The *Libro de la Regla Vieja* of the Cathedral of Seville as a Musicological Source[1]

Juan Ruiz Jiménez

Seville Cathedral's *Libro de la Regla Vieja* has, incomprehensibly, been overlooked by the scholars from various disciplines who have consulted the collections of the Institución Colombina. Although the volume was catalogued as Book 1 of Section 3 (Liturgy) of the Fondo Capitular in the Archivo de la Catedral of Seville (E-SC sección III, 1),[2] the listing itself has been the cause of some confusion. A brief description in the published catalogue's introduction indicates—without further explanation—that copying of the book was begun in 1524, and that it continued to be added to until 1680. Meanwhile, the date given in the main entry, "1424", is a typographical error.[3]

The volume—a mid-sixteenth century revised copy of an older but now lost *regla de coro*, collecting regulations concerning the performance of Mass, Office and other ceremonies in choir throughout the annual cycle—is a key document for the study of the pre-Tridentine music and liturgy of Seville Cathedral, and of all those churches within the territorial limits of its archbishopric: the bishoprics of Málaga and Cádiz in the Iberian Peninsula itself; the see based on the island of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria; and those sees founded in the Americas before 1548. These New World churches were originally suffragans of Seville, and even after they were restructured in the 1540s into the independent archdioceses of Santo Domingo, Méjico, and Lima (to which was later added Santa Fe de Bogotá), they would have continued to follow Sevillian liturgical usage, until, ultimately, they adopted the Tridentine Roman rite.[4] The significance of this *regla de coro* to Seville's pre-Tridentine use prompted me to seek here a deeper understanding of the book, and especially the textual transmission of its contents, confusion over which has led, hitherto, to most of the difficulties and errors concerning its dating.

I will begin with a brief documentary, codicological, and paleographical description of the extant book, and attempt to establish the stages in the chronology of its constituent elements.[5] I believe I can affirm, without margin for error, that this

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[2] The Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla is part of the Institución Colombina; see http://www.institucioncolombina.org.

[3] Pedro Rubio Merino, *Archivo de la Santa Metropolitana y Patriarcal Iglesia Catedral de Sevilla. Inventario general*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Fundación Ramírez Areces, 1987), 24, 117.

[4] Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Organización de la Iglesia en el Reino de Granada y su proyección en Indias*, (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1979), 162–172.

[5] In preparing the first part of this study, of great use to me was Elena Rodríguez Díaz's study, "Un misal hispalense del siglo XV: Estudio codicológico y paleográfico", *Historia, instituciones,*

volume is the same "Libro de la Regla de Coro" documented as having been copied for the cathedral by Luis de Ábrego between 1548 and 1551.[6] Between these two dates, the copyist received at least 24,000 *maravedís* in payment. However, the nature of the book, and the absence of documentation of the *Fábrica* accounts for the year 1550 (during which year he would have copied the greater part of it) together suggest that the total Ábrego received was substantially greater. Finally, in 1551, another scribe of cathedral books, Diego Dorta, and a further person, were charged with valuing Ábrego's "Libro de la Regla de Coro", for which valuation they were paid 272 *maravedís*.[7]

A year after its completion, the volume was included in an inventory of books kept in the choir, compiled before the apostolic notary, Antonio Ramos, on 21 July 1552:

> En la peana del reverendísimo señor arzobispo, a la parte del deán, está un libro que se dice la Regla del Coro, que pasando el calendario comienza: Venerabilis doctrina et vniversalis de hiis que cantatur et fiunt in Ecclesia Ispalensi, el cual es escripto en pergamino con sus tablas cubiertas de cuero blanco y está ligado a la dicha peana con una cadena de hierro.[8]

The book was re-bound in 1560 by Fernando Morales, and again in 1582 by Jerónimo Dorta. It appeared in another inventory of books kept in the interior of the choir and prepared by the notary Alonso García del Corro on 17 May 1591:

> Otro libro mediano de la Regla del Coro, que encomienza *Januarius* y sigue el calendario, escrito en pergamino y encuadernado en tabla y cuero blanco y herraje.[9]

There were other bindings before the current one, with its boards covered in brown leather, and the leaves have been guillotined on probably more than one occasion. The term "mediano" (medium), describing its format, is consistent with the classification generally used in the cathedral, and its current dimensions of 330 mm x 480 mm.[10] The

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documentos, 17 (1990): 195–236; also of use as reference manuals were Elisa Ruiz García's *Manual de codicología* (Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 1988), and María Luisa Agati's *Il libro manoscrito: introduzione alla codicologia* (Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretchneider, 2003).

[6] María del Carmen Álvarez Márquez, without further explanation or foundation, had previously suggested the same: "pudiera ser el libro con el que en la actualidad se inicia la Sección III del Archivo Catedralicio, dedicada a Liturgia"; see her *El mundo del libro en la iglesia catedral de Sevilla en el siglo XVI* (Sevilla: Diputación provincial, 1992), 187.

[7] For documentation of these payments see Álvarez Márquez, *El mundo de libro*, 303, 311–312.

[8] Álvarez Márquez, *El mundo del libro,* 245.

[9] Álvarez Márquez, *El mundo del libro*, 252, 317. In 1582, Jerónimo Dorta was paid 44 ducados (16.500 maravedís) "por el aderezo y encuadernación de dos libros de canto de órgano y de la Regla del Coro"; Archivo de la catedral de Sevilla (A.C.S.), sección IV, libro 81, fol. 221v.

[10] Books with dimensions up to about 400 mm x 600 mm are classified as "mediano", leaving the adjective "grande" for those reaching about 610 mm x 850 mm, such large format books generally being choir books and some books of polyphony. See the inventory of the library of *canto de órgano*

folios measure 285 mm x 420 mm. There is no sign of any original foliation that the book may have had; such numbers could easily have been lost in the trimmings to which the folios have been subjected. Arabic numerals in brown ink, probably dating from the eighteenth century, are found in the upper-right corners of the 23 folios following the calendar.[11] In 2005, the remaining folios were numbered in pencil in the recto upper-right corner by the director of the archive, in response to my concern to facilitate referencing this source. The folios of the initial calendar are numbered with Roman numerals.

Table 1 shows the contents of the manuscript. The calendar was laid out so as to include the computation of movable feasts right through until 1623, but from 1610 onward only the date of the year was written, and the computations left blank. The miscellaneous final section of the manuscript was written mostly in Spanish, a collection mainly of statutes and regulations enacted by archbishops, and the cathedral chapter; these were later annotated with references to the location in the archive of the original source documents, and cross-references to corresponding printed statutes (*Estatutos y Constituciones de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla*), to which I will return.[12]

The volume contains 455 folios, copied in 61 gatherings, most of which are regular quaternions, starting with the hair-side of the parchment on the outside. Table 2 summarizes the structure and content of the sections, and shows that the gatherings are organized according to textual content (Temporale, Hymnal, Sanctorale, etc.). The copyist appears to have been responsible for ruling the outlines; these are regular in all text sections, but change in the quires of the Hymnal to allow for the insertion of staves with music. (See Figures 1 and 2.) The pricked guides are not preserved, having possibly been cut off during trimming. Brown ink was used for the line ruling, and for the double lines of the margins. There are 36 ruled lines per page, the space between them ranging from 8 to 10 mm. Catchwords have been used to order the gatherings; these are regular and are placed horizontally on the lower right side below the horizontal margin lines and to the left of the verticals on the final verso. The catchwords can consist of one or more

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prepared, in 1721, by the organist José Muñoz de Montserrat, in 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: Consejería de Cultura, Junta de Andalucía, 2007), 329–347.

[11] The numbers 22 and 23 were added in a different hand.

[12] Into a blank space on fol. 436v was added (in an already humanist hand) an agreement of 2 July 1564 made under Archbishop Rodrigo Ximénez, concerning the placement of the consecrated host in a monstrance. Similarly, years later, on fol. 437, was entered a description of the earthquake that struck on 9 October 1680, the feast of St Dionisio, as well as of the proceedings of the thanksgiving ceremony carried out on the Octave the feast with a solemn procession and a Mass of the first class (*dignidad*): "en que al alzar se cantó en música: *Misericordias Domini in aeternum cantabimus: quia non sumus consumpti: quia non defecerunt miserationes eius; in ipso enim vivimus, movemur et sumus.*" From another document, we know that the motet referred to here was composed by the *maestro de capilla*, Alonso de Suárez (d. 1696). The motet was performed again on 13 June 1693, following another earthquake the previous Sunday; it was sung during a station at the chapel of the Virgen de la Antigua in the procession *de capas*; see A.C.S., sección IX, leg. 11.342, pieza 6.

syllables, or of an abbreviated syllable, and are generally marked by four small signs. Catchwords are omitted when they are not needed, as for instance between the Sanctorale and the Hymnal, and in the final gatherings that contain independent documents written in Castilian.

The rubrics introducing each feast were written by the same copyist, always in red ink, the same red used for the original marginal annotations.[13] The text copyist was probably also responsible for the flourished initials and paraphs, done in red and blue inks, in an alternating pattern, so that an initial with a blue letter and red flourishes is followed by a red letter with blue flourishes. The archaic style may well have been in emulation of that of the earlier source codex, from which the extant book was copied. The initials and paraphs are fitted and framed into the text, though those at the beginnings of lines often have light flourishes extending into the left margins with varying degrees of elaboration (occasionally the flourishing extends downward if the letter is on the last line). Both the alternation of colours and the diversity of ornamentation indicate a pursuit of variety that avoids repetition. Notable for their larger size (taking up four or five lines, in contrast to the two or three for the rest) and execution, are the puzzle initials reserved for the feasts of Christmas Day, St Stephen (which begins the Sanctorale), and the Virgin Mary, and for the Office of the Dead, and these are also used at the beginning of each of the statutes that form the final section, the initial and marginal decoration of fol. 420 (at the commencement of the regulation concerning the office hours issued by Archbishop Don Juan) being particularly noteworthy.[14] In the Hymnal, as a general rule, initials of hymns whose texts are copied complete are in the style just described, whereas those initials of hymns given as incipits only are *letras quebradas* in black ink (see Figure 2), similar to those found in other books of chant and polyphony in the cathedral.[15] The script used throughout the book, including the Hymnal, is a highly regularised type of Gothic script, the *littera textualis formata*.[16]

Finally, consideration must be given to the several types of corrections made in the book, and which will also be discussed further below in relation to the contents. The corrections vary in type, and time at which they were made. Most appear to me to be in the hand of the original copyist, Luis de Ábrego; and that they were made after the main copying of the folios on which they occur is shown by the erasure of words or passages of the main text, while the corrections themselves are written in a more compact and

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[13] Other marginal notes added later, and possibly at different times, appear in black or brown ink, in the humanist script of the second half of the sixteenth century (for example, fol. 154).

[14] In contrast, the initial for Epiphany (fol. 64v), although of the same type, occupies only three lines.

[15] It is possible to see a variety of examples among the illustrations included in Ruiz Jiménez, *La Librería de Canto de Órgano*, especially 403–413.

[16] I leave to specialists the detailed study of letter forms of this script, as well as the use of abbreviations, ornamental line endings, etc, that might make it possible to establish connections with other volumes produced in the workshops of Seville.

very careful script, or with signs indicating the continuation of the text in an emendation (for example, fol. 131). These alterations were probably made at the direction of the corrector charged with the revision of the final text, and some may represent necessary changes from the original source text that Ábrego worked from. Occasionally, the length of a correction obliged the copyist to extend beyond the margin, enlarging and re-ruling the writing space (fol. 69, 149v), and even to erase and rewrite the majority of the folio (fol. 141). There are erased areas onto which no new text has been copied, and these may also be the result of the directions of the corrector. Other corrections, smaller and more easily carried out, both in the erasures and the recopying, were made later than the original copying, as revisions to the original text (fol. 129, 319). Finally, some other alterations were made in black ink by crossing out words (fol. 11), interventions that must also be later than the date of copying. In the Hymnal, there are also some minor melodic corrections possibly made at the time of copying (fol. 208v, 224).[17]

The state of preservation of the manuscript is generally quite good. Some damp has affected especially the last part of the Hymnal and the beginning of the Sanctorale, causing the ink to run, though without significant impact on the readings of the music and texts. Very little insect damage is apparent.

The book's spine bears the inscription in black ink: *Regla Vieja*. It can be shown that the binding, and therefore this title, date from the eighteenth century, postdating Juan de Loaysa, canon and archivist of the cathedral, who died on 9 May 1709.[18] Loaysa systematically annotated one copy of the printed edition [n.d.] of the *Estatutos y Constituciones de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla*, preserved in the cathedral archives, providing important clues for identifying the manuscript under discussion, and adding weight to the argument that I will advance in the second part of this study.[19] The

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[17] Juan Ruiz Jiménez, "*Infunde amorem cordibus*: An Early 16th-Century Polyphonic Hymn Cycle from Seville", *Early Music*, 33 (2005): 637 (footnotes 59 and 68).

[18] Juan Guillén, *Historia de las Bibliotecas Capitular y Colombina* (Sevilla: Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2006), 245–248.

[19] The edition does not include the date of printing and lacks a colophon. It must be later than 1568, as the engraving on the first page of the Cathedral bell-tower, the Giralda, shown as already transformed by Hernán Ruiz, is crowned by Bartolomé Morel's *giraldillo* which was put in place in August of that year. A handwritten inscription on the cover of one of the exemplars in the cathedral archive, possibly added by the archivist Antonio de Sanmartín y Castillo, says: "impreso en Sevilla año 1601" (A.C.S., sección I, libro 00006). This exemplar includes canon Juan de Loaysa's marginal notes, whose originals are located in another exemplar (A.C.S., sección 1, libro 00007). On fol. 141 of this latter exemplar, Loaysa wrote: "En 8 de junio de 1704, yo D. Juan de Loaysa, canónigo desta Santa Yglesia conferí y enmendé este estatuto de la captura con el estatuto original que está en el libro de los estatutos, en el archivo, que tiene por rótulo Estatutos y Constituciones de la Yglesia de Sevilla, signados, que es donde están los estatutos más corregidos y mejor gramaticados que en los otros libros y según parece por este libro signado se imprimieron estos y en él, desde fol. 64 hasta 69, están a la letra, el estatuto del arzobispo D. Juan y el de don Nuño super captura y la confirmación de Julio 2º." My thanks to the Cathedral Archivist, Isabel González Ferrín, for help in identifying the hands of

Estatutos collects regulations of various types and eras garnered from different cathedral manuscripts, as specified in Loaysa's marginal notes, including *El Libro Blanco*, *La Regla Vieja*, and *La Regla de Coro*. On page 8 of the print, Loaysa's extensive note describes the contents of two volumes, one that he calls the *La Regla Vieja*, the other the *Regla de Coro*. It is clear from Loaysa's description both that the *Regla de Coro* is Ábrego's extant book, under discussion here, and that the main body of its text was copied from the earlier, now lost, *Regla Vieja*.[20]

Three elements of Loaysa's description support these conclusions.[21] First, he signals:

> *La Regla Vieja* es la que está escrita a renglón entero y tiene al principio la relación de la forma en que se celebraba antiguamente la fiesta de la Asumpción de Nuestra Señora 15 de agosto. Después viene el dominical de esta Iglesia, después el Santoral, después los comunes… *La Regla de Coro* está escrita a dos columnas cada plana y tiene el mismo Santoral y Dominical...

As Loaysa indicates, the two books shared the bulk of their textual content. The extant later book has since lost its first two folios, the first of which bore more sumptuous marginal ornamentation than that found in the rest of the volume, as evidenced by the small remnants left. Loaysa does not indicate that the regulations for the feast of the Assumption had been copied from the *Regla Vieja* into the *Regla de Coro*, though this would be consistent with the description of the latter in the inventory of 1552 as beginning: *Venerabilis doctrina et vniversalis de hiis que cantatur et fiunt in Ecclesia Ispalensi*.

Second, Loaysa specifies:

> [Regla Vieja] tiene 43 estatutos o capítulos que hizo y ordenó el señor cardenal D. Pedro González de Mendoza… [Regla de Coro] después… los dichos estatutos del señor cardenal D. Pedro González de Mendoza y el cabildo, los 43 mismos del otro libro y en este se prosiguen hasta 48 que son todos, después… la aprobación del dicho señor y el cabildo de dichos estatutos el año de 1478.

As indicated, the *Regla de Coro* does include the 48 statutes, and the corresponding approval, dated: "martes, veinte y dos días de septiembre año del señor de mil e cuatrocientos y setenta y ocho" (fol. 436). Indeed, the last statute itself directs that it should be copied on parchment, and orders: "se asienten e cosan en los libros que están en el coro de la iglesia de la Regla e Costumbres de la dicha Iglesia por donde se rigen los oficios divinales della" (fol. 436). According to Loaysa's description, the first 43 chapters in the *Regla de Coro* were copied from the older book, the remainder of its contents being additional.

Sanmartín and Loaysa.

[20] Accordingly, I follow Loaysa and use *Regla Vieja* to refer to the earlier lost source book, and *Regla de Coro* to refer to Ábrego's extant book.

[21] A.C.S., sección 1, libro 00007, p.8.

Third, Loaysa indicates other differences between the two books, notably contents that, at the time, were to be found only in one of them (see Table 1). The description of the ceremony of the *obispillo* (the boy bishop), and the account in Latin of the earthquake of 1504, are found only in the *Regla Vieja*. By contrast, Loaysa indicated that the endowment of Queen Isabel in 1477, and the seven statutes of Archbishop Hurtado de Mendoza, both appeared only in the *Regla de Coro*.

Furthermore, a series of handwritten notes, throughout the *Estatutos* print, refer to the precise pages of the *Regla Vieja* or *Regla de Coro* on which particular statutes and regulations are to be found, and these have been useful in confirming some of the details incorporated in Table 1.[22]

Clearly, in Loaysa's time, both books were still extant. Yet, his description of the number of folios and location of some of the constituent elements of the last section of the *Regla de Coro* does not correspond exactly with the current state of the later book. This suggests that *Regla de Coro* received its current rebinding after Loaysa made his annotations in the printed *Estatutos*, by which time, having subsumed the contents of the *Regla Vieja*, the *Regla de Coro* also took its name, as the spine inscription seems to indicate.[23] Because Loaysa's notes only refer to those parts of the two manuscripts relevant to the contents of the printed *Estatutos*, he does not mention the initial calendar of either books, or the hymnal, also probably found in both volumes.

If we credit as reliable the account of Diego Alejandro Gálvez, *bibliotecario mayor* and prebendary of the cathedral, the *Regla de Coro* then went missing for some years.[24]

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[22] For example, on fol. 35 of the print, there is a marginal note: "Regla vieja. Cap. 44", which Loaysa annotates: "fol. 177". Thus this chapter was part of a group of seventeen, not included in the *Regla de Coro* but found in the *Regla Vieja*, that pertained to the regulation concerning the Cathedral singers known as the *veinteneros*. On fol. 106v of the print is a marginal note, "Regla vieja, cap. 43. En esta regla vieja está este cap. y no está acabado, y está en la regla del choro en el cap. 43. en la manera que se sigue". Loaysa's annotations indicate that this will be found on fol. 176 of the *Regla Vieja*, and on fol. 131 of the *Regla de Coro*. In the extant volume, Chapter 43 is written in full at fol. 435. In the print, fol. 168v, there is a reference to an entry collected from the *Regla Vieja*, written in Castilian, on the Reception of the Bishop, which Loaysa notes was to be found on fol. 160. This particular entry is not included in the *Regla de Coro*; A.C.S., sección I, libro 00007.

[23] In the margin of folio 10 of the printed statutes, Loaysa wrote: "Nota. Cuando se citan en este libro Regla del Coro y Regla Vieja son los dos libros que están". A.C.S., sección I, libro 00007. Loaysa gave precise indications of pagination both for the *Regla Vieja* and the *Regla de Coro*, referring to the location of particular sections in both manuscripts. Because the original pagination of the *Regla de Coro* is lost and because of its various rebindings, it is difficult to know if the discrepancies now observable result from the system of pagination used or from re-arrangement of the gatherings relating to the various statutes.

[24] He was the restorer and renovator of the Bibliotecas Capitular y Colombina. His tenure lasted from 1759 to 1790, culminating in the production of a three-volume catalogue of the cathedral's library collections. He died in 1803, only months after his retirement, having worked in the library until his death. Gálvez's indispensible work as head of the library can be followed in Guillén, *Historia*, 297–

In a lecture to the Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Sevilla on 21 May 1771, Gálvez cited verbatim two letters he had written to the Conde de Mejorada, on 11 April and 25 October 1765.[25] In the first of these letters, he alluded to a reference he found in the manuscript of the *Historia de Sevilla*, written by Luis de Peraza in about 1535. Peraza wrote of the earthquake of 1504: "cuyo suceso mandó escribir Don Pedro de Mendoza, chantre y canónigo de esta Santa Iglesia, al principio o cabo de la Regla Vieja del coro". Also in the first letter, Gálvez reminded the count of the book, "que sabe V.S. no existe, y las diligencias que se han practicado para encontrarla". However, in the period of six months between the first and second letters, Gálvez found the *Regla de Coro*. In his second letter to the count, he writes:

> La casualidad me deparó en el archivo de nuestra Santa Iglesia la expresada Regla Vieja, no el original, sino una copia bien antigua de quanto comprehende en los 187 folios de que consta, al fin de la qual está la elegante relación latina de quanto sucedió en el expresado terremoto de 5 de abril de 1504.[26]

As was the case with Loaysa's description (Table 1), Gálvez's mention of a book of 187 folios is a puzzle, given that he also describes the book in a footnote as "gruesísimo" (very thick), which would seem to be more in line with the 455 folios (plus the 8 of the Calendar) that currently constitute the *Regla de Coro*. On the one hand, the name he gives, the 187 pages, and the presence of the description of the earthquake, are closer to the Loaysa's *Regla Vieja*, differing only in the position of the document at the end, which coincides with the current state of the *Regla de Coro*. But on the other hand, Gálvez tells us that the book in question is not the original, but an old copy of it ("no el original, sino una copia bien antigua"), which would point to the *Regla de Coro*, which also seems more plausible given the date.

The cathedral archive also preserves two incomplete manuscript copies, one of which is entitled "Regla Vieja del Coro", and the other "Regla de 1552", both of whose texts follow that of the *Regla de Coro*. The first copy has an initial annotation by Antonio de Sanmartín y Castillo: "Regla Vieja. El canónigo D. Juan de Loaysa en nota puesta a un exemplar de los Estatutos que en este año de 1812 posee el señor D. Miguel Espinosa, prebendado, hace descripción de ella en esta forma: La regla vieja es la escrita . . ." The copy incorporates Loaysa's notes from the printed *Estatutos*, mentioned above. The second copy, made by Sanmartin himself, simply bears the epigraph "Regla

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[25] All of this is mentioned in an addition to the notes in the edition of Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga's *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la ciudad de Sevilla* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1796) (Edición facímile, Sevilla: Guadalquivir, S.L, 1998), vol. 1, 420–434.

[26] In a footnote to the text, he added: "Túvose por perdido el autógrapho de la Regla Vieja, sin embargo de ser un códice gruesísimo, pero en el reconocimiento del archivo se halló íntegro."

de 1552".[27] Both are clearly copies of the *Regla de Coro*, as they include even the cruder corrections postdating Ábrego's, which would not have been in the original *Regla Vieja*, that book anyway having already disappeared by the early nineteenth century.[28]

For the moment, I am unable to propose a solution to these anomalies regarding the number of pages in both manuscripts, and the disposition of their later elements. With only one of the manuscripts extant, and trimming having eliminated all traces of its possible original numbering and with it evidence of any later reorganization of its original contents, it is impossible to go beyond hypotheses. But in any case, all indications are that the extant book is that which Luis de Ábrego copied, in two columns, between 1548 and 1551, using the *Regla Vieja* as his source text.

The following preliminary study of the actual text of Ábrego's book allows us to approach the liturgy and ritual practices of Seville in the period ca. 1350–1570, during which there were major changes in musical forces and practices in Seville Cathedral, due both to the proliferation of votive endowments, and to the transformation of the architectural space of the old mosque into the new Gothic church.[29] As I have noted in other studies, while the liturgical texts themselves tend to be fairly stable, ceremonial and ritual in any institution are constantly evolving, so one must be cautious in constructing a firm chronology from such regulations.

As shown above, the source text used for the *Regla de Coro* was that of the Cathedral's even more ancient *Regla Vieja*, which, like other documents preserved there (*El Libro Blanco, El Curso de los aniversarios y memorias de la catedral de Sevilla, Los Libros Colorados*, etc.), was itself the result of partial copying of even older documents, and to which was added new headings and marginal notes that updated, supplemented, and facilitated quick reference of particular items of content.[30] I will now consider some of the clues this interesting document provides us, both toward the dating of some of its

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[27] A.C.S., sección IX, leg. 11.342, pieza 7. Antonio de Sanmartín y Castillo, priest, archivist of the Cathedral of Seville from the last quarter of the eighteenth century until well into the nineteenth century, was an erudite palaeographer well acquainted with the cathedral's collections, the restoration of which he had taken charge. Guillén, *Historia*, 307, 327.

[28] Both these manuscripts commence with copies of the current folio 1 (according to the eighteenth-century numbering) of the *Regla de Coro*, indicating that the two previous folios of the original had already been removed.

[29] The analysis of these major changes can be followed in Juan Ruiz Jiménez, "'The sounds of the hollow mountain': Musical Tradition and Innovation in Seville Cathedral in the Early Renaissance", *Early Music History*, 29 (2010): 189–240.

[30] The above quote, which ordered additions to the statutes of archbishop Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, copied on parchment, are proof of this assertion. The first reference that I believe alludes to the *Regla Vieja* dates from 9 January 1467; on that day, payment of 80 *maravedís* was made to one Gómez for rebinding of the "Libro de las Costumbres de la Iglesia" which was in the choir; María del Carmen Álvarez Márquez, "Los artesanos del libro en la catedral hispalense durante el siglo XV", *Archivo hispalense* 70 (1987): 25.

textual elements, and toward understanding more fully the pre-Tridentine musical practices they address.

The description of the procession made on the day of All Souls, an observance of the second class at Seville Cathedral, following the *misa de tercia* (fol. 362v–363), allows us to approach a dating for the original Dominical and Sanctoral layers included in the *Regla Vieja*, and accordingly also in the *Regla de Coro*. In particular, the responsories set to commemorate the various archbishops buried in the cathedral, and the names of the locations in which they are to be sung, assist in this dating (see Table 3). In the second half of the fourteenth century, two archbishops by the name of Pedro governed the see of Seville. It seems clear that the text refers to the second of them, Pedro Gómez Barroso, who died in 1390, since the first died in Avignon on 16 July 1374, and there is no evidence that his remains were transferred to Seville. In the procession, responsories are ordered only for the souls of those archbishops actually buried in the cathedral, or members of the royal dynasty; this also explains why another archbishop, Fernando Álvarez de Albornoz, who died in 1377 and who was not buried in the building, was not included. Further reinforcing the hypothesis that the text is referring to Pedro Gómez Barroso is the fact that he was entombed in the choir "cerca del arzobispo don Remondo" (Raimundo Loasaña, d. 1286), as is consistent with the first of the responsories being sung there for both archbishops, just before the start of the procession.[31] The absence of any observance in memory of archbishop Gonzalo de Mena, who died in 1401, and was buried in the Capilla de Santiago, leads me to propose that the date of drafting of the source text was between the deaths of Pedro Gómez Barroso in 1390 and Gonzalo de Mena in 1401.[32]

The regulations for the All Souls procession just discussed appears in the *Regla de Coro* without any further corrections or additions, and presumably keeps to the original source text. Similar evidence of direct copying occurs throughout the extant book, which notably continues to mention several locations in the old Mudéjar cathedral which had disappeared during the transformation of the area of the Almohad mosque into the new Gothic sanctuary, and in the process of construction of some of the major Renaissance additions at the time the *Regla de Coro* was copied (1548–51).[33] Table 4 presents a selection of processions that are referred to in the text, made to each chapel at Vespers

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[31] Libro de las Constituciones, ordenaciones y estatutos de la Iglesia, fol. 145v (A.C.S., sección I, libro 372).

[32] Gonzalo de Mena was buried in the chapel of Santiago until 1594, when his remains were moved to the monastery of the Cartuja; they were returned to the former site in 1837, when the monastery was secularised.

[33] Only conserved were some Mudéjar chapels located in the cloister, which itself had also undergone some changes to accommodate the Capilla Real and the Sagrario during the building of the Gothic church.

on the feast of its principal avocation, but which, due to rebuilding and modification, had to be rerouted to new destinations with altars of corresponding dedications.[34] All this strengthens the case for dating of the oldest original wording of the source text to prior to commencement of construction of the Gothic cathedral in the early 1430s.[35] Pointing toward the same conclusion are corrections made by the scribe, Ábrego, to the names of some of the chapels at which stations were made during the Christmas Day procession: Santa Maria de la Antigua, Santa Ana, and the Capilla de los Santos Apóstoles. These replaced locations given in the *Regla Vieja* for stations formerly made in the old Mudéjar cathedral, and which the scribe of the *Regla de Coro* duly had to rectify (fol. 59).

Names of other chapels are entered only at the margins mainly as a result of two causes: either the chapel did not exist at the time of writing the source text, or the feast was only provided with a procession after that time. These also assist in the dating of the primitive source text. Such marginal annotations, copied from the original of the *Regla Vieja*, must have been added to it progressively, as they reflect changes in the ritual resulting from the addition of new feasts to the Seville calendar, and from changes in the degree of solemnity of other celebrations already instituted, derived mainly from newly established votive endowments. In the *Regla de Coro*, such older marginal notes were taken over into the copy in red ink, although there are other marginal notes in black ink, some of which are further corrections made for similar reasons. Some examples are collected in Table 5.

The *Regla de Coro* supplies other more or less precisely dateable elements in the source text or in early corrections to it. For example, the text specifies that the feast of the "Visitación de la Virgen a Santa Isabel en la montaña" was "constituta a d(omi)no papa sixto iiii" (1471–1484).[36] This, however, does not seem to tally with the endowment "de la procesión de la Visitación de Nuestra Señora a Santa Helisabeth", mandated on 30 June 1460, for the prebendary, Diego Sánchez del Corral, which was to be observed: "solepnemente con capas blancas e con cantores e con órganos en el altar mayor, e a la misa sermón, e cada año en el tercero día del octavario de Sant Pedro e Sant Pablo que es segundo día de Julio."[37]

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[34] To determine the existence of altars and chapels that retained their assignments in the Gothic cathedral, I consulted two inventories, made in 1511–12 and 1530, listing both altars and chapels, as well as chaplaincies and chaplains attached to each altar; A.C.S., sección IX, leg. 113, pieza 15 (41).

[35] For a chronology of the chapels in the Mudéjar cathedral, and the process of construction of the Gothic church, see Alfonso Jiménez Martín y Francisco Pinto Puerto, "La Construcción de la catedral de Sevilla", en *La Piedra Postrera. Ponencias de Simposium Internacional sobre la catedral de Sevilla en el Contexto del Gótico Final* (Sevilla: Turris Fortissima, 2007), 83–113.

[36] This feast had been extended to the universal church by a decree of pope Urban VI in 1389. It was not accepted by supporters of the Avignon pope, including the diocese of Seville, until it was confirmed by the Council of Basel in 1441; *Enciclopedia de la Religión Católica*, vol. VII, (Barcelona: Dalmau y Jover, 1956), 698.

[37] A.C.S., sección II, libro 1477, fol. 29 (dotación nº 182).

The feast does not appear in Seville calendars dating from the first half of the fifteenth century, and its Office and Mass were incorporated into the Seville diocese only after 1441. In the third volume of a Seville Missal copied between 1428 and 1433, this feast was introduced, as a revision to gathering 20, on an inserted bifolio sheet.[38] Another feast added to the *Regla Vieja* was that of the Holy Name of Jesus (Dulce Nombre de Jesús). First mention of this devotion at Seville Cathedral dates back to an endowment, by the prebendary Francisco Fernández in 1475, of an altar of the Name of Jesus: "donde está puesto un retablo que dicen del Jesu".[39] Pedro Díaz de Toledo, who had been *deán* of Seville Cathedral, and bishop of Málaga, stipulated in his will in 1499:

> la fiesta del Nombre de Jesús, con su procesión de capas de seda y sermón y que después de vísperas y misa digan un responso cantado con un doble de las campanas solemne. Esta fiesta mandaron los dichos señores poner a XV días del mes de enero, día de Santo Mauro y que se celebre de primera dignidad por ser una de las fiestas de Nuestro Señor, las cuales esta Santa Iglesia celebra de primera dignidad.[40]

This feast, along with that of the Presentation of the Virgin on 21 November (for which I have not be able to locate a possible endowment), were probably the last added to the *Regla Vieja*, and duly copied from there into the *Regla de Coro*.[41]

I note one final correction made to the text, probably by its original copyist (fol. 69), in relation to transferring the celebration of the octave of the Epiphany, which suggests that it fell on a Sunday in 1544. This is possibly one of the earliest corrections made after the original copying of the *Regla de Coro*.

The calendar of the *Regla de Coro*, and the categorization of feasts included in it were fully in place at the time of the book's creation. It essentially repeats, with few variations, the provisions of the calendars of the *Misal hispalense* (1520) and the *Breviario hispalense* (1521). It is quite likely that any necessary corrections, given their importance, would have been introduced into the *Regla Vieja* as the successive changes were adopted. However, it seems that the *Regla Vieja* had no calendar until one was added in 1534, and this was probably copied directly into the *Regla de Coro*, since any changes that might have occurred in the interim would have been minimal.[42] Thereafter, later corrections to the copied text were necessary to respond to changes in the

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[38] Rodríguez Díaz, "Un misal hispalense del siglo XV", 206.

[39] A.C.S. sección IX, leg. 58, pieza 14.

[40] A.C.S., sección II, libro 1477, fol. 111v (dotación nº 349).

[41] The feast of the Presentation of the Virgin does not appear in either the calendar or the body of the text of the *Missale hispalensis* (Sevilla: Jacobo Cromberger, 1520) or the *Breviarium hispalensis* (Sevilla: Jacobo Cromberger, 1521).

[42] [marginal note: "un calendario"] "Item pagó el dicho señor canónigo ochocientos maravedís a Bernaldo Suárez, clérigo, que los hovo de haber por un calendario que escribió de letra de obra para poner en la Regla [Vieja], que no lo tenía, por libramiento fecho a diez e seis días de junio". A.C.S., sección IV, libro 58, fol. 12v.

categorisation of certain feasts, such as that for St Michael, which must have occurred between the main copying and 1563 by which time changes classification were recorded in the *Breviarium hispalense* (Salamanca: Andrea de Portonariis, 1563).

Musical implications of the text

In the last part of this article, I turn to the purely musical implications of the text, relating both to item-specific requirements, and to indications of the manner of performance. As we shall see these respond in the main to the original *Regla Vieja* and permit us to approach with caution musical practices in force at the Cathedral of Seville at least from the second half of the fourteenth century. This is generally unknown territory for the dioceses of the crown of Castilla and will show that these were perfectly attuned to the musical practices over the Alps, as I have already demonstrated in previous studies.

On a first approximation, two recurring elements in the annual liturgical cycle testify that the extant text was not modified after the adoption of the Tridentine Roman rite, and that it accordingly transmits practices characteristic of pre-Tridentine Seville liturgy and ceremonial. The first is the mention of tropes for the Ordinary of the Mass and the Office that, along with prosas, remain integrated in the body of the text without change.[43] Second, are hymns of the Sevillian liturgy specified for particular Office hours which, likewise, remain in the text unchanged, despite alterations to the specified hymns required by the adoption of the Roman Breviary in the diocese in 1575.[44] There are however adjustments that affect some texts of responses, antiphons, and other chants, which may have responded to corrections, alterations or substitutions–that still need to be studied–and that would have been connected with the updating of the contents of liturgical books being copied or, later, printed.[45]

The text of the *Regla de Coro* is quite explicit in directing antiphonal or responsorial performance of numerous chants both for the Office and Mass, and the number of soloist *cantores* or *mozos de coro* involved. The document accurately reflects the different ceremonial roles of the individual members of the religious community who used it; in addition to the archbishop and the various dignitaries of the cathedral, it

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[43] Various Sevillian missals, manuscripts and prints, including that of 1520 already cited, transmit the texts of an important number of unique sequences from the diocesis, coinciding with those gathered by the *Regla de Coro*. E. Misset and W. H. I. James, *Analecta liturgica. Pars II. Thesaurus hymnologicus. II. Prosae* (Insulis et Brugis: Typis Societatis S. Augustini, 1892), 426–447.

[44] Ruiz Jiménez, "*Infunde amorem cordibus*", 622–623.

[45] Related to this assertion is a chapter record of 7 January 1517: [margin: "Que se informe el sochantre"] "En este día mandaron sus merçedes al sochantre Antón García que se informe de los señores arcedianos de Sevilla e de Reyna quiénes son los clérigos que tienen cargo de apuntar las dudas de todo el breviario sevillano e festividades del año desta diócesis e los faga llamar para un çierto día e lugar e que allí traigan ante los dichos señores arcedianos las dichas dubdas e apuntamientos que cada uno de los dichos clérigos sobre lo susodicho tienen para que se vea lo que çerca dello se debe emendar." A.C.S., sección I, libro 10, fol. 1v.

specifically mentions: *cantores, choro, beneficiatus, presbiter, pueris, clericus uicenarius* (that is, *veinteneros* or clerks of the *veintena*), *canonicus, portionarios, sacerdote,* and *succentor*. Similarly, it specifies places and ritual elements located throughout the cathedral.

Of particular interest are the descriptions of traditional ceremonies held at Seville Cathedral on certain feasts, copied into the *Regla de Coro* without any apparent further correction. Serving to illustrate clearly the antiquity of the original wording of the source text for some of the practices carried over into the *Regla de Coro* are the descriptions of the ceremonies of Pentecost, the Seña, the Song of the Sibyl, and the Obispillo. In particular, the ceremonies of Pentecost developed and became more complex during the fifteenth century, incorporating various added audio, visual, and ephemeral architectural elements, as was also the case in other Peninsular ecclesiastical institutions:[46]

> [fol. 144] In die S(an)cto Pentecostes... ad missa(m)... dicatu(r) Kyrii de conditor in organis... all(elui)a. Emitte spiritum tuu(m). all(elui)a. Veni sancte spiritus. prosa S(an)cti Sp(iritu)s et iste prim(us) versus d(icitu)r a presbitero q(u)e celebrat uersa facie ad ch(o)rum et proiiciat de manib(us) suis col(u)mba(e) albam et post istimet v(er)sus pulsatur i(n) orga(n)is iste prim(us) v(er)s(us) repetat(u)r in choro et post in organis et post modu(m) dicatur tota prosa in organis alternatim. Interim aute(m) dum ca(n)tatur poiinciantur turtures et ignis et aqua et oblee... ad vesp(er)os [segundas]... all(elui)a. Veni s(an)cti spiritus et d(icitu)r tota in oraganis [sic]. et in choro. Et prim(us) v(er)sus d(icitu)r in organis et ide(m) v(er)sus repetatur in choro et interi proiiciantur turtures et alia ut in missa... d(icitu)r Benedicam(us) d(omi)no cum dupplici all(elui)a in organis.[47]

Similarly, the Passiontide ceremony of "la seña" (the sign [of the cross]) is described in detail:

> [fol. 104]. Dominica i(n) Passione. Sabbato ad vesp(er)os ane et psalmi ut continetur in psalterio... Hy(mnu)s Vexilla regis dicatur ante altare cu(m) vexillo q(ue) debet tenere cantor ecclesie et decanus uel prior in absenti in dicti deca(nus). Mittat duodecim uel plures beneficiatos qui cante(n)t prefactu(m) hym(num) cu(m) cantore. et ipsi cante(n)t vnu(m) v(er)sum. et chorus aliu(m) versu(m) e sic alternati(m) donec di [fol. 104v]ctus hy(mnu)s finiatur. Et iste hy(mnu)s solle(m)pniter debet cantari et descantari.

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[46] Francesc Massip i Bonet, "Cerimònia litúrgica i artifici teatral en el jorn de Pentecosta (segles XIII–XVI)", en *Actes del Congrés de la Seu Vella de Lleida* (Lleida: La Paeria-Estudi General, 1991), 257–263.

[47] Part of this text is also found in the previously mentioned volume of the *Misal hispalense* copied between 1428 and 1433, confirming the antiquity of a ceremony already well established: "Prosa: Sancte spiritus. Et iste primus uersus dicitur a presbitero qui celebrat uersa facie ad chorum et proicit de manibus suis columbam albam et post istemet uersus pulsatur in organis". Biblioteca Capitular de la catedral de Sevilla, sig. 60-2-17 (no folio numbering).

This ceremony, also known as "ostensión de la bandera", was held five times a year: on Passion Saturday and Sunday, Palm Saturday and Sunday, and Wednesday of Holy Week. The number five may be related to the five wounds of Christ. At the ceremony, as mentioned above, the cantor at the altar waved a black banner with the sign of the cross in red, facing the congregation, by way of interpreting the opening couplet of the Passiontide hymn, *Vexilla regis prodeunt/fulget crucis mysterium*.[48]

As at other Castillian cathedrals, such as Toledo, Burgos, and León, the Song of the Sibyl is part of the *Sermo de symbolo* that constitutes the sixth lesson at Matins on Christmas Day.[49] The verses of the Sibyl were sung by two soloists, the choir responding with the chorus *Iudicii signum tellus*. Once these verses had been sung, the sixth lesson continued from *Hec de Christi nati natiuitate* to the end (fol. 56v). Both verses and chorus were originally chanted in Latin, and not until the fifteenth century is there strong testimony to the polyphonic performance of the chorus in Castilian, with the appearance of the setting *Juicio fuerte sea dado*, by Juan de Triana, a singer and prebendary of Seville Cathedral, preserved in the *Cancionero de la Colombina*.[50]

The fourth ceremony is that of the obispillo, or boy bishop,[51] traditionally celebrated on the feast of the Holy Innocents. The *Regla de Coro* also includes the regulations given by archbishop Diego de Deza, in 1512 (fol. 453).

[fol. 275] Et sic, finitis uesperis [second, feast of St John Apostle & Evangelist], quattuor pueri in ducti capis et cu(m) sceptris incipia(n)t sole(m)nitate sanctoru(m) innocentu(m) et o(mn)es pueri sedea(n)t in sedibus et beneficiati uero descendant ad atrilia et faciant ibi officium sicut clerici uicenarii et pueri sollent facere archiepiscopelus sedeat in sed (fol. 275v) archiep(iscop)i cu(m) suo decano e archidiachono et incipiant v(ispera)s isto modo. Archiepiscopelus dicat Deus in adiutoriu(m) quo finito dicti iiiior pueri incipia(n)t R. Laueru(n)t et o(mn)ia cerimonia fiant per pueros sicut in festo Sancti Stephani. Hy(mu)s.

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[48] Of unknown origin, this ancient ceremony spread from Seville itself to its suffragan dioceses in both Spain and the New World. At Seville Cathedral, it attracted large numbers of adherents, and led to the composition of polyphonic verses for the hymn especially for use in the observances; see Ruiz Jiménez, *La Librería de Canto de Órgano*, 246–247.

[49] On this ceremony, see Maricarmen Gómez Muntané, "El canto de la Sibila: orígenes y fuentes", in *Fuentes musicales en la Península Ibérica (ca. 1250–ca. 1550)*, eds. Maricarmen Gómez Muntané and Màrius Bernadó i Tarragona (Lleida: University, 2002), 35–70.

[50] The *Cancionero musical de la Colombina* [E-Sc 7-1-28] preserves two four-voice settings of the refrain, one anonymous (fol. 88), the other attributed to Juan de Triana (fol. 104v–105); see *Cancionero musical de La Colombina* (facsimile edition) (Madrid: AEDOM, Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2006), 179, 210–211.

[51] Though the origins of this ceremony at Seville Cathedral are unknown, it is documented as an already established observance in the oldest account book belonging to the institution, dating from 1414; see Juan Ruiz Jiménez, "From *mozos de coro* towards *seises*: Boys in the Musical Life of Seville Cathedral in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", in *Young Choristers, 650–1700*, eds. Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), 100–101.

Sanctorum meritis ... (fol. 276) et pueri uadant in capite processionis et beneficiati uadant in principi ordine terrogada. Ad missant officient iiiior cantores de dictis pueris.

These descriptions allow us to get closer to some of the more frequently described musical practices, though the terminology used is not always entirely clear. Directions for performance of monody and polyphony in *alternatim*, either vocal or instrumental, are usually most explicitly presented. The expression "in organis" appears to refer systematically to the instrument, though in other instances it is indicated more precisely by the expression: "pulsentur in organis" and occasionally even "in organis maioribus".[52] There is evidence of the established presence of the organ in Seville Cathedral since the mid-1360s, with a specific reference in 1366 to the "nao de los órganos", suggesting an instrument of considerable dimensions. As a general rule, at the *misa de tercia*, or principal Mass, on feasts of the first class, the Kyries were to be performed "in organis": on the day of the feast, the Kyrie *de conditor*; on the following day, the Kyrie *fons bonitatis*; and on the third day, the Kyrie *de rector cosmi*. Exceptions to this were the feasts of the Assumption and Christmas, when the Kyries sung were as follows: *Rex virginum*, on the first day; *Conditor* on the second; and *fons bonitatis* on the third.[53] The verbs "dicantur", "cantetur" or "pulsentur" seem to be used with the same (but imprecise meaning) in those cases where the Kyries are performed on the organ, and there is no indication of *alternatim*.[54] On feasts of the second class, only the day of the feast itself is invested with special solemnity (fol. 6v).[55] By contrast with the expressions already discussed, there is no doubt what is being ordered for Feria IV of Easter week, when it is clearly indicated: "d(icatu)r kyrie de tono officii sed non in organis q(u)e ista die non pulsa(n)tur organa." (fol. 127).

The precise manner of *alternatim* performance, including repetition of the first verse, as described for the sequence on the feast of Pentecost, was also mandated for the feasts of Christmas Day, Easter, Ascension, and the Assumption of the Virgin; the general rules for feasts of the first class prescribed: "Prosa… canta(n)tur in organis et

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[52] For example, the hymns *Beata nobis gaudia* and *Pange lingua*, for Vespers of the feasts of Pentecost (fol. 143) and Corpus Christi (fol. 152v) respectively, or the Kyrie *de conditor* at the Mass of Easter Day (fol. 124v).

[53] They appear in this order in the opening of the *Códice de las Huelgas* [E-BUlh] (fols. 1–3v).

[54] Settings of such Kyrie verses can be found in the oldest surviving sources of organ music. These include settings of the Kyrie *orbis factor* and the Kyrie *cunctipotens genitor deus*; see Pedro Memelsdorff, "New Music in the Codex Faenza 117", *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 13 (2004): 147–154.

[55] The Common of the Saints prescribes the Kyrie *de cuncti potens* [*genitor deus*] for feasts of the second class "In natali vnius virginis", "In natali plurimorum virginis", and "In natali continentium" (fol. 394v, ff).

respondetur per choru(s)" (fol. 5v).[56] At second vespers of these four festivals, the Hymn was replaced with a *prosa*, sung in alternation as also indicated for Mass (fols. 60, 125, 141, 144).[57] The other Mass item directed to be performed "in organis" is the *Benedicamus*, the concluding versicle (in place of the *Ite misa est*) at Masses in which there is no Gloria.

Other references to the participation of the organ in the liturgy centre on the Office hours. At Vespers, the instrument was used in the Hymn and *Benedicamus domino* which, depending on the occasion, derived its melody from the Kyrie of the Mass, as similarly did that of the *Ite missa est*.[58] As a general rule, for First and Second Vespers of feasts of the first and second class, it is ordered: "d(icatu)r benedicamus in organis" (fol. 3).[59] Similarly, this indication is repeated for Matins of first-class feasts, where *Benedicamus* is the dismissal formula, but with a choice of performance by the organ, or sung by the four cantor soloists appointed for the office: "dicatur benedicamus in orga(n)is uel a dictis cantoribus" (fol. 4).[60] More occasionally, *Benedicamus* tropes are prescribed "in organis", notably the *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* at First Vespers of the Marian feasts of the Purification (fol. 284v) and Conception (fol. 377); the

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[56] The wording of the text for Ascension is a correction which must have been introduced by the same copyist when revising his work, as it is not found in the original. The feast of the Assumption is not mentioned in the general regulations, possibly because it was observed differently.

[57] For the feast of the Assumption, kept with great solemnity at Seville Cathedral, the *Regla de Coro* indicates that the sequence was to be performed in the same manner at both Mass and Second Vespers: "prosa. Eya mater fidelium et primus versus cantetur a duobus pueris et alii autem versus ca(n)tetur per beneficiatos ut mors est a post quemlibet versu(m) dicti pueri repetant Eya mater et post ultim(um) versum totus chor(us) repetan versum Eva mater cantando et descanta(n)do" (fol. 338v).

[58] For example, at Second Vespers of the feast of the Trinity: "d(icitu)r Benedicam(us) d(omi)no del kyrie in organis" (fol. 149). For this feast, one could choose between the Kyries *de conditor* or *fons bonitatis* at Mass, whose Christe also provided the melodic model for the *Ite missa est*. This practice of melodic borrowing from the Mass Kyries was quite common in the case of both the *Benedicamus* and the *Ite missa est*. See Anne Walters Robertson, "Benedicamus Domino: The Unwritten Tradition", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988): 11–14.

[59] The difference being that on second-class feasts the number of cantors was four rather than six (fol. 6v).

[60] From the second quarter of the fifteenth century, these practices can be documented from other sources. In 1434, the chapter paid Diego Fernández y Alonso Sánchez for playing the organs at Matins on the eve (Wednesday) and day (Thursday) of Corpus Christi; A.C.S., sección IV 2B, fol. 6v. In 1455, an extraordinary payment was made to the organist for assisting at Matins on twelve feasts throughout the cathedral calendar: "Al dicho Alfonso Martínez, organista, e al que entonó, por tañer los órganos a los Maytines de doce fiestas deste año: a la Epiphanía, Santa María Candelaria, Santa María de la Encarnación, Pascua de Resurrección, La Ascensión, Pascua de Spiritu Santo, San Pedro y San Pablo, Santiago, Santa María de Septiembre, Todos Santos, Santa María de la Concebción y Santa María de la O. Total 180 maravedís"; A.C.S., sección II, libro 1075. These payments were repeated annually until the sixteenth century.

Benedicamus benigno voto for Christmas (fol. 55), Trinity (fol. 148),[61] and Corpus Christi (fol. 152v); or the *Benedicamus verbum patris* at (Second) Vespers on Christmas Day, St Stephen's Day (fol. 274), and St John the Evangelist's Day (fol. 275).[62]

The hymn at Vespers is the last item to be discussed here that is prescribed to be sung in alternation between organ and choir. On feasts of the first and second class: "Hy(mnu)s cantetur in organis et in choro alt(er)natim" (fol. 3). The only exception to this occurs in the general rules concerning second-class feasts that fall between the beginning of Lent and Easter, when: "in secu(n)dis uesperis no(n) d(icitu)r all(elui)a. set hy(mnu)s neq(u)e pulsantur organa" (fol. 6v). Second Vespers of the feast of St Isidoro, which at Seville Cathedral is a first-class observance, is another explicit exception, at which: "hy(mnu)s. Co(n)gaudeat ecclesia. Et ca(n)tetur a cantorib(us) et non in organis" (fol. 298v). At Vespers of Christmas Day, precise directions are given for the exact sequence of alternation in the:

> Hy(mnus) Veni rede(m)ptor et in isto hymno ultimus versus est Gloria tibi domini qui natus es de uirgine. Et primus versus cantetur in organis. Secundus vero in choro. Et sic alternatim donec finiantur, in semper hy(m)nus et quicu(m)q(u)e alius cantu(s) finitur in organis (fol. 54v).[63]

This last regulation is especially important for its indication of a polyphonic performance, on the organ, of the odd-numbered verses, rather than the later tradition of setting even-verses with polyphony which we encounter in Sevillian dioceses only by the end of the fifteenth century. As is well known, the earliest preserved repertory of polyphonic hymns appears to have originated in the papal court at Avignon. This is the series of ten hymns for three voices, with polyphony for the odd verses, composed in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and preserved in the manuscript of Apt [F-Apt 16 bis], the remains of what was probably a larger set of works for the celebration of the major feasts of the liturgical calendar. The diocese of Seville remained faithful to the Avignon obedience until its last days, and relations with the papacy there were especially active during the pontificate of the "antipope" Benedict XIII (Pedro Martínez de Luna). Seville's Archbishop Alonso de Egea (1403–1417) was a "conocido, favorecido y ferviente defensor del Papa Luna". After his appointment as bishop of Avila in 1395, Egea played an important role as an ally and supporter of the Avignon papacy over that

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[61] For these two feast, the manner of performance is indicated precisely; for Christmas: "Benedicamus d(omi)no de benigno uoto dicatur in organis et respo(n)deat chorus eo modo et ca(n)tu Deo gratias." (fol. 55); and for Trinity: "dicatur benedicam(us) d(omi)no in organis. f(iat) benigni uoto sed non cu(m) all(elui)a".

[62] In a note (fol. 60), it is ordered that this trope be said at Second Vespers and Matins every day, of whatever solemnity, until the feast of the Circumcision (1 January); also on the feast of the Epiphany, at First and Second Vespers and Matins, and on the octave of the feast; and finally on the feast of the Purification (2 February) at Second Vespers.

[63] The doxology *Gloria tibi domine qui natus es de uirgine* is also prescribed for the hymn at Vespers of the Epiphany, *Hostis Herodes* (fol. 64v).

of Rome. In 1397, he was papal nuncio to the Aragonese court, prior to his appointment as archbishop of Seville in 1403. In 1405, he went as ambassador of Henry III to the court of Benedict XIII, and did not return to Seville until 1410. In 1408, as proof of his service, Benedict named him patriarch of Constantinople, and he played an important role in the council held in Perpignan in the same year. Egea remained faithful to the Avignonese obedience until his death, even after Benedict retreated to Peñíscola, after the Council of Pisa in 1409.[64]

The earliest hymns preserved in the codex Tarazona 2-3 [E-TZ 2-3], with the exception of the *Pange lingua* by Juan de Urreda, were probably–given the likely years of activity of their composer Alonso Pérez de Alba–composed for Seville Cathedral while he was *magisterio de capilla* there from 1491 to 1497. Notably, for all six of Pérez de Alba's hymns, as also for Urreda's *Pange lingua*, Tarazona 2-3 gives only the first verse. By comparison, the same manuscript includes eight hymns by Pedro de Escobar, who served as the cathedral's *maestro de capilla* between 1507 and 1514, of which only two have the text of the first verse, while the rest set the second verse.[65] It is also interesting to note that in the other two oldest Spanish musical sources preserving polyphonic hymns, the manuscript Biblioteca de Cataluña 454 [E-Bbc 454] and the *Cancionero de Segovia* [E-SE s.s.], all set the text of the first verses.[66] Was there a gradual change in performance practice, from polyphony for the odd verses originally, to the even verses, in the transition from the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries? Musical and ceremonial sources seem to suggest so, but further research is required, given the likely local and temporal variations, before a more definitive conclusion can be drawn.

As already mentioned, the *Regla de Coro* also has its own interestingly rich and voluminous Hymnal (to which is appended a set of melodies for the *Benedicamus*). In my work so far on this layer, I have discovered that certain melodies and texts have their only known concordances in the fifteenth-century Psalterium-Hymnarium preserved in the Biblioteca del Orfeò Catalá in Barcelona [E-Boc]. This fact, together with similarities the two sources share in the classification of feasts and assignment of certain

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[64] José Sánchez Herrero, "Sevilla Medieval", in *Historia de la Iglesia de Sevilla*, edited by Carlos Ros (Seville: Castillejo, 1992), 211–214.

[65] In 1498, the copyist Cristóbal de Torquemada was paid 100 maravedís: "por un verso que escribió del himno *Vexilla regis* que comienza *O crux aue spes unica*, en una hoja de pergamino, a cuatro voces, quel cabildo mandó hacer". This isolated copy in a parchment folio, I suggest, could have been copied for the ceremony of "la Seña". On the chronology of the composers featured in the hymn cycle in Tarazona 2/3, see Ruiz Jiménez, *La Librería de Canto de Órgano*, 78, 82–85; Ruiz Jiménez, "Infunde amorem cordibus", 619–638; Ruiz Jiménez, "The sound of the hollow mountain", 213, 220–222.

[66] Of the 37 hymns included in Montecassino 871, reflecting the tradition of the Aragonese court in Naples, all except three give music for odd verses; see Tess Knighton, *Música y músicos en la corte de Fernando el Católico, 1474–1516* (Zaragoza: Diputación, 2001), 130–131.

hymns, suggests a clear relationship, but one whose nature is yet to be fully understood.[67]

Occasionally, the *Regla de Coro* directs that hymns of other Office hours also be performed polyphonically "discantando".[68] The terminology used in describing this polyphonic practice is also consistent with the dating of the original text of the *Regla Vieja* to the second half of the fourteenth century. The term most commonly used to refer to polyphonic performance, possibly of an improvised nature, is descant: "cantando et discantando". There is also a reference in a note to the general regulations, unaltered and therefore probably deriving from the original *Regla Vieja*, which may refer to performance of written polyphony:

> Item nota que cantores inducti capis qui regu(n)t choru(m) neq(u)e all(elui)am. neq(u)e prosa(m) cantet nec tr(ac)tum set comende(n)t ea(m) beneficiatis qui fuerint in choro et si pro defectu aliquis eorum uel ambo ca(n)tare debuerint deponatur capas similiter qua(n)do ca(n)tare debuerint cantu org(a)nicum sicut gl(or)ia uel credo uel alium cantu(m) (fol. 18v).

Just as significant as the presence of the terms "discantar" and "cantu organicum", is the absence of any version of the word "contrapunto", which is elsewhere well attested in sources at Seville Cathedral from the early fifteenth century onward. It was used several times, for instance, by Fernand Estevan, sacristan of the Sagrario, in his treatise *Reglas de canto plano e de contrapunto e de canto de órgano* (1410), in which, on the contrary, the term "descant" is not found.[69] Nor does the latter term appear in other fifteenth-century Seville Cathedral sources, where polyphony is always referred to in the same terminology used by Estevan.[70] If we assume an evolution in usage, of the terms "discantar" and "cantu organicum", and of "echar contrapunto" and "canto de órgano", it would seem to indicate that the expressions "cantando y discantando" and "cantu organicum" may be understood as improvised and written polyphony respectively.[71] Unfortunately, the mere appearance of the terms does little to clarify the

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[67] Ruiz Jiménez, "Infunde amorem cordibus", 629, 638.

[68] "[Fol. 69v] Dominica prima post oct(ava)s. Epiphanie… fiat omni ceremoni alia ut supra in una dominica tamen non descantetur hymnus ad vesperas nunc dicatur uersus primi responsi de matutinis … [fol. 70v]. Ad matutinum... Hymnus Primo dierum et iste hymnus descantatur… [fol. 71v] Ad primam hymnus Iam lucis orto et iste hymnus descantetur… ad tertiam hymnus Nunc sancte Nobis et iste hymnus decantetur".

[69] Ruiz Jiménez, "The sound of the hollow mountain", 199–200.

[70] On the earliest polyphonic practices documented at Seville Cathedral, and oldest musical fragment from there, belonging to the *Ars Antiqua*, see Ruiz Jiménez, *La Librería de Canto de Órgano*, 73–75.

[71] These terms indeed appear with those meanings in Fernán Estevan's treatise (1410): "Otrosí, esta señal ["becuadrado" (#)] se pone en el canto de órgano" (fol. 8); "Estas sobre dichas reglas fiso e ordenó Fernand Estevan… maestro de canto plano, e de contra punto, quod dicitur per contrarium, e de canto de órgano" (fol. 41).

actual performance techniques involved, which were probably thought to be so commonly practised as not to require further explanation.

In addition to the hymn *Vexilla regis* in the ceremony of "la seña" discussed above, the *Te deum laudamus* at Matins of first-class feasts was directed to be performed: "cantetur per omnes beneficiatos solemniter cantando et discantando" (fol. 4). The Alleluya, when it replaced the hymn at Vespers of feasts of the first and second class, as well as during the principal Mass (*misa de tercia*), would have been sung in a similar manner:

> Item nota que aleluya que cantatur i(n) misa et ad vesperos in die principali et in diebus solemnibus debet inchoari a cantoribus et per cantores deben uocari omnes beneficiati qui sunt in choro et per omnes cantetur versus dicte all(elui)e solemniter cantando et discantando (fol. 5).

Other liturgical items indicated in the text also required polyphonic performance, including the sixth responsory, *Sancta e Inmaculata uirginitas*, as well as the ninth, *Descendit de celis*, at Matins of Christmas Day, which were begun by six cantors and solemnly continued by all the beneficiaries "descantando" (fol. 56v–57). The first of these responsories was then repeated, on the same day, during the return of the procession after Terce, at the entry to the choir, when, facing the altar, it was ordered that the verse *Virginibus beatior*: "cantetur et descantetur a pluribus cantoribus" (fol. 59).

Reference to polyphonic interpretation in the Ordinary of the Mass is limited, perhaps because it was usual in feasts of the first and second class, as can be deduced from the statement (also referred to above) mentioning its employment in the Gloria and Credo and other chants: "qua(n)do ca(n)tare debuerint cantu org(a)nicum sicut gl(or)ia uel credo uel alium cantu(m)". Although, on occasion, the *Regla de Coro* refers to the performance of the Gloria "solemne", the only more explicit mention concerns the *misa de tercia* on Christmas Day: "Dicatur Gloria i(n) excelsis deo de Sancta Maria et cantetur et descantetur ab o(mn)ibus beneficiatis qui sunt in choro in atrili maiori quod

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They are also found in an anonymous Sevillian treatise of 1480 [E-E c-III-23]: "Capítulo X de las conjuntas" (especially fol. 29); "Estas reglas se guardan máxime en el contrapunto llano porque en lo diminuido según los modernos cantan, no se guardan todas veces, mas ante se apartan dellas por hacer muchas diferencias de contrapunto. Esto será según el saber del discante porque esto no lo alcanzan todos, aunque presuman de cantores, porque si cantan contrapunto es más por uso que por arte (fol. 41v)…Vistas las reglas y gamas del contrapunto, resta que sepamos las prolaciones de canto de órgano (fol. 43)… el que ha de aprender canto de órgano nunca lo podrá saber si primero no conoce las figuras, tan poco como ninguno no puede saber leer si primero no sabe las letras a, b, c. (fol. 47)".

The use of the term "discante" to refer to singing by counterpoint serves to reinforce the bond and synonymy between the terms. The clearest expression is found in the *Declaración de Instrumentos Musicales* of Juan Bermudo (1555) (fol. 128–129v): "El contrapunto es una ordenación improvisa sobre canto llano, con diversas melodías… vi tan diestros cantores echar contrapunto que si se puntara se vendiera por buena composición… (fol. 128) mayor habilidad sería a cuatro voces de canto de órgano poner un canto llano de improviso (fol. 129v)… capítulo xxvii. De algunos avisos para componer canto de órgano (fol. 134–135)".

est in medio chori" (fol. 59v). This is also, albeit indirect, a reference to the Marian Gloria trope *Spiritus et alme,* which will appear later in polyphonic Masses *de beata Virgine* performed at Seville Cathedral. This trope is similarly indicated in the general directions for first class feasts where it is ordered only on the feast of the Assumption ("Gloria prop(i)a beate uirginis"), whereas for remaining feasts the regulation merely states "Gloria in excelsis deo duplex" (fol. 4–5v).

The absence of further references to chants of the Ordinary can be explained by the fact that the *Regla de Coro* tends to address requirements that are exceptional, while commonly occurring and regularly repeated practices are overlooked. Thus, while the explicit Kyrie verses and the Gloria trope just discussed are mentioned, other Ordinary items, the Sanctus and Agnus Dei are generally passed over, while reference to the Credo is limited to whether or not it is to be included at all, according to the liturgical time and the degree of solemnity of the observance.

First class feasts were followed, as we have seen, by three days celebrated with equal solemnity, with some exceptions for the feasts of Pentecost, St Isidro and St. James (fol. 2v). The text includes a correction (shown in bold) by the copyist, derived from the oldest layer of the source document, which is of great interest: "Si aute(m) festum habet tres dies sole(m)**nes post die(m) p(ri)ncipale(m) in illo iiii(or) die pulsent(u)r organa e officiabu(n)t ad p(rim)os v(espero)s e missa(m) ca(n)tores de ca(n)to de organo**" (fol. 4v).[72] Unfortunately, even viewing the area with ultra-violet light reveals nothing that clarifies the reason for the correction.

Delving more deeply into the liturgical texts and practices the *Regla de Coro* describes is beyond the scope of this preliminary study, in which I have sought, first, to clarify the respective datings of the *Regla de Coro* and its source, the *Regla Vieja*, and, second, to inquire more closely into the musical practices of Castillian cathedrals from the second half of the fourteenth century through to the fifteenth century, about which so much is still unknown, despite continuous traditions and an abundance of previous studies dedicated to the music of the great Spanish ecclesiastical institutions. These latter, having tended to focus on chapter records (*Actas capitulares*), often ignored other documentary sources that allow us to reclaim some of the past ceremonial wealth they describe. The next step will be to collate, amplify, and compare the contents of this *Regla de Coro* with other liturgical books of various types preserved in the Seville chapter library, some of them still uncatalogued. It will also be necessary to undertake a close study of the body of Sevillian chant melodies, to see how far they may have agreed originally with the tradition of Toledan chant, and the degree of ongoing transformation and growth which, as everything seems to suggest, must have continued to take place locally at Seville.

(English version by Graeme Skinner and Kathleen Nelson)

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[72] A correction made later in reference to the "Dominica in albis", indicated that it was to be kept as a solemnity of the second class, and added: "y ay canto de órgano" (fol. 129).

Table 1. Contents of the *Regla de Coro*

Libro de la Regla Vieja A.C.S., Fondo Capitular, Sección III, libro 1		Loaysa Regla Vieja	Loaysa Regla de Coro
Calendar of Seville and computus tables for movable feasts from 1552 to 1610	Fol iᵛ-viii	not cited	not cited
Dominical	Fol. 1-179ᵛ	yes	yes
Hymnal	Fol. 180-272ᵛ	not cited	not cited
Sanctorale	Fol. 273-399	yes	yes
Officium defunctorum	Fol. 399-401ᵛ	not cited	not cited
Officium Beate Marie Virginis	Fol. 401ᵛ-407	not cited	not cited
Blessings, prayers, regulations for processions and *misas votivas*	Fol. 409ᵛ -419ᵛ	not cited	not cited
Statute of the hours of Archbishop Juan [Sánchez] (1323-1348)	Fol. 420-424ᵛ	Fol. 162-165	Fol. 121-125
Other documents for earnings of the hours dated 1519	Fol. 425-427ᵛ	not cited	not cited
Statute of Archbishop Pedro González de Mendoza (22/9/1478) 48 chapters	Fol. 428-436ᵛ	Fol. 171-176	Fol. 126-132
Statute of Archbishop Alonso de Manrique (16/12/1532) 31 chapters	Fol. 438-442	Fol. 182-184	
Statute of Archbishop Alonso de Manrique (16/12/1532) 26 chapters	Fol. 442v -445ᵛ	Fol. 185-	
Regulations on the *veinteneros* and *capellanes de coro* (18/12/1524) 7 chapters	Fol. 446-448	180-181	
Endowment given by Queen Isabel in 1477	Fol. 448v-449		Fol. 133
Statute of Archbishop Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1485-1502)	Fol. 449ᵛ -451ᵛ		Fol. 134
Description of the feast of the *obispillo* (27/12/1512)	Fol. 452-454	Fol. 166-	
The days and feasts on which the *beneficiados* did not have to carry *capas de choro*	Fol. 453v-454	Fol. 167	
Description of the earthquake of 1504	Fol. 454-455	Fol. 178-179	
Seventeen chapters on the *veinteneros*.	Not included	Fol. 177-178	not cited

Table 2. Gathering structure of the *Regla de Coro*

Gathering number	Type of gathering	Notes
1	Quaternion (regular)	Calendar and computus tables for movable feasts
2	Quaternion (regular)	The opening was sumptuously illuminated, and it appears that the first two folios were later cut out to souvenir the illustrations.
3–18	Quaternion (regular)	
19	Quaternion (irregular)	The two final folios cut out at the time of copying
20–23	Quaternion (regular)	
24	Quaternion (irregular)	The first folio has been cut out (end of Temporale)
25–26	Quaternion (regular)	Hymnal begins
27	Quinternion (irregular)	One folio is cut out (fol. 198)
28–35	Quaternion (regular)	
36	Binión regular	End of Hymnal
37–54	Quaternion (regular)	Beginning of Sanctoral
55	Ternion (irregular)	Three folios are cut out in order to finish with the *misas votivas*
56–57	Quaternion (regular)	
58	Bifolio (regular)	Completes the Statute of Pedro González de Mendoza
59	Quinternion (irregular)	Two folios cut out. Statute of Alonso Manrique
60	Ternion (regular)	Endowment from Queen Isabel and Statute of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
61	Binion (regular)	

Table 3. Responsories at the procession of All Souls

Responsory	Dedication	Location
Qui lazarum resuscitasti	Royalty	Coro
Requiem eternam	Arzobispo Raimundo Loasaña (d. 1286) Arzobispo Pedro (d. 1390)	Coro
Heu mihi	Arzobispo Fernán Pérez (d. ca. 1290)	[Coro?][1]
Ne recorderis	"pro infantibus"[2]	Capilla San Sebastián
Liberame domine de viis	For those entombed in the royal chapel	Capilla Real
Peccantem me	Arzobispo Fernando Gutiérrez Tello (d. 1323)	San Bernardo
Memento mei	Arzobispo Juan Sánchez (d. 1349)	[Altar de Santa Bárbara][3]
Responsories		Claustro
Responsories	Arzobispo Fray Alfonso de Toledo y Vargas (d. 1366)	[Capilla San Juan Evangelista][4]
Responsories, penitential psalms without litany		Corral de los Olmos, Cementerio de San Miguel[5]

[1] Places given in brackets are not named in the text, but are where the tombs are found.

[2] This is especially interesting. Ortiz de Zúñiga writes: "en los tiempos primitivos, después de la conquista, fue esta capilla entierro de algunos moros de sangre real que recibieron el bautismo y sirvieron a los reyes San Fernando y Don Alonso el Sabio, y uno de estos fue Don Fernando Abdelmon, hijo de Abu-Ceit rey de Baeza". This responsory must be dedicated to them. The chapel was endowed on 4 September 1387 by Archbishop Pedro Gómez Barroso for the tomb of his mother doña Mayor and her sister Teresa. Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales*, vol. 2, p. 273.

[3] On the endowment for the altar of St Barbara, the *Libro Blanco de la catedral de Sevilla*, says: "Don Johan, arzobispo que fue de Sevilla, está enterrado delante deste altar, en un monumento". On the endowment from the *maestrescuela* Esteban González (before 1383), it indicates that his tomb is: "detrás del coro, a la pared del dicho choro, en derecho del sepulcro del arzobispo D. Juan", thus giving the approximate position of the altar of St Barbara. A.C.S., sección II, libro 1477, fol. 5v, 12.

[4] Ortiz de Zúñiga indicates that this archbishop was buried in the chapel of St James, "cercana a la capilla de San Pedro". Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales*, vol. 2, p. 271. The *Libro Blanco* (fol. 32v) specifies that he was entombed in the chapel of St John. It is likely that in re-modelling the Gothic church his tomb was moved to the chapel of St James, where Archbishops Fernando Gutiérrez Tello and Gonzalo de Mena were buried. The reliability of the note in the *Libro Blanco* (*ca.* 1411), the agreement with the course of the procession of *difuntos* and the separation of the responsories for Archbishops Gutiérrez Tello and Fernández de Toledo y Vargas, also described in *Regla de Coro*, support this hypothesis.

[5] According to Ortiz Zúñiga, the cemetery of St Michael was found: "frontero del mismo templo a la parte de oriente". The procession must have re-entered the cathedral by the Puerta de San Mateos, near the chapel of St Michael, where the last station took place before the return to the choir. At the conclusion of the procession, the devotions of Sext began. Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales*, vol. 2, p. 270.

Table 4. Processions affected by modifications to the Cathedral, and referenced in the *Regla de Coro*

Feast	Mudéjar cathedral	Gothic cathedral
Corpus Christi (f. 152v)	Capilla del Corpus Christi	non-extant chapel
San Fabián y San Sebastián (f. 280)	Capilla San Sebastián	non-extant chapel[1]
San Blas (f . 286)	Capilla San Blas	altar ($\neq$ location)[2]
San Marcos (f. 301)	San Marcos	non-extant chapel
San Felipe y Santiago (f. 302)	San Felipe y Santiago[3]	yes ($\neq$ location)
San Bernabé (f. 308v)	Capilla San Bernabé	non-extant chapel
San Juan Bautista (f. 311r)	Altar de San Juan Bautista[4]	yes ($\neq$ location)
San Pedro y San Pablo (f. 314v)	Capilla de San Pedro	yes ($\neq$ location)
Santiago (f. 325)	Capilla de Santiago	yes ($\neq$ location)
Transfiguración (f. 332v)	Capilla de San Salvador	non-extant chapel[5]
San Bernardo (f. 340)	Capilla de San Bernardo	non-extant chapel
San Mateo (f. 351v)	Capilla de San Mateo	non-extant chapel
San Miguel (f. 353)	Capilla de San Miguel	altar ($\neq$ location)[6]
San Lucas (f. 356r)	Capilla de San Lucas	non-extant chapel
San Simón y San Judas (f. 358v)	Capilla de San Simón y S. Judas	non-extant chapel
San Clemente (f. 370v)	Capilla de San Clemente	yes ($\neq$ location)

[1] The only information available is from a picture of St Sebastian located above *La Puerta de los Palos*, which is visited by processions on very special occasions. A.C.S., sección IX, leg. 11.342, pieza 6.

[2] This altar is to the back of Cardinal Cervantes' chapel. A.C.S., sección IV, libro 408, f. 16r.

[3] The main text indicates: "fiat procesio ad suam capellam"; while the marginal text indicates: "fiat procesio ad capellam apostolorum". The latter dates from after the Gothic re-modelling. Finding the original version together with its modernization in the margin is valuable.

[4] Main text indicates: "fiat procesio ad altare Sancti Ioannis"; margin: "fiat procesio ad suam capellam". The vespers procession to this altar was endowed by canon and *maestrescuela* Garci Pérez, in 1408. A.C.S., sección XI, leg. 24, pieza 24. The site of the altar was changed in the Gothic cathedral to the chapel known today as that of the "Inmaculada Chica" or "Cieguita".

[5] Written in the main text: "fiat processio ad capellam sancti saluatoris"; margin: "fiat processio ad altare maiore". Following the disappearance of the chapel of San Salvador in the Gothic cathedral, the destination of the procession was changed to the *altar mayor*.

[6] With the disappearance of the chapel of San Miguel with the Gothic changes, the procession moved to an altar in Cardinal Cervantes' chapel. The main text says: "fiat procesio ad capellam Sancti Michaelis"; while the marginal text says: "fiat procesio ad capellam del cardenal".

Table 5. Feasts and processions recorded only in marginal notes

Feast	Procession
San Gregorio (fol. 290v)	Capilla de San Gregorio (1478)[1]
San José (fol. 293v)	Capilla de la Virgen de la Antigua (1542)[2]
San Hermenegildo (fol. 300)	Capilla de San Hermenegildo o del Cardenal Cervantes (1453)[3]
Corona del Señor (fol. 304)	Altar de la Corona (1513)[4]
Revelación de San Miguel (fol. 305v)	Capilla de Gonzalo Gabriel (1472)[5]
San Zoylo (fol. 313v)	Altar de San Zoylo en la capilla de San Hermenegildo (1480)[6]
Santa Marta (fol. 328r)	Altar de Santa Marta (1379/1403)[7]
Asunción (fol. 337v)	Capilla de la Virgen de la Antigua (1483)[8]
San Francisco (fol. 354v)	Capilla de San Francisco (1450)[9]

[1] Procession and chapel endowed by canon Alfonso Enríquez in 1478. A.C.S., sección II, libro 1477, fol. 29r, 122r; sección IX, leg. 46, piezas 21-24.

[2] Procession endowed by prebendary Francisco López in 1542. A.C.S., sección II, libro 1477, fol. 184v.

[3] Chapel and procession endowed by Cardenal Juan de Cervantes in 1453. A.C.S., sección II, libro 1477, fol. 45v.

[4] Procession to the chapel endowed by the *protonotario* Fernando Ramos in 1513. A.C.S., sección II, libro 1477, fol. 112-113.

[5] The chapel is dedicated to archangels Michael and Gabriel, and to St John the Baptist. The procession was endowed by canon Gonzalo Gabriel in 1472. A.C.S., sección II, libro 1477, fol. 26.

[6] The altarpiece was paid for by canon Andrés Fernández, who also endowed the feast and procession in 1480. A.C.S., sección II, libro 1477, fol. 46, 135.

[7] The altar of Santa Marta, as well as her feast and vespers procession to the altar, were endowed by the canon and archdeacon of Écija, Fernando Martínez, in his will of 1379, ratified in 1403 shortly before his death. A.C.S., sección IX, leg. 23, piezas 9-10.

[8] It is noted in the margin of the *Regla de Coro*: "post matutinum fiat processio ad capellam Sancte Marie del Antigua". The procession to this chapel after Matins was endowed by canon Fernando Cataño in 1483. A.C.S., sección II, libro 1477, fol. 140.

[9] The feast, procession and its chapel (not included in the Mudéjar cathedral), was endowed by canon Ruy González Bolante in 1450. A.C.S., sección II, libro 1477, fol. 12v.
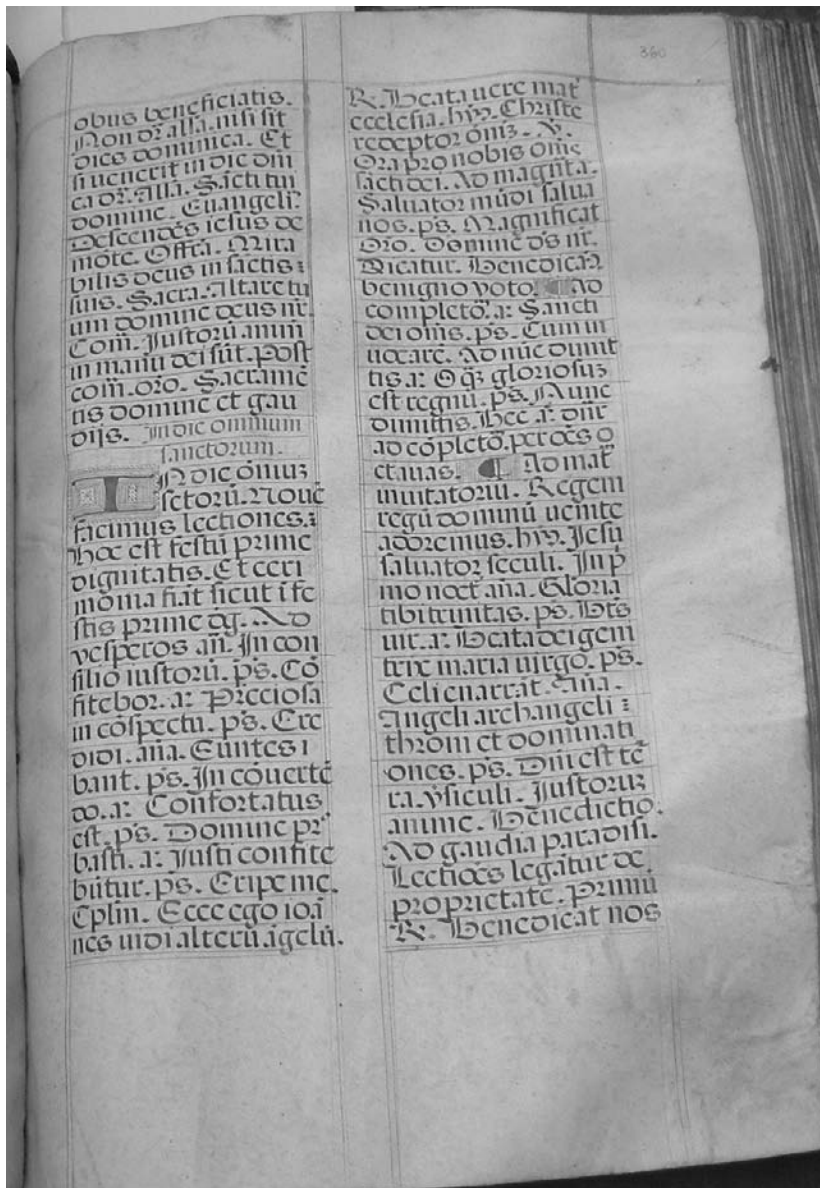
Figure 1. *Regla de Coro*, **fol. 360r** (*Libro de la Regla Vieja*, Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla, Fondo Capitular, Sección III, libro 1) Reproduced with permission.

Figure 2. *Regla de Coro*, **fol. 186r** (*Libro de la Regla Vieja*,
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