *Liber quindecim missarum* [11] as a model. Although the exact date of reception of both books in Jaén has not been documented, the *terminus ante quem* is 1548, when an inventory lists "primeramente dos libros de mysas de morales" (firstly two books of masses by Morales); (AHDJ, leg. 448, "Libro de los hornamentos de la Sta. Yga. de Jahen, año de 1548", unfoliated, last folio). Guerrero probably brought the books with him from Toledo at Morales's request. The arrival of Morales's two books in Jaén could also be hypothetically linked to Cardinal Pedro Pacheco, Bishop of Jaén who actively participated in the first sessions of the Council of Trent and who during his episcopate (1545-1554) made various trips to Rome, where Morales had just published his two books of Masses. Either in their Roman or Lyonesse editions, Morales's two books of Masses were widely known in cathedral and private libraries until well into the seventeenth century, and they rarely went unmentioned in Spanish and New World inventories.

- [5⁵] 5. Otro libro q en la primera hoxa tiene / pintadas las armas de portugal impresso / en paris ano de 1565 Y la buelta esta el / [fol. 254^r] yndiçe de quatro misas de cinco uozes q / son = santa et immaculada = inte domine / speraui = congratulamini mihi, super flumina / Babilonis / otras cinco missas de quatro uozes son de / beata uirgine = dormendo torno, inter bestibulum / beata mater = pro defunctis = es de Franco Ruiz / digo Guerrero / este libro tiene tambien tres motetes a la / postre El uno = aue uirgo sanctissima = otro / us que quo domine = y el vltimo el pater noster / esta dedicado al Rey de portugal.

[In the margin, in another hand] "esta malo / no tiene rre- / medio" (it is in a bad condition, there is no solution).

Commentary: This entry corresponds to Guerrero's choirbook-format *Liber primus missarum* (Paris: Nicolas du Chemin, 1566; G4870) of nine Masses and three motets. The composer himself probably sent the book directly. Guerrero, who had previously sent at least three manuscript books (one in 1550, whose content is not specified, and two in 1557, one of Masses and Magnificats and the other of *fabordones*) to Jaén and subsequently would do the same with at least another three printed collections (his second book of Masses, sent in 1583, and his anthologies of motets, in 1571 and 1597). The 1760 inventory mentions a "Libro de misas a 4 del Mrô Guerrero" (book of four-voice masses by master Guerrero); (AHDJ, leg. 460, exp. 4, "Razón de los papeles de música", 10 October 1760, unfoliated) that could refer either to this first book of Masses or to the second, described in the next entry. This volume does not survive.

- [6⁶] 6. Otro libro del mismo Franz^{co} Guerrero de / dos tercios de alto enquadernado en ta- / bla con sus cantones y abracaderas y / clauos enmedio y broches labrados de / Hierro sobre rraso dorado tiene ocho / misas vna de seis uozes = Surge et propera = / otras dos de cinco uozes La una = ecce sacerdos / otra de la batalla = otras cinco de quatro / voces una = puer qui natus est nobis = otra / iste sanctus = otra = Simille est regnum coelo- / rum = otra de = ueata uirgine = otra = pro / defunctis = con su rresponsorio tiene El indize / en la ultima foxa ympresso en Roma / ano de 1582.

[In the margin, in another hand] “es menester / aderezarlo” (it needs to be repaired).

Commentary: This entry corresponds to Guerrero’s choirbook, *Missarum, liber secundus* (Rome: Domenico Basa, colophon Francesco Zanetti, 1582; G4872) with eight Masses for four and six voices, whose titles are specified in the inventory. I have recently located the letter offering Guerrero’s book, signed Sevilla, 31 August 1583 (AHDJ, Correspondencia, 1583; Figure 8.4). The chapter minutes do not record its reception or purchase, but the payments book records the generous gratification of 10,200 *maravedies* (27 *ducados*) paid to the dean “para que los ynviase a la ciudad De Seuilla a el Raçionero Guerrero por un libro De misas que ymbio para esta Sancta yglesia” (to send to the prebendary Guerrero in the city of Sevilla for a book of masses he sent for this Holy church); (AHDJ, leg. 323, “Libro de las cuentas de la obra [1548–1594]”, fol. 149^r). The book does not survive.

- [7⁷] Otro libro de alfonso Lobo de borxa / ympresso en madrid año de 1602 en / la primera hoxa tiene estampada a la / uirgen sancta maria puniendo la casulla / a San Yldefonso con tres angeles o sera- / phines en la segunda tiene el indize / donde estan seis missas y siete motetes q / se contienen en el dho libro la primera / misa comienza = beata dei genitrix y acaua / el ultimo motete = aue maria = dedicado / al Cauildo de toledo esta enquadernado / en tabla y becerro guarneçido las orillas / deuajo de lata y tachuelas con sus abrazade / [fol. 254^v] ras nuevas.

[In the margin, in another hand] “necesita de / reparos” (it needs repairing).

Commentary: This entry corresponds to the choirbook by Alonso Lobo de Borja (1555–1617), *Liber primus missarum* (Madrid: Joannem Flandrum, 1602; L2588) with six Masses and seven motets. I have recently located the letter offering Lobo’s book, signed Toledo, 15 March 1603 (AHDJ, Correspondencia, 1603; Figure 8.6). A few months later, the chapter decided to send him 12 *ducados* via the organist Francisco Carrillo, who acted as an intermediary in this and other purchases (AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 4 July 1603; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1: no. 746). The book was sent and received at Jaén Cathedral earlier than at other cathedrals in which this

publication is documented. The 1760 inventory refers to the volume as a “Libro de misas a 4 del Mrò Lobo” (book of four-part masses by master Lobo); (AHDJ, leg. 460, exp. 4, “Razón de los papeles de música”, 10 October 1760, unfoliated). Although it is not listed in Alfonso Medina Crespo, *Catálogo del Archivo de Música de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Jaén* (Jaén: Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía, 2009), Lobo’s *Liber* is one of the few polyphonic choirbooks that survives in the cathedral music library (*E-IA* s.s.). The other copies located in Spain, Portugal, Italy and Latin-America (21 in total, apart from the numerous incomplete manuscript copies) confirm the wide circulation of this anthology and the popularity of its composer.

- [8⁸] 7. Otro libro grande de dos tercios de / alto estampada en la primera hoja / Paulo 5 con su silla y tiara y las armas / en lo ultimo ympresso en Roma año / de 1609 es de Franz^{co} Soriano Romano / en la segunda foxa esta la dedicatoria / a paulo quinto Y en la ultima hoja esta el / yndice de las missas La primera es = nos au- / tem gloriami = Y la ultima = in pape Marcelli / enquadernado en pergamino.

Commentary: This entry corresponds to the choirbook by Francesco Soriano (1548/49–1621), *Missarum, liber primus* (Rome: Joannem Baptistam Roblettum, 1609; S3981), which contained eight masses for four to eight voices (*Nos autem gloriamini* and *Ad canones* (a 4), *Sine titulo* and *Quando laeta sperabam* (a 5), *Octavi toni*, *Secundi toni* and *Super voces musicales* (a 6), and *In Papae Marcelli* (a 8)). Soriano worked at various Roman institutions and was one of the most outstanding Counter-Reformation composers of the post-Palestrina generation: indeed, he was a pupil of Palestrina. Jaén Cathedral is one of the few institutions in which the existence of this volume, also present at Cuenca Cathedral, has been documented. The book is cited in a 1760 inventory as a “Libro de misas a 4 del Mrò. Soriano” (book of four-part masses by master Soriano); (AHDJ, leg. 460, exp. 4, “Razón de los papeles de música”, 10 October 1760, unfoliated), although it does not survive.

- [9⁹] 8. Otro libro de tamaño del passado de / mas de dos tercios de alto La primera hoja / tiene por titulo Seis missas de Philipo ro- / jedio maestro de capilla del Rey impresso en / Madrid año de 1598 con las armas Reales / y en la segunda hoja la dedicatoria a / PHelipe terçero en la ultima hoxa tiene / el indice La primera missa dize = PHilipus / secundus = Y la ultima = aue uirgo sanctissima / enquadernado en pergamino.

[In the margin, in another hand] “necesita de ade- / rezarse y hechar- / le vnas tablas” (it needs to be repaired and have some covers made)

Commentary: This entry corresponds to the choirbook by Philippe Rogier (ca. 1561–1596), *Missae sex Philippi Rogerii atrebatensis sacelli regii phonasci musicae peritissimi* (Madrid: Joannem Flandrum, 1598¹; R1937). It is a

posthumous work, printed and distributed by Géry de Ghersem, Rogier's successor as chapelmaster of the Madrid Royal Chapel and signatory of the volume's dedication. Of the six Masses included in the book, five are by Rogier (*Philippus Secundus rex Hispaniae* and *Inclya stirps Jesse* (a 4), *Dirige gressus meos* (a 5), *Ego sum qui sum* and *Inclina domine* (a 6)) and the seventh is by Ghersem himself (*Ave virgo sanctissima* (a 7)). The volume reached several Spanish cathedrals during the early seventeenth century. In the case of Jaén, in March 1603 the chapter minutes record the reception of "un libro de musica que Conpuso el maestro de la Capilla de su Magd" (a book of music composed by the master to His Majesty's chapel), and agree to pay 12 *ducados* to the prebendary Pedro de Salas, who offered the volume (AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 1 March 1603; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1:no. 741). The book is cited in a 1760 inventory as a "Libro de Misas a 4 del Mro Rogier" (book of four-part masses by master Rogier); AHDJ, leg. 460, exp. 4, "Razón de los papeles de música", 10 October 1760, unfoliated), although does not survive. "Cinco Librettes de Motetes de Rogier" (Five partbooks of motets by Rogier) are also listed earlier in that 1760 inventory, probably the anthology of motets *Sacrarum modulationum, quas vulgo motecta appellant* (Napoli: Ex Typographia Stelliolae, 1595; R1936), published in five partbooks. In contrast to the book of Masses, sent to various Spanish ecclesiastical archives, the circulation of the collection of motets was limited in the Iberian Peninsula, so the fact that this copy at Jaén Cathedral is interesting. In any case, the absence of this collection in the 1657 inventory is surprising, perhaps because it was not kept with the other polyphonic books.

- [10¹⁰] 9. Vn libro de thomas luis de Victoria ym- / presso en Roma año de 1592 dedicado / al cardenal aluerto y estampadas suss / armas en la primera foxa con quatro / figuras a los lados en la ultima hoxa tiene / el indize de siete missas dos antiphonas La / primera = asperges me = Y la ultima = pro / defunctis = encuadernado en uez-erro / colorado con sus florones dorados.

[In the margin, in another hand] "esta muy mal- / tratado y no tiene / reparo" (it is very damaged and can't be repaired).

Commentary: This entry corresponds to the choirbook by Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548–1611), *Missae quattuor, quinque, sex et octo vocibus ... , secundus* (Rome: Ascanio Donangeli, colophon Francesco Coattino, 1592; V1434), with two antiphons, seven Masses and two pieces for the Dead. A letter written by Victoria (although not autograph) survives, signed Madrid, 20 July 1593, offering this "libro de misas brebes, de punto por letra, como se cantta en la capilla de Su Santidad" (book of short, syllabic masses, as sung at His Holiness's chapel); it was received in Jaén on 7 August 1593 (AHDJ, Correspondencia, 1593). The accounts book records a payment of 5,984 *maravedies* (16 *ducados*) for this volume (AHDJ, leg. 323, "Libro de las cuentas de la obra [1548–1594]", fol. 278^v). The book does not survive.

- [11¹¹] 10. Otro libro antiguo de missas de Jusquin / dedicado al conde cimo estampada su / figura en la primera foxa Y las armas de los medicis en la segunda foxa la tabla / De las missas que son quinze La premera de / beata uirgine = La ultima de Pedro Roselo / vai sei = mei = encuadernado en pergamino.

[In the margin, in another hand] "maltratado" (damaged).

Commentary: This entry corresponds to the widely disseminated "libro de las quinze misas de Josquin" (book of 15 masses by Josquin), a collection of works in choirbook format entitled *Liber quindecim missarum* (Rome: Andrea Antico, 1516¹), the first extensive anthology of sacred music published in Rome; it circulated extensively in both institutional and private libraries in Spain and Latin-America. It included 15 masses which, despite its title, were not only by Josquin (represented by three works, *De beata virgine*, *Faisant regretz* and *Ad fugam*), but by other composers of his generation: Antoine Brumel (*De virgine*, *Pro defunctis* and *A l'ombre d'ung buissonet*), Antoine Févin (*Ave Maria*, *Mente tota* and *De feria*), Pierre de La Rue (*Ave Maria* and *Salutaris ostia*), Jean Mouton (*Alma redemptoris* and *Dites-moi toutes vos*), Mattheus Pipelare (*L'home armé*) and Petrus Roselli (*Baissiez moi*). The book, which does not survive, was previously mentioned in a 1548 inventory as "otro [libro] de quinze misas" (another [book] of 15 masses); (AHDJ, leg. 448, "Libro de los hornamentos de la Sta. Yga. de Jahen, año de 1548", unfoliated, last folio). This same inventory also listed "otro [libro] de veynte misas" (another [book] of 20 masses), in reference to the "book of 20 masses by Josquin", another anthology of masses that was a landmark, and whose actual title was *Liber viginti missarum musicalium* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1532¹⁻⁷). The collection was published in seven fascicles in choirbook format and, in this case, did not include any of Josquin's Masses. The composers represented were Claude de Sermisy (*Philomena praevia*, *IX lectionum*, *Plurium motetorum*, *Requiem* and *Domini est terra*), Nicolas Gombert (*Quam pulchra es* and *Da pacem*), Lupus Hellink (*Jam non dicam* and *Paris quem ego dabo*), Jean L'Héritier (*Osculetur me* and *Impetum*), Pierre de Manchicourt (*Deus in adiutorium* and *Surge et illuminare*), Jean Mouton (*Tuae est potentia* and *D'Allemagne*), Jean Richafort (*O genitrix* and *Requiem*), Antonius Divitis (*Quem dicunt homines*), Mattheus Gascogne (*Nigra sum*) and Johannes Prioris (*Requiem*).

- [12¹²] 11. Otro libro del d[ic]ho thomas Luis de Victoria / del tamaño del de arriua dedicado / [fol. 255^r] a P[hi]lipo segundo estampadas las armas / Reales en la primera foxa y la dedica / toria en la segunda ympreso en rroma / año de 1583 En la ultima hoja tiene el / yndize de las missas que son nuebe la / primera comienca = quam pulchre sint = Y / la ultima = gaudeamus = encuadernado / en pergamino.

[In the margin, in another hand] "esta maltratado / y es menester / aderecarlo" (it is damaged and needs to be repaired).

Commentary: This entry corresponds to Victoria's choirbook, *Missarum libri duo* (Rome: Domenico Basa, colophon Alessandro Gardano, 1583; V1431), with nine Masses. Victoria's autograph letter, signed Rome, 18 December 1583, is preserved, offering two collections: 1) this book of Masses; and 2) "algunos motetes" (some motets), probably the *Motecta quae partim quaternis, partim quinas, alia senis* (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1583; V1422), with 53 pieces; the letter was received in Jaén on 12 September 1584 (AHDJ, *Correspondencia*, 1583). Only one of the collections seems to have been purchased, as both the chapter minutes of 1584 (AHDJ, *Actas capitulares*, 15 October 1584; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1:n.o. 594) and the church accounts of 1586 (AHDJ, leg. 323, "Libro de las cuentas de la obra [1548-1594]", fol. 180^r) only record payment for one book of Masses (the minutes mention the sum of 12 *ducados*, while the payments book expresses the equivalent in *maravedies*, 4,488). Neither of the two collections survives.

- [13¹³] 12. Vn libro de magnificas y motetes de / xptoual de morales y franz^{co} Ruiz de espinosa / escrito en hojas de pergamino enquadernado en tabla y becerro con sus abraza- / deras de hierro tiene diez y siete magnificas / y diez y seis motetes tres salues y un imbita- / torio esta el indice en la primera hoja.

[In the margin, in another hand] "es menester / aderezarlo" (it needs repairing).

Commentary: An extensive manuscript anthology with 36 works, the majority being Magnificats and motets, whose titles are not specified in this instance. The characteristics of this volume reveal that it probably corresponds to the "libro q. hizo de mag^{cas} y motetes con el gasto de la enquadernacion y guarnicion^s" (book of magnificats and motets made with the cost of the binding and trimmings) by the copist Alonso Hernández Becerra in 1573, and for which he received the substantial amount of 21,104 *maravedies* (AHDJ, leg. 323, "Libro de las cuentas de la obra [1548-1594]", fol. 72^v). The Magnificats were probably copied from Morales's cycle, the best known of the sixteenth century in Europe and the New World. The volume does not survive.

- [14¹⁴] 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 ultima foxa el indize Y tiene diez / y seis magnificas y ocho antiphonas de / nuestra señora que dicen al cauo del / rrezado enquadernado en pergamino.

Commentary: This entry corresponds to Victoria's choirbook, *Cantica B. Virginis vulgo magnificat* (Rome: Domenico Basa, colophon Francesco Zanetti, 1581; V1430). As the inventory indicates, this publication contained 16 Magnificats and eight antiphons. The 1586 accounts book records a

payment of 3,740 *maravedies* for "un libro de magnificas y hinos" (a book of magnificats and hymns); AHDJ, leg. 323, "Libro de las cuentas de la obra [1548-1594]", fol. 180^r). The use of the singular ("un libro") as well as the price, equivalent to 10 *ducados*, suggests only one collection. However, Victoria never published Magnificats and hymns in the one book but in two separate publications, one for each genre (the hymns are discussed below in the next entry). In any case, the joint payment for both books suggests that, as occurred in 1583, Victoria sent the two collections together. The book of Magnificats is cited in the 1760 inventory as a "Libro q^e. contiene los canticos de la Magnificat de mrò. Victoria" (book that contains the canticles from master Victoria's Magnificat); (AHDJ, leg. 460, exp. 4, "Razón de los papeles de música", 10 October 1760, unfoliated), although it does not survive.

- [15¹⁵] 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 / discurso 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 =

[In the margin, in another hand] "necesita de ade- / rezo" (it needs repairing).

Commentary: This entry corresponds to Victoria's choirbook, *Hymni totius anni secundum sanctae romanae ecclesiae consuetudinem* (Rome: Domenico Basa, colophon Francesco Zanetti, 1581; V1428); see the Commentary on the previous entry. The volume is cited in the 1760 inventory as "Vn Libro de Himnos a 4 del Mrò Victoria" (a book of four-part hymns by master Victoria); AHDJ, leg. 460, exp. 4, "Razón de los papeles de música", 10 October 1760, unfoliated). Although it is not listed in Medina Crespo's *Catálogo del Archivo de Música*, there is a copy of this book at the Cathedral (E-JA, s.s.) whose state of conservation reveals that it was used intensively until the nineteenth century (the volume had to be rebound and contains several manuscript inscriptions and corrections).

- [16¹⁶] esta pegado en este libro [entry 15] / vn quaderno de Franz^{co} Guerrero donde se con / tiene el canto de las passiones del domingo [fol. 255^v] / y uernes sancto pintado vn xpto al principio / enquadernado en pergamino.

Commentary: Although its publication details were not expressly indicated, this entry may correspond to Guerrero's *Passio domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Matthaeum et Joannem more hispano* (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1585; G4874). It is a short *cuaderno* in choirbook format consisting of just 14 folios with the polyphonic settings of the St. Matthew (Palm Sunday) and St. John (Good Friday) passions. This *cuaderno* by Guerrero,

published in Rome the same year (1585) and by the same printer (Alessandro Gardano) as Victoria's *Officium hebdomadae sanctae*, was seemingly conceived as a liturgical appendix to Victoria's Holy Week collection, as shown by the fact that the only extant copy in Loreto is bound together with Victoria's book.⁵⁰ In Jaén the volume was also bound with a book by Victoria, but in this case his book of hymns rather than his Holy Week collection. At a later date, there is information about the passion settings composed by the local composer Pedro de Soto (chapelmaster between 1672 and 1708), cited in the 1760 inventory.⁵¹ In contrast to Guerrero's anthologies of Masses, motets and Vespers, widely cited in Spanish inventories of the seventeenth century, there are barely any references to the rare printed edition of his passions in peninsular archives, perhaps precisely due to the fact that they were sent bound with Victoria's collection, whose circulation was also limited in the Iberian Peninsula.

- [17¹⁷] 15. Otro libro de magnificas de Franz^{co} 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.

[In the margin, in another hand] "esta muy viejo / y no sirue" (it is very old and of no use).

Commentary: This entry corresponds to Guerrero's choirbook, *Canticum beatae Mariae, quod magnificat nuncupatur* (Leuven: Pierre Phalèse, 1563; G4867), with 16 Magnificats grouped into two cycles for the odd and even verses. The 1548 inventory records the existence of a book "que dio guerrero de magnificas y hinos" (of magnificats and hymns given by Guerrero), this being the earliest reference to this repertory composed by the Sevillian composer (AHDJ, leg. 448, "Libro de los hornamentos de la Sta. Yga. de Jahen, año de 1548", unfoliated, last folio). Ten years later, Guerrero sent two manuscript books from Sevilla, one containing Masses and Magnificats and the other *fabordones*, for which he received the substantial amount of 10,000 *maravedies* (AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 5 January 1558; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1:no. 213). The fact that prior to its publication Guerrero only presented books containing his Magnificats to Sevilla Cathedral (1560), and Toledo (1561), is an indication of the importance of Jaén Cathedral for the composer. Neither the date nor the manner in which it was sent have been documented, although it can be assumed that it was Guerrero himself who sent a copy to Jaén, as he did

50 Ruiz Jiménez, *La librería de canto de órgano*, 124-125, even speculates about the possibility that Guerrero entrusted their publication to Victoria.

51 The four polyphonic partbooks compiled by José Sequera during the mid-nineteenth century contain two anonymous polyphonic passions, the St. Matthew and St. John, which might be copies of Soto's (*E-JA* 9, pp. 136-150).

to Ávila and Málaga Cathedrals. The book is not cited in the 1760 inventory and does not survive. However, a copy is preserved at the Collegiate Church of Castellar de Santisteban (Jaén) which, according to the chapter minutes, was bound in 1678, information that is confirmed by an inscription on the flyleaf at the back of the book (Archivo de Colegiata de Castellar, AC, 17 July 1678; Marín López, "Música y patronazgo musical en Castellar (Jaén)", 572-574). The volume contains various hand-written inscriptions, including the short verse 'Et lux perpetua' from the four-voice Requiem after the Magnificat in the seventh tone (fols. 84^v-85^r). It is not known whether the copy in Castellar is that documented at Jaén Cathedral; during this period musical exchange between the two institutions were constant; by way of example, the chapelmaster José de Escobedo travelled to Castellar in 1662 to evaluate the candidates who had applied for the post of *maestro de capilla*.

- [18¹⁸⁻²²] 16. Otros cinco quadernos enquadernados en / uecero negro con sus listas doradas La / primera foxa de cada uno tiene por título mo- / tetes de Franz^{co} Guerrero ympresso en bene / cia año de 1597 con un xpto estampado / en la buelta de la hoxa y la uirgen san / Joan y la magdalena Y en la segunda hoja / tiene el indize de los motetes que son treinta / y seis de a quatro voces Y veinte y seis de a cinco / quatro de a seis dos de a ocho Y uno de a doce / y una missa a lo ultimo que dice Seculorum / amen de a quatro.

[In the margin, in another hand] "están enquadernados en perga / mino" (they are bound in parchment)

Commentary: This entry corresponds to Guerrero's anthology in five part-books, *Motecta Francisci Guerreri in Hispalensi ecclesia musicorum praefecti* (Venice: Giacomo Vicentini, 1597; G4877). It contains 75 works, mostly motets (69) although there is also a Mass, four hymns and a Magnificat, which made this collection very appealing. Guerrero's letter offering this volume, signed Sevilla, 20 November 1597, has been conserved (AHDJ, *Correspondencia*, 1597; Figure 8.5), as well as the order of payment of 100 *reales* (equivalent to 3,400 *maravedies*, approximately 9 *ducados*) to the organist Francisco Carrillo, who acted as an intermediary (AHDJ, *Correspondencia*, 1598). This missive is interesting as it is one of the composer's last. After emotionally recalling his time in Jaén, Guerrero indicated that he had chosen "lo mas escogido y añadido en estas muchas cosas, que copiosamente pueden seruir muchas fiestas del año, con una missa nueua y breue q. dara buen gusto a los ocupados oyentes" (the most select and added many things, more than sufficient for the many feasts of the liturgical year, with a new and brief Mass that will please engaged listeners). With the passage of time, one of the partbooks was lost; the 1760 inventory only mentions "Quattro librettes de motetes del Mrô Guerrero" (four partbooks of motets by master Guerrero); AHDJ, leg. 460, exp. 4, "Razón de los papeles de música", 10 October 1760, unfoliated), and these four survive (*E-JA* 4, the *quintus* is missing). The collection was used so often that 17 of the

motets had to be copied by hand. Guerrero also sent his 1570 anthology of motets to Jaén (now lost), which was received the year after its publication; the chapter directly accepted the collection without the need for a prior report and it was sent for binding (AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 3 August 1571; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1: no. 395). The above-mentioned 1760 inventory also lists a "Libro de la Salve q^e compuso el Mr^o Guerrero" (book of the Salve that master Guerrero composed) that may correspond to E-JA 8, a manuscript volume probably copied during the eighteenth century and whose final piece is a *Salve regina* by Francisco Guerrero.

- [19²³⁻³⁰] 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.

[In the margin, in another hand] "ya no siruen / por estar muy / maltratados" (they are no longer of use as they are very damaged).

Commentary: This entry corresponds to Victoria's collection, *Missae, magnificat, motecta, psalmi et alia* (Madrid: Joannem Flandrum, 1600; V 1435), which contains 32 polychoral works, including five Masses. Victoria's letter offering the volume (which is not autograph) has been preserved, signed Madrid, 10 February 1601; it was received in Jaén on 15 March 1601 (AHDJ, Correspondencia, 1601). The court agent at the Cathedral, Alonso de Salazar, wrote to the Jaén chapter on 22 February, indicating the interest for minstrels of the book Victoria sent. The fact that eight partbooks were cited instead of the ten originally making up the collection can perhaps be explained by the two missing partbooks being in the hands of the organist and the minstrels.⁵²

- [20³¹⁻³⁹] 18. Otros nuebe quadernos maiores enquadernados 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 / [fols. 256^r] 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.

[In the margin, in another hand] "nezesitan / de rreparo" (they need repairing)

52 See Coronas Tejada & Jiménez Cavallé, "Dos cartas autógrafas", 351; and Ruiz Jiménez, "Recepción y pervivencia de la obra de Victoria", 307-308.

Commentary: This entry corresponds to the collection by Sebastián López de Velasco (1584-1659), *Libro de missas, motetes, salmos, magnificats, y otras cosas tocantes al culto divino* (Madrid: Ex Typographia Regia, 1628; L2822), a complete anthology that contained ten motets, nine psalms, five Masses, four canticles and one antiphon, for eight to twelve voices. All these works are by López de Velasco with the exception of the motet *Super flumina*, attributed to the Roman composer Ruggiero Giovannelli (ca. 1560-1625), and the *Missa defunctorum* by Francisco Dávila Páez (d. 1618), who in July 1596, on his appointment as chapelmaster in Antequera, declared himself a "vecino de Jaén" (an inhabitant of Jaén).⁵³ In this case, the collection is cited in its entirety (eight vocal partbooks and one for the organist). I have recently located the letter dated Madrid, 29 January 1632, offering López de Velasco's volume (AHDJ, Correspondencia, 1632; Figure 8.7). Barely a month later, the minutes record the reception of the partbooks, which were ordered to be examined, although subsequently not purchased "al no ser menester en esta sancta Iglia" (as they were not necessary in this Holy church); (AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 6 and 23 March 1611; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1: no. 1611 and 1614). The chapter's decision not to purchase this collection is surprising, this being the only documented rejection, together with Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia's book of Magnificats (AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 21 January 1621; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1: no. 1278). López de Velasco's books were eventually purchased, as their presence in this inventory shows. Like the rest of the volumes published by the Royal Printer, López de Velasco's collection was subject to a formidable advertising campaign by the composer, who simultaneously sent copies to various cathedrals in Spain and the New World.

- [21⁴⁰] 19. Otro quaderno de Franz^{co} 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 nuevo y contiene el = te deum lau- / damus.

Commentary: A manuscript *cuaderno* consisting of a few folios, perhaps used by minstrels in processions. It contained the psalm *In exitu Israel* by Guerrero, to which the hymn *Te Deum* was subsequently added, perhaps by Guerrero himself or another composer, and performed during cloister processions. The psalm was originally published in Guerrero's *Liber ves-*

53 Andrés Llordén, "Notas históricas de los maestros de capilla en la Colegiata de Antequera", *Anuario Musical* 31-32 (1976-1977): 124. Dávila Páez is not documented at Jaén Cathedral at this time, suggesting that perhaps he served at the Santa Capilla de San Andrés during this period, the only institution in the city with a music chapel apart from the Cathedral. In precisely 1596 there was a change in the composer who held the post of chapelmaster at this institution, with the appointment of Gil de Ávila, but the name of the outgoing *maestro* is unknown (Pedro Jiménez Cavallé, "La música en la Santa Capilla de San Andrés. Notas históricas", *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses* 129 (1987): 16). He subsequently became chapelmaster at Guadix and the Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, where he later succeeded López de Velasco.

perarum (Rome: Domenico Basa, colophon Alessandro Gardano, 1584; G4873), a volume that circulated widely throughout the Iberian Peninsula and the New World which, paradoxically, is not documented in Jaén.

- [22⁴¹] 20. Vn cuaderno Grande de dos quartas de alto / y dos tercios de ancho tiene una cuuierda de / pergamino por un lado y por el otro nada Y se / contiene en el el Off^o de defunctos que son misas / y motetes Y tiene al principio las armas del / señor obispo delgado = llamanle el libro / de la Jornada Y tiene missas de las ferias de / la quaresma.

[In the margin, in another hand] “esta muy biejo / y maltratado” (it is very old and damaged)

Commentary: A manuscript anthology containing works for the Office of the Dead (a Mass and pieces for the office, named “motets”) and Masses for feasts such as Advent and Lent. In this case, neither its contents nor the work’s composers are specified. The presence of the coat of arms of Bishop Francisco Delgado López suggests that the volume was compiled during his episcopate (1566–1576). Chronologically it probably corresponds to the book “para las missas de requiem puntadas en canto de organo” (for the Requiem masses sung in polyphony) compiled by Alonso Hernández Becerra and for which he received 6,392 *maravedies* in 1573 (AHD), leg. 323, “Libro de las cuentas de la obra [1548–1594]”, fols. 77^r).

- [23⁴²] 21. Vn quaderno de una missa de Victoria de di- / functos que sea de encuadernar juntamente / con el de arriua = Ya esta encuadernado y / nuebo.

Commentary: Victoria wrote two versions of the Requiem Mass. The first, composed in Rome for four voices, was published in his *Missarum libri duo* in 1583 [12¹²] and was reprinted in 1592 in his *Missae quattuor, quinque, sex et octo vocibus* [10¹⁰]. The second, composed in Madrid for six voices, was published in 1605 as part of his *Officium defunctorum in obitu et obsequiis sacae imperatricis* (Madrid: Ex Typographia Regia, colophon Joannem Flandrum, 1605; V1436). The lack of precision of this entry (which does not specify the number of voices or whether it was printed or manuscript) does not sway the balance in favour of either of the two versions. The use of the term “cuaderno” suggests that the book consisted of few pages, indicating that perhaps it could be the 1605 printed edition (which only contained 28 folios) or a manuscript copy of the Mass contained therein. Nevertheless, the limited circulation of the book printed in Madrid (due to its particular conception and contents) should be borne in mind, and the possibility that it could be a manuscript copy of the Roman version in four voices should not be dismissed. Of interest is the indication that the volume should be bound with the local anthology of the *Officium Defunctorum*, which indicates that Victoria’s Requiem Mass (like his hymn cycle) formed part of the Jaén Cathedral repertory during the seventeenth century.

- [24⁴³] 22. Otro libro de dos tercios de alto y dos quartos / de ancho donde se contienen cinco missas de / xptoual morales Franz^{co} Hordóñez = y Franz^{co} Ruiz / y motetes de la feria quarta cinerum Y otros / no tienen indice que esta encuadernado en / pergamino Y es de mano.

Commentary: A manuscript anthology in choirbook format with five Masses and various motets for Lent by Morales, Francisco Ordóñez and Francisco Ruiz, whose titles are not specified. The name “Fran^{co} Hordóñez” is probably the result of a copyist’s error and actually refers to the famous Rodrigo Ordóñez, a travelling musician who arrived in Jaén 1564 from Zamora, and who was Francisco Ruiz’s predecessor. Although several works by Ordóñez are preserved in different cathedrals, there are no Masses among them. Given the composers represented, this volume was probably copied in Jaén for use at the Cathedral during the 1560s or 1570s by Bartolomé de Badajoz or Alonso Hernández Becerra, both active music copyists during Ruiz’s period as chapelmaster; for other books containing motets copied during this period, see entries [1, 2 and 13].

- [25–38^{44–57}] Ay en el cajon / octauo donde estan otros catorçe libross / de canto que dice el Maestro de Capilla son / suyos.

Commentary: In 1657, the Cathedral’s chapelmaster was José de Escobedo and this entry alludes to a practice common among *maestros de capilla*, who often separated the cathedral’s books from their own. As mentioned above, one of the most surprising cases of the private library of a chapelmaster is that of Jerónimo de León, chapelmaster in Valladolid, due to its richness and variety. Some of these 14 books probably contained Escobedo’s own compositions. In the 1760 inventory, only two of his works are cited: a Resurrection prose and a hymn to Saint John the Baptist, both for five voices (AHDJ, leg. 460, exp. 4, “Razón de los papeles de música”, 10 October 1760). The number of Escobedo’s extant works is very small, being limited to two pieces: the hymn to Mary Madgalene *Pater superni luminis*, with the second strophe ‘Amore currit saucia’ in polyphony (*E-JA* 8, fols. 30^v–32^r), and the villancico *Ay, que se quejan los cielos* preserved at Valladolid Cathedral (*E-V* 68/2; López-Calo, *La música en la catedral de Valladolid*, V, 97), the ninth of the 14 villancicos Escobedo composed to be performed during the feasts to commemorate the consecration of Jaén Cathedral in October 1660, whose texts were printed in a detailed chronicle.⁵⁴

[In the margin, in another hand] “Libros añadidos” (added books).

- [39⁵⁸] Otro libro de dos tercios de alto y media uara / de ancho donde se contienen siete misas y las / antiphonas de asperges, et uidi aquam

54 Juan Núñez de Sotomayor, *Descripcion panegyrica de las insignes fiestas que la S. iglesia catedral de Jaén celebró en la translacion del SS. Sacramento a su nuevo y sumptuoso templo, por el mes de octubre del año de 1660* (Málaga: Mateo López Hidalgo, 1661), 750–769.

y dos / motetes de frai manuel cardoso y el indice / de las misas en la vltima hoja enquadernado / en pergamino.

Commentary: Of the three books of Masses published by the Portuguese friar Manuel Cardoso (1566–1650) in Lisbon in 1625 and 1636, only the first of these fits the description given in the inventory: the *Missae quaternis, quinis, et sex vocibus, liber primus* (Lisboa: Apud Petrum Craesbeeck Regium Typographum, 1625; C1039), which contains two antiphons (*Asperges me* and *Vidi aquam*), seven Masses (*Miserere mihi domine*, *Tradent enim vos*, *Puer qui natus est*, *Hic est discipulus*, *Tui sunt caeli*, *Veni sponsa Christi* and *Pro defunctis*) and two motets (*Non mortui* and *Sitivit anima mea*), followed by a response for the dead (*Libera me domine*). In 1666 the minstrel Francisco de Medina delivered a book by Cardoso to the chapter, without specifying its contents, which could have been either the Masses or the Magnificats, discussed in the next entry (AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 23 July 1666; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1: no. 2483). The volume is cited in the 1760 inventory as “Libro de Misas de Fr. Manuel Cardoso” (book of masses by friar Manuel Cardoso); (AHDJ, leg. 460, exp. 4, “Razón de los papeles de música”, 10 October 1760, unfoliated). It does not survive.

[40⁵⁹] [fol. 256^v] otro libro del dicho frai manuel cardoso / en que se contienen diez y seis magnificas tiene / en la primera hoja vna imagen de nrã / Srã 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.

Commentary: This entry corresponds to Cardoso’s choirbook, *Cantica beatae Mariae virginis: Magnificat* (Lisboa: Ex Officina Petri Craesbeeck, 1613; C1038), which contains 16 Magnificats grouped into two cycles for the odd and even verses. In October 1657 the chapter decided to purchase a book of Magnificats from the minstrel Juan de Quesada (AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 30 October 1657; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1: no. 2322). By this time, the inventory had been completed, but the fact that this book of Magnificats figures among the ‘added’ volumes raises the possibility that it was Cardoso’s. The volume is cited in the 1760 inventory as a “Vn Libro q^e. contiene los Canticos dela Magnificat en diferentes tonos su autor Fr. Manuel Cardoso” (book that contains the canticles from the Magnificat in different tones, its composer friar Manuel Cardoso); (AHDJ, leg. 460, exp. 4, “Razón de los papeles de música”, 10 October 1760, unfoliated). Although the copy preserved at Jaén is the only extant copy in Spanish archives (*E-JA*, s.s.), its existence is documented in other Spanish cathedrals. The use of Cardoso’s Magnificats in Jaén is confirmed by a partial copy of the cycle of odd verses (verses 3, 7, 9 and 11 from all the Magnificats except that on the seventh-tone) in a collection of four partbooks entitled “Cantos de facistol” compiled by José Sequera in 1861 (*E-JA* 9, pp. 19–50).

[41⁶⁰] 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~~ tocando diferentes intrumentos / no tiene indice y esta enquadernado / en becero colorado.

[In the margin, in another hand] “se a perdido des / pues deste inbent” (it has been lost since this inventory).

Commentary: This entry corresponds to the choirbook by Duarte Lobo (1564/69–1646), *Cantica beatae Mariae virginia vulgo magnificat* (Antwerp: Johannes Moretus, 1605; L2590), which contains 16 Magnificats grouped into two cycles for the odd and even verses. Lobo sent the volume directly from Lisbon and the chapter of Jaén Cathedral gratified him with the modest sum of six *ducados*, the smallest amount paid for a printed book (AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 10 March 1607; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1: no. 807). The letter of payment reveals that Melchor Sánchez de Palma, a merchant from Jaén with contacts in Sevilla, acted as intermediary, and collected the money on Lobo’s behalf (AHDJ, Correspondencia, 1606–1609, 21 April 1607). The volume must have been sold at some point, since in 1647 the minstrel Juan Alonso received 200 *reales* “por el libro q^e da a la fbca desta sta Iglesia de magnificas autor Duarte Lobo maestro” (for the book of magnificats by master Duarte Lobo he gave the *fábrica* of this Holy church); (AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 28 January 1647; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1: no. 2055). As a note in the margin to this entry indicates, the book was lost after the inventory was made which would explain why it was not included in the 1760 inventory and has not survived.

[42–44^{61–75}] tres juegos de libretes de misas de a quartilla de Palestina que cada / juego tiene cinco libretes y estan inpresos / en benecia vn juego el año de 1598 otro / el año de 1591 y el otro el año de 1608 estan / enquadernados en pergamino.

Commentary: This entry contains three collections of Masses by Palestrina (1525–1594), each printed in five partbooks. Despite the details about format, place and date of publication, their identification is difficult to ascertain, although all are Venetian reprints. None of them survives.

1) In 1598 in Venice, two books of Masses by Palestrina were printed in partbooks: *Missarum cum quattuor, quinque, ac sex vocibus ... , liber secundus* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1598; P661) and *Missarum cum quattuor, quinque, ac sex vocibus ... , liber tertius* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1598; P665). In both cases they were reprints of Palestrina’s second and third books of Masses, whose first editions, in choirbook format, were published in Rome in 1567 and 1570, respectively.

2) In 1591 in Venice, two books of Masses by Palestrina were printed in partbooks: *Missarum cum quattuor, quinque, ac sex vocibus ... , liber primus* (Venice: Alessandro Gardano, 1591; P658) and *Missarum cum quattuor, quinque, ac sex vocibus ... , Liber Quintus* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1591; P671), in both cases, reprints of Palestrina’s first and fifth books of Masses, whose first editions, in choirbook format, were published in Rome in 1554 and 1590, respectively.

3) In 1608 in Venice, two books of Masses by Palestrina were printed in partbooks: *Missarum cum quattuor vocibus ... liber primus* (Venice: Giacomo Vicentini, 1608; P675a) and *Missarum cum quattuor, quinque, & sex vocibus ... liber nonus* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1608; P684), in both cases, reprints of Palestrina's first and ninth books of Masses, whose first editions, in choirbook format, were published in Rome in 1554 (choirbook format) and Venice in 1599 (partbooks), respectively.

[45-47⁷⁶⁻⁸⁴] otro juego de nueve libretes de quartilla de / agustino agaçarío 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.

Commentary: Like the previous and subsequent entries, this entry contains three collections printed in partbooks, and bound together, whose composers were all active in Rome at some point in their careers during the first third of the seventeenth century:

1) Agostino Agazzari (1578-1642), *Psalmorum ac magnificat quorum usus in vesperis frequentior est octo vocibus ... opus decimum quintum* (Venice: Ricardo Amadino, 1611; A366). A native of Siena, Agazzari published various collections of music in Latin and Italian; the book listed in the inventory contains polychoral works for Vespers (eight psalms and a Magnificat). The Jaén copy (E-JA 5, preserved in box 68/4; Altus I, Cantus and Tenor II only) is the only one to survive in Spain, together with that held at Tarazona Cathedral.⁵⁵

2) Antonio Cifra (1584-1629), *Vesperae, et motecta, octonis vocibus decantanda ... cum basso ad organum, opus nonum* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1610; C2187, Figure 8.2). It contains an anthology of seven psalms, one Magnificat and eight motets for eight voices by this composer and chapelmaster in Roma and Loreto. The Jaén copy (E-JA 6, preserved in box 68/4; Altus I and Cantus II only) is the only one that has been located to date in Spain. Mallorca Cathedral holds another anthology by the same composer with psalms for Vespers, *Psalmi sacrique concentus octo vocibus, et organo concinendi* (Assisi: Jacobum Salvium, 1620⁵; C2204).⁵⁶

3) *Selectae cantiones excellentissimorum auctorum octonis vocibus concinendae. A Fabio Constantino romano urbeveteranae cathedralis musicae praefecto in lucem editae. Cum basso ad organum* (Rome: Ex Typographia Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1614³). Fabio Constantini, active in Rome and Orvieto, published an anthology of sacred music during the first quarter of the seventeenth century in both cities that helped in the dissemination of the

55 *Biblioteca de la iglesia catedral de Tarazona. Catálogo de libros manuscritos, incunables y de música*, ed. Julián Ruiz Izquierdo, José Antonio Mosquera & Justo Sevillano (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1984), 132, print 24.

56 José Joaquín Esteve Vaquer, Andreu Julià Serra & Cristina Menzel Sansó, "Memoria de actividades RISM-España 1999-2000. VII. Archivo de música de la catedral de Mallorca. E-PAC", *Anuario Musical* 55 (2000): 284.

works of the most outstanding composers active in Rome during this period. The present collection contains 29 motets by 16 different composers (Figure 8.3), including the editor himself: Giovanni Palestrina (4), Ruggiero Giovannelli (3), Bernardino Nanino (3), Giovanni Maria Nanino (3), Felice Anerio (2), Alessandro Constantino (2), Arcangelo Crivelli (2), Fabio Constantino (2), Giovanni Francesco Anerio (1), Giovanni Battista Lucatello (1), Luca Marenzio (1), Asprilio Pacelli (1), Bartolomeo Roi (1), Prospero Santini (1), Francesco Soriano (1) and Annibale Zoilo (1). The Jaén copy (E-JA 68/4; Cantus II only) is not catalogued neither in RISM nor in Medina Crespo, *Catálogo del Archivo de Música*, and is the only known copy in Spain, together with those held at Tarazona and Mallorca Cathedrals; another anthology by Constantino, *Scelta de salmi a 8, magnificat, antifone ... et litanie della madonna de diversi eccellentissimi autori ... libro quinto, opera seconda* (Orvieto: Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1620¹) is also preserved at Mallorca.⁵⁷

The 1760 inventory includes "[ócho Librettes de Motettes a 8]" (eight partbooks of eight-voice motets), but it is not known whether they correspond to those listed in this entry (AHDJ, leg. 460, exp. 4, "Razón de los papeles de música", 10 October 1760, unfoliated).

[48-50⁸⁵⁻⁹⁰] otro juego de seis libretes de a quartilla de pa- / lestina que contiene diuersos motetes y en / la primera oja tienen pintados dos leones / estan enquadernados en pergamino.

Commentary: This entry, situated at the end of fol. 256^v of the second copy of the inventory, was inadvertently omitted by Jiménez Cavallé in his transcription. Although the inventory does not include the year, the description of its contents (motets) and the presence of two lions on the cover allow its identification: *Motetorum quae partim quinis, partim senis, partim octonis vocibus concinuntur ... liber tertius* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1594; P715), the first edition of which was published in Venice in 1575. Three partbooks of this collection are extant (E-JA 1; Cantus, Tenor and Bassus) and are bound with two other anthologies of motets by the same composer: *Cantica Salomonis quinque vocum ... liber quartus, bassus ad organum* (Venice: Bartolomei Magni, 1613; P727) and *Motetorum quinque vocibus nunc denuo in lucem aeditas, liber quintus* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1595; P731), originally published in 1583 and 1584, respectively. As in the case of the Masses, these are also Venetian reprints; the three anthologies contain a total of 100 motets. The collections were probably already bound at the time the inventory was carried out; given that they contained the same type of repertory and were all by Palestrina, the person responsible for the inventory did not consider it necessary to itemize them. The partbooks show signs of continual use, which indicates that Palestrina's motets

57 *Biblioteca de la iglesia catedral de Tarazona. Catálogo*, 131, print 129; and Esteve Vaquer, Julià Serra & Menzel Sansó, "Memoria de actividades RISM-España 1999-2000", 284.

were still performed in Jaén during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This is also confirmed by the *bajón* player José Agramunt's inscription inside the back cover of his partbook: "Josehf Agramunt bajonista desde Sta. Ygle^{sia} año de 1775" (Josehf Agramunt, *bajón* player of this Holy church, year 1775).

[51⁹¹⁻⁹⁶] [fol. 257^r] otro juego de seis libretes de a cuartilla / de abundo Antonelio en que se contienen / diuersos motetes y en la primera oja / vnas armas episcopales con tres uandas / en lo bajo y en vna ay vna R enmedio / y un aguila inperial enmedio estan / en quadern[ad]os en pergamino.

Commentary: This entry corresponds to the publication by the Roman composer Abondio Antonelli (d. ca. 1629), *Sacrarum cantionum quae & quaternis & quinis, ac senis vocibus concinuntur ... Cum basso ad organum, liber primus* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1614³; A1270). It contains 21 motets, 18 by Abondio Antonelli, chapelmaster of the Basilica of St. John Lateran in Rome and Benevento Cathedral (as specified on the cover of the edition), and three by his brother Angelo. Abondio was a highly respected composer in Rome during the first half of the seventeenth century and his works formed part of several published anthologies, although there is barely any information about him in seventeenth-century Spanish libraries. The Jaén copy does not survive.

[52⁹⁷⁻¹⁰⁴] otro juego de ocho libretes de a cuartilla / de el maestro flacomio en que se contienen / ~~dos~~ 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 / impresos en Benecia año de 1611 en- / quadernados en pergamino.

Commentary: This entry corresponds to the publication by the Sicilian composer Giovanni Pietro Flacomio (ca. 1565–1617), *Liber primus centus in duos distincti choros in quibus vesperae, missa, sacraeque cantiones in nativitate beatae Mariae virginis aliarumque virginum festiuitatibus decantandi continentur* (Venice: Angelo Gardano & Fratres, 1611; F1100). It contains a selection of works for two choirs for Vespers (five psalms and a Magnificat), the *Missa Plaudat nunc organis* with a separate Kyrie, and seven motets for different Marian feasts (*Nativitas tua Dei genitrix, Plaudat nunc organis, Cantantibus organis, Columna es immobilis, Congaudete mecum, Ego autem adiuta* and *Veni sponsa Christi*). According to the chapter minutes, Flacomio sent the books directly to Jaén – "nueue libretes de música que embio a esta Sta yglesia don P^o. flaconio" (nine partbooks of music Pietro Flacomio sent to this Holy church)– and the chapter decided to have them examined by the chapelmaster Juan de Riscos and the organist Francisco Carrillo (AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 20 December 1613; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1:no. 949); months later, the chapter reminded Carrillo that he had to report on the books (AHDJ, Actas capitulares, 24 October 1614; Jiménez Cavallé, *Documentario*, 1:no.

984). The consignment was probably sent from Madrid, where Flacomio worked as chapelmaster for Philip III, and the reference to nine partbooks indicates that the collection was made up of eight vocal parts and one for the organ accompaniment (not cited in the inventory, perhaps because it was in possession of the organist). The circulation of the volume, dedicated to Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas, Duke of Lerma, was fairly wide; it has been documented at Toledo, Sevilla, Plasencia and Valladolid cathedrals, as well as the Lerma Collegiate Church and (probably) at the Madrid court.⁵⁸ The Jaén copy does not survive.

58 Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, *Biografías y documentos sobre música y músicos españoles (Legado Barbieri)*, ed. Emilio Casares (Madrid: Banco Exterior de España, 1986), 1:213; Ruiz Jiménez, *La librería de canto de órgano*, 198; López-Calo, *La música en la catedral de Plasencia*, 39; Aguirre Rincón, "The formation of an exceptional library", 389; and Douglas Kirk, *Churching the Shawms in Renaissance Spain: Lerma, Archivo de San Pedro Ms. Mus. 1* (PhD diss., McGill University, 1993), 1:62.

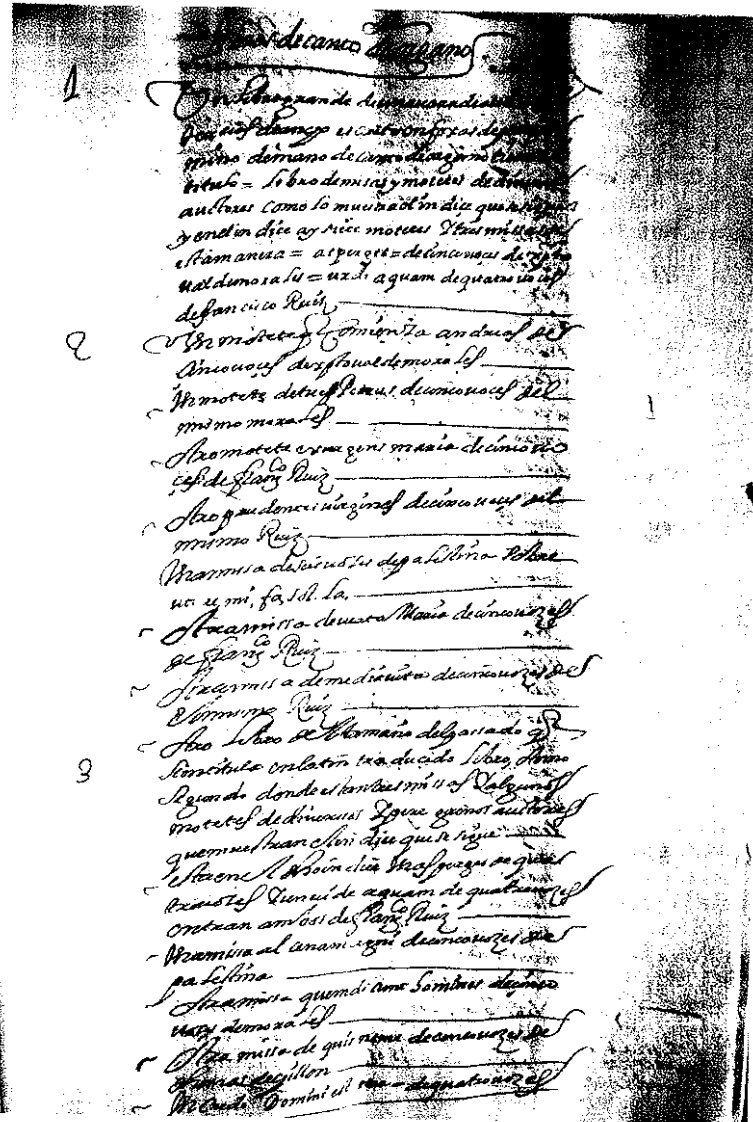


Figure 8.1: First page of the 1657 inventory of Jaén Cathedral. Archivo Histórico Diocesano of Jaén, leg. 452, fol. 253^r, by permission

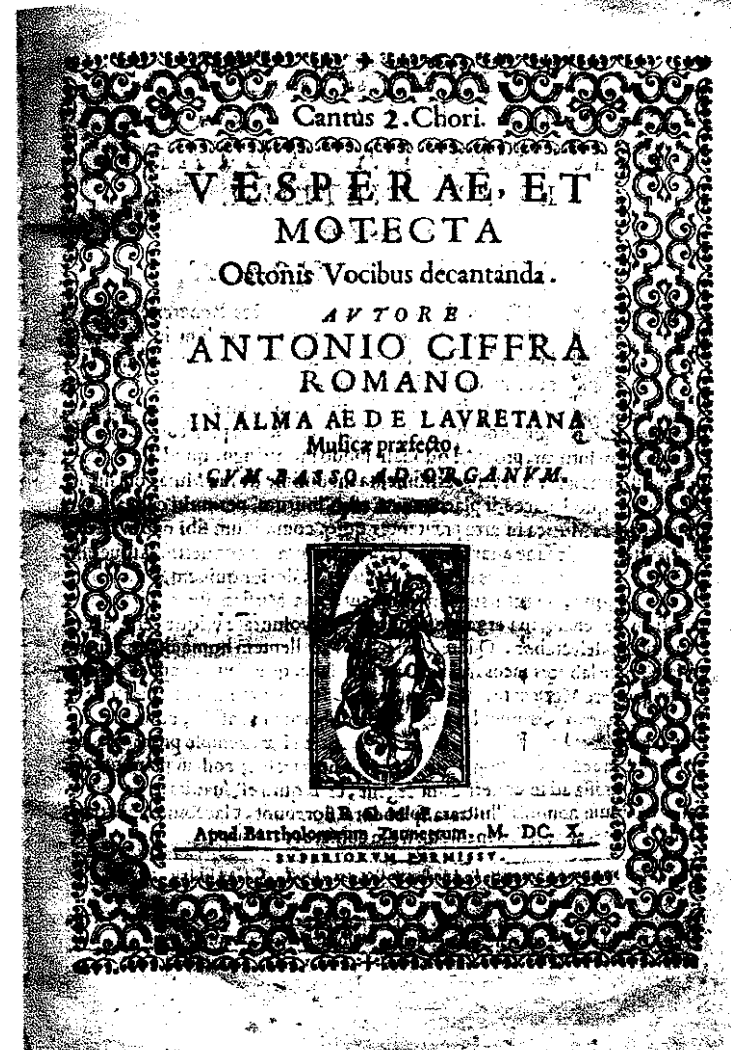


Figure 8.2: Title-page of Antonio Cifra, *Vesperae, et motecta, octonis vocibus decantanda* (Rome: Bartholomaeum Zannetum, 1610). Jaén, Archivo Capitular, 68/4; by permission

TAVOLA delli Motetti à otto de diuersi.

S ub tuum praesidium.	del Palestina.	1
Frates.	del Palestina.	4
Caro mea.	del Palestina.	5
Hic est Panis.	del Palestina.	6
Cantate Domino.	di Gio. Maria Nanini.	7
Domine quis habitabit.	di Gio. Maria Nanini.	8
Sancta & immaculata.	di Gio. Maria Nanini.	9
Venite ad me omnes.	di Felice Anerio.	10
Pastores loquebantur.	di Felice Anerio.	11
Eccc Sacerdos Magnus.	di Francesco Soriano.	12
Gaudeamus.	di Ruggiero Giouannelli.	13
Puer natus est nobis.	di Ruggiero Giouannelli.	14
Angelus ad Pastores.	di Ruggiero Giouannelli.	15
Extentur caeli.	di Archangelo Criuello.	16
Crucifixus.	di Archangelo Criuello.	17
Beatus Laurentius.	di Bernardino Nanini.	18
Domine Dominus noster.	di Bernardino Nanini.	19
Beati omnes.	di Bernardino Nanini.	20
Aurora lucis.	di Gio. Francesco Anerio.	21
Factum est silentium.	di Asprelio Pacelli.	22
Inclina Domine.	di Alessandro Costantini.	23
Dextera tua Domine.	di Alessandro Costantini.	24
Angelus Domini.	di Prospero Santini.	25
Beata Mater.	di Anibal Zódo.	26
Tubilate.	di Luca Marentio.	27
Gloria tibi Trinitas.	di Bartolomeo Roi.	28
Super flumina.	di Gio. Battista Lucatello.	29
Sancti Dei omnes.	di Fabio Costantini.	30
O lumen Ecclesie.	di Fabio Costantini.	31

F I N I S.

Figure 8.3: Index of *Selectae cantiones excellentissimorum auctorum* compiled by Fabio Constantino (Rome: Ex Typographia Bartholomai Zannetti, 1614.) Jaén, Archivio Capitular, 68/4; by permission

Muy Noble Señal

... de un libro de misas, q^e estampe en Roma, el qual ofrecio a v. s. a quien suplico recibiera mi ofrenda con la vuelta q^e la embio, y mande algunas veces se cante en su capilla, por lo con gran favor y mi guarda me es el muy gr^{te} estado de d^e muchos. De Sevilla ultimo de mayo, 1583.

Yo el muy gr^{te} capellan
Francisco Guerrero

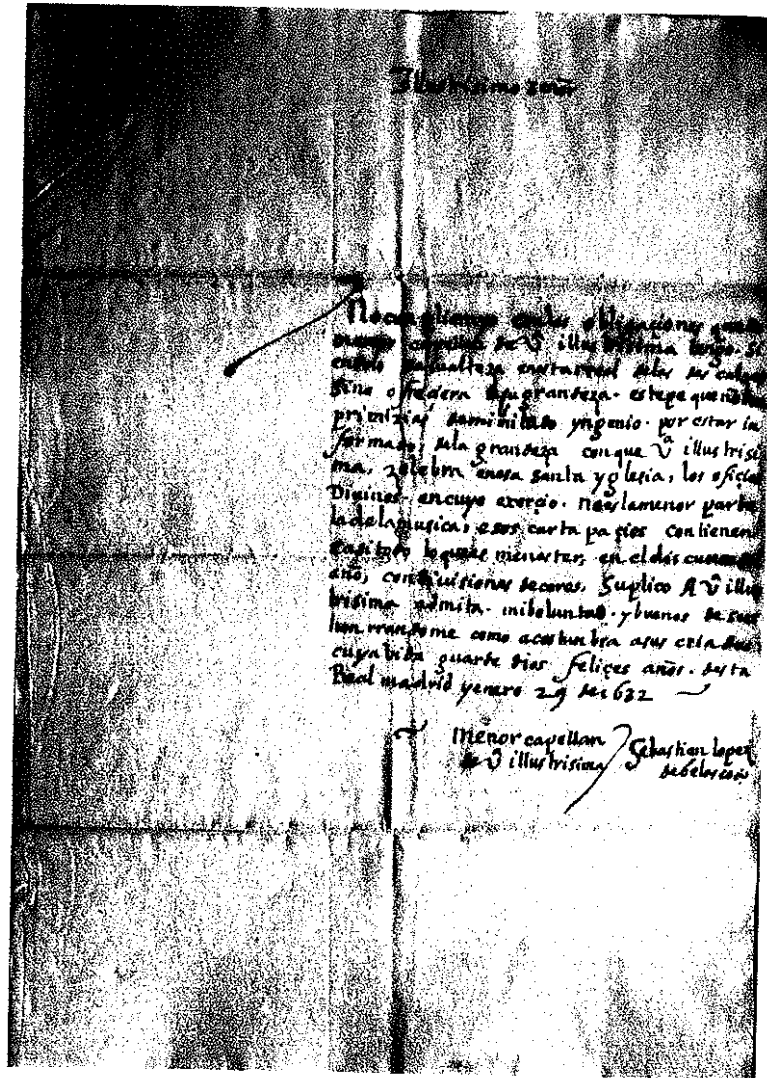
Figure 8.4: Letter by Francisco Guerrero offering a book of Masses. Archivo Histórico Diocesano of Jaén, *Correspondencia*, 1583; by permission

No sabe notado de la ciudad E mi por tanto en gran
 servir a V. S. con música, quando entiendo q' soy
 maestro de capilla y Racionero de la Santa
 Iglesia, por q' abn q' lo soy de la de Sevilla, mi corazón esta
 tan enteru en ella, como quando en mi juventud con
 alegría cantava en este coro, y assi con confianza
 q' seran recibidos alegremente, embio a V. S. cinco libros
 en los q' qual yo E Recopilado de otras impresiones mis
 lo mas afegido y amado, en esta muchas cosas, que
 copiosa mente pueden servir a muchos fechos de la
 con una misa nueva y breve q' dara buen gusto a los
 ocupados oyentes, no fango otra cosa mas con q' se sirve
 a V. S. alguna suplicas Reciba, y mande q' se sirva
 en el coro de Santa Iglesia, en memoria de mi
 buena voluntad. Guarde mio S. a V. S. mi dho
 amor de Sevilla 20. de noviembre 1597
 Fran Guerrero

Figure 8.5: Letter by Francisco Guerrero offering several partbooks with motets. Archivo Histórico Diocesano of Jaén, Correspondencia, 1597; by permission

Aunque yo mucho el deservimiento que ser servido a V. S. a
 mi mal dispuesto, Racionero, me alean para ello, me ha
 vando mi obligación por cuando cobrado un libro de misa
 para servir a V. S. en las Iglesias de España, embio
 tambien por la de Jaen, a quien des de mis primeros años
 Dios le affirm que levan de los frades y
 de feo de ser de como qualquiera ministro q' qualquiera
 curado de V. S. que actualmente la faga, y q' yo
 a V. S. me hagan ind. de Recibir ofelido, es la benigni
 dad, coque su d. haan ind. a las capellanas, que mi vo
 luntad ayudo para que los fechos algunos sean menores.
 y no s. que de los profesores de V. S. con el accento
 de bienes y salud que yo he feo, y la grandia
 desde cabildo nuevo. etc. de Toledo y mayo 1603
 Alonso Lobo

Figure 8.6: Letter by Alonso Lobo offering a book of Masses. Archivo Histórico Diocesano of Jaén, Correspondencia, 1603; by permission



PATRONS AND PATRONAGE

Figure 8.7: Letter by Sebastián López de Velasco offering several partbooks. Archivo Histórico Diocesano of Jaén, *Correspondencia*, 1632; by permission

