From the late Middle Ages, the participation of instrumentalists was an integral part of civic or religious festivities and ceremonies. Wind bands were long established as independent groups in urban centres or as members of royal or noble households, but it was not until 1356 that their presence became formalised at major ecclesiastical institutions. This led to their institutionalisation being essentially financial. Sevilla Cathedral, aware of the expenditure occasioned by the participation of groups of minsters in an increasing number of annual services, decided to place them on the pay roll. The cathedral chapters were thus assured of the wind players’ availability and the outlay on their salaries was balanced by the control gained over their activities within – and outside – the cathedral precinct. Other major ecclesiastical institutions, such as the cathedrals of Toledo and Santiago followed suit, contracting wind bands in 1531 and 1539 respectively. The cathedral chapters always left open the terms of these contracts as regards the participation of the wind players; thus, they were able to allow for the incorporation of more ceremonies that required their presence, even though these might not have been established according to tradition. Indeed, the role of the wind players, and the range of repertory they were required to play, increased and diversified throughout the sixteenth century.1

From at least the beginning of that century, and separate from their probable participation in the performance of improvised polyphony, these instrumentalists made use of music books, including those of vocal polyphony, copied or acquired exclusively for them. Into these books was copied a varied repertory that allowed them to fulfil the diverse services required of them. The earliest evidence for the use of books of notated

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polyphony is found in an interars in the choirstalls of Burgos Cathedral, which can be dated between 1505 and 1513, and attributed to Andrés de Nájera (Figure 3.1). The piece depicted in the interars appears to be Nájera's, and is the earliest work that can be definitively associated with a unique, and is the earliest work that can be definitively associated with a unique, and is the earliest work that can be definitively associated with a unique, white mensural notation from a book in large choirbook format similar to those they continued to use half a century later. Documentary evidence for such books dedicated to the use of wind-players employed in ecclesiastic institutions dates from the late 1520s, and references are also found for wind bands in the service of noble chapels (see Table 3.1).

Figure 3.1. Wind band performing from a choirbook, interars, choirstalls of Burgos Cathedral, 1505-1513, attributed to Andrés de Nájera (Photograph Juan José Rey Marcos, reproduced with permission).

Four extant books for wind-players, and the detailed inventory of a fifth book now lost, bear witness to the existence and use of these books

2 The depiction of wind-players is found in an interars of the second cantus (owing from left to right) in the lower row of choirstalls by Manus Gómez, 1997. The piece was transcribed by J. Reyes Marcos, 1979, 138-182, and a recording of it made by the Missarum de Metallo, 1994. I wish to thank Pape Rey for supplying the photograph, and allowing me to reproduce it in this article, as well as the relating bibliographical references.


4 I do not include in this list, because of its nature and function, the Libro de polifonía of 1568 preserved at São João do Estoril [E. SE. 5], this may have been used by the organist or the wind-players or even had a didactic purpose: see Cas Gálvez 1999: 136-7, and Lobo 2001: 111.

5 The contents and description of these books for wind-players are found in Elkner 1967; Chrétiendelt & Ruiz Jiménez 1990: 9-29; Ruiz Jiménez 2001; and Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 146-7 and 148-7.

6 A comparative analysis of the contents of these books can be found in Ruiz Jiménez 2006: see also Kretzmer 2009.
ranking Marian feasts, although its placing in the manuscript suggests that it may have served as a motet rather than as part of the Mass. The inclusion of this work would then, connect the manuscript with the Capilla Real, but the presence of Ceballos also ties in with an important part of the repertory of Seville Cathedral. The earliest known reference to Ceballos dates from 7 October 1551 when he was residing in Seville without a fixed position and the cathedral chapter commissioned the copying of two or three books of polyphony from him to bring its music collection more up to date. This assignment would have given him free access to the Seville Cathedral repertory and, in particular, to the works he was to copy; it would also have brought him into contact with the experts and assessors responsible for supervising his work, among them Pedro Fernández de Castilleja and Francisco Guerrero, who must have determined which works he was to copy in these volumes. Ceballos's contact with the Seville chapter and with Guerrero lasted some years, since in 1559 he sent from his home in Cordoba to Seville a book of his own works that contained a ‘magnificat’ and a `hymnus', some of which became part of the canonical repertory of Cathedral.

The manuscript E-Gren 975 is a carefully planned collection, and has some noteworthy features. The first part (ff. 1r-105) consists of psalm verses, Magnificats and responsories for the Office hours, organized by tone, from I to VIII. This first part is followed by the Missa ‘t protecting’ by Ceballos, other sections of the Ordinary of the Mass, and verses of the multifunctional hymn ‘Vexilla regi’, ‘Pange lingua’ and ‘Sacris sollemnitis’ (ff. 106r-154r). Throughout this anthology of liturgical works songs and motets for four and five voices are interpolated for reasons that are not immediately apparent. From this point in the manuscript (ff. 154v-173r) there is a section of four-voice works divided into sections of four-voice works, strictly divided into sections of four-voice works and motets (ff. 156r-173r), then a section of four-voice works with alternating groups from both genres (ff. 175r-192r). The final section of the manuscript consists of three instrumental canons, added by a later hand (ff. 192r-194r).

In the section of liturgical works, all the identified pieces are by Spanish composers, and it is likely that those that remain to be identified are also of Spanish origin. This reflects a preference for specific use and local tradition.

7 Ceballos OLI, prefatory note 172-78.
9 ‘Song’ (canción) is used here according to its historical use and meaning as a generic term including all vocal-ensemble works belonging to different genres: chanson, madrigal, villancico, etc.

The Urin in MS 975 of the Manuel de Falla Library
(for which I have not as yet found a full concordance) is included in a part-book of instrumental basses, which was copied in the nineteenth century with psalms and hymns preserved in the Seville Cathedral archive, as one of a group of 'Gloria Patri' settings organized according to tone.12 The verse 'Sicut erat' (ff. 14v-15v) of the sixth-tone setting of the psalm 'Eripe me, Domine' (for which I have otherwise not found a concordance) is copied in the *Libro de polifonia nº 2* (*E-Se 2*, ff. 2r-24r) of Seville Cathedral as the doxology of Guerrero’s setting of ‘Laudate Dominum’, also an unicum.13 The penultimate psalm-setting in this section is ‘Laudamus te’, with an attribution to ‘P’ (Pedro) Guerrero (ff. 96v-100v). No other reference to a setting of this psalm by this composer has been found, so it can also be considered unique.

This evidence for the interchangeability of verses from the doxology reflects an interesting aspect of performance practice: in certain instances the isolated settings of both the ‘Gloria patri’ as well as the ‘Sicut erat’ are copied more than once and attached to a specific psalm.14 This practice of copying a series of doxology verses is also found in various manuscripts from Seville Cathedral, as, for example, in the partbook for instrumental basses. The cathedral music library formerly held a book referred to as the ‘Gloria Patri’, with 23 entries organized by tone, for four to six voices, mostly by Francisco Guerrero, as well as one of the books for wind players, which contained five settings of the ‘Sicut erat’ from Guerrero’s Magnificats.15

Further details of interest are found in the section dedicated to hymns, including a version of Juan de Urreda’s setting of ‘Pange lingua’ (ff. 127v-128v) to which a fifth voice has been added with an ascription to Morales—a work of which it is difficult to establish a route of transmission, although, among the possibilities, perhaps the most likely is that it was transmitted indirectly by Guerrero. This could also have been the case with the following hymn, Morales’s ‘Sacris sollemnis’ (ff. 128v-129r), which was composed while Morales was in Toledo, when he must have been taught by his compatriot at the start of his professional career.16 Among the settings of ‘Pange lingua’—the most copied hymn in the manuscript because of its multi-functional nature in liturgical, devotional and processional contexts—it is another unique three-voice version by Guerrero is found (ff. 135v-136v). Both this version, and another four-voice setting of the hymn (ff. 129v-130v), with a concordance in Puebla Cathedral MS 19 (MEX-Pc 19, ff. 62v-63v), were not included in the 1584 edition and can be considered early works. The earliest reference to works composed by Guerrero dates from 1548 and concerns a series of Magnificats and hymns copied in a volume that was inventoried that year at Jaen Cathedral where he was chaplain-in-charge between 1546 and 1549. In 1549, six hymns by Guerrero were copied together with other hymns by Morales in one of the Toledo manuscripts (E-Tc 21); these may or may not have formed part of the cycle copied for Jaen.18

The group of works comprising songs and motets in the various music books compiled for wind-players was open to the inclusion of compositions from the international repertory. Indeed, these books offer important evidence for the circulation of this repertory in the Iberian peninsula, and, in the case of some works, not only the only evidence but also the unique source. The best represented song composer in *E-GRmf* 971, with twelve chansons and one motet, is Thomas Crequillon; the prominence of his works can no doubt be attributed to the fact that he served the Emperor Charles V for most of his known career, from 1538 to 1552. There is no actual unicum among these works, but one song, ‘Pene me am ducite’ (ff. 111v-112r), has only a single concordance in another of the collections of music for wind-players already cited: that preserved in Puebla Cathedral (MEX-Pc 19, ff. 90v-92r).19 This manuscript, which was copied in the second half of the sixteenth century, is a clear example of the process of ‘decanting’ characteristic of the transmission of wind-band repertory. The later volumes include, alongside contemporary works, certain works from the older collections resulting in continued performance of them until well into the eighteenth century.20 Crequillon’s works must surely reflect this process; they must have entered the repertory of Puebla Cathedral in the second half of the sixteenth century, when the cathedral was closely linked to the cathedral and diocese of Seville, to which diocese it would originally have belonged and whose liturgy it would have observed until the Tridentine liturgical reforms. The close relationship between these two manuscripts (*E-GRmf* 971 and *MEX-Pc* 19) is reflected in their

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13 For example, the ‘Gloria patri’ of the fifth-tone ‘Domine, exaudi supplicationem’ (ff. 47r-48r) and the setting copied separately at ff. 45v-46v.
14 Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 342-1 and 547.
15 The opening of this work is transcribed in Nisbet 2007: 87.
16 Nisbet 2007: 32v-3 and 36v-37v.
18 Crequillon OL xviii, xviii, 2-5.
16 concordances, three of which are found only in these sources and share a centre of diffusion, probably Seville or Granada.  

Two unica are found amongst the group of chansons copied in E-Grmf 975: 'Ung moine' by Lupus (ff. 137v-138) and 'Nes gra voit' by Jacobus Clemens non Papa (ff. 141r-146). For the first of these songs, I have only been able to find a possible concordance in lines from the second verse of the tenor part of the combinative chanson 'Brunetie/ Ung moine blanc ou noir'.  

As regards the second song, the corruption of the text has made it resistant to identification, but it is in fact the chanson 'Ne scart rot-on trouver', which survives incompletely (Alto's and Bassus only) in Tylman Susato's La fleur de chansons (Antwerp, 1552) [RISM 1552], and can thus be considered an unicum.  

Among the various hypotheses for the reception in Spain of the international repertory found in the music books of wind-players, the most likely is that they were disseminated through the printed books that circulated widely in the Iberian Peninsula during the sixteenth century; manuscript copies were made from these prints, and in the copying process the textual incipits were corrupted. The 19 songs by Clemens non Papa copied in E-Grmf 975 were printed in Antwerp by Susato; they represent 74% of the 27 chansons in the Falla manuscript.  

Another possible route of transmission for works not found in such printed collections – for example, that by Lupus – would have been through music manuscripts associated with the Royal Chapel in Madrid, with which the Capilla Real in Granada inevitably had strong links, especially during the sixteenth century.  

The music library of the Royal Chapel in Madrid, one of the richest in Europe at the end of the sixteenth century, contained a large manuscript and printed repertory in which works by composers of the post-Joquin generation were well represented. Given the presence of many of these composers in Charles V's Flemish chapel, and the large amount of music copied for it, it is not surprising that many of these works

22 In addition to Compistroll's 'Pax te mei mundi dux', there are the motets 'O Maria' (ff. 121v-122) and Benedictus (ff. 124v-125) attributed to Priccolo Guarneres.  

23 Two sources survive for this work: the Fipon Chansonnier (E-Grmf 135, ff. 136v-137v) and Montecassino 572 (f. MC 572 f. 140v); see Minstres 1986, 1986.  

24 I wish to thank Anne Condevaux for her help in identifying this work. We are currently preparing a study and reconstruction of the vocal models for these two songs.  


27 'Si tu fusse corso di levar per morte/ Quanta alma afflitta da il lungamese/ Con la mia man sacri constante e forte/ Per levar dal mao cor tanto dolce/ Ma temo poi di morir di peggior sorte/ Che amor non gia maggior marito al cor/ E poi dal coro l'anima partita/ Non dotei returno in vita. Sarabanda no 131, by Serafino Aquilone; see http://www.bibliotecaalcala.es, consulted 8 February 2010.  

28 It is not found among the 29 known settings of Sarafino, almost all of which are strambotti; see La Fase Bamboni & Rossi 1999.  

29 Torres de Naharro's plays Seraphina and Aquilana reflect his admiration for the Italian poets; see Gilles 1963, 1966.  


161), which forms part of a group of four four-voice Marian pieces that opens the second section of the manuscript. The group affords a certain symmetry; it is followed by a sequence of three motets by Morales, and then four motets by Guerrero. Of the opening group of four, the first, 'O beata Maria', is correctly attributed to Pedro Guerrero; the last, 'Quisque prudentes', anonymous in the Falla manuscript, can be attributed to the same composer thanks to another Granadine manuscript sent to Toledo Cathedral (see Table 3.1). I believe the anonymous piece 'Quelis est dilecta nostra' and 'Dilecta nostra' to be the prima pars of the motet in the same manuscript, since one follows the other and their texts taken together form the Gradual for one of the Masses celebrated on the feast of the Conception of the Virgin. This Mass is found only rarely in pre-Renaissance Hispanic liturgies, though it is quite commonly included in printed Roman breviaries from the end of the fifteenth century. The only known concordance for this work is found in the Libro de Polifonia nº 3 of Guatemala Cathedral (GCA-GC 3). This manuscript is severely damaged in some parts. It includes two copies, in different hands, and both without attribution, of the prima pars of Pedro Guerrero's 'O beata Maria'; one is incomplete (superius and tenor, f. 89); the other complete (f. 119v-12). Following the first of these versions is copied the motet 'Quelis est dilecta nostra' (with the superius and tenor of its prima pars missing at f. 99-100), thus observing the same order found in E-GRAf 975. Pedro Guerrero's 'Quisque prudentes' was also copied anonymously in GCA-GC 3. It seems likely that this first group of motets in the Falla manuscript, as in the case of the two groups that follow, was dedicated to a single composer, in this case Pedro Guerrero. The choice of the Gradual text 'Quelis est dilecta nostra' might be connected with Pedro Guerrero's 1505 visit to Rome. Pedro Guerrero's authorship of this work seems more likely given the possibility that the source for the copying of these motets might well have been his now lost printed anthology of motets, the Liber primus epigrammatum. This edition, bound with a copy of Francisco Guerrero's Sacrae cantiones (Sevilla, 1555), is listed in the inventory of the music library of King John IV of Portugal. It has been suggested that Pedro Guerrero's motet collection might have been printed, as was his brother Francisco's, by Martin de Montesdoca between 1553 and 1555. The Liber primus epigrammatum reached Mexico Cathedral at some point in the sixteenth century, and Montesdoca was praeceptor of Guatemala Cathedral in the 1570s; either of these facts might explain the presence and diffusion of these motets in manuscript sources in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. Two further unique motets by Guerrero are included in the final section of five-voice compositions: 'Christe potens rerum' and 'O quam super terram' (see Figure 3.2). The first of these appears to set a little known text, although with only the incipit in the manuscript, it is difficult to identify; it may possibly be a censitizatio since such texts are commonly found in motets of this period. The incipit itself is included as a line in several poems, but the contexts in which it is found, and the reformist tendencies of the poets, make these verses unlikely to have been set by Guerrero who had witnessed the fierce repression of Lutheranism in Seville culminating in the autos de fe of 1559 and 1560. The most likely source for this motet might be the poem De Christo, attributed by some commentators to the Spanish pope Saint Damian (166-164). Guerrero may...
mission. Happily these particular pieces survived in this anthology of instrumental music, and should be added to Guerrero’s worklist. The Fala manuscript concludes with three instrumental canons added later by different hands; they are also unique. As with Clemens non Papa’s chanson ‘Je pres en gre la dure mort’ copied at the start of the manuscript, the handwriting is very informal compared with the rest of the book. Two of the canons bear the attribution ‘de Medrano’ and could be by any one of a number of musicians of that name. One such is Cristóbal de Medrano, who, active in Seville, was chapel master of Badajoz Cathedral between 1587 and 1596. Later he was employed by Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, first Duke of Lerma, as chapel master in the collegiate church founded by the Duke in Lerma, a position he held between 1602 and 1607. The duke was a nephew of Cristóbal de Rojas Sandoval, Archbishop of Seville. These possible connections between Seville and Lerma are of interest given the repertory in the two manuscripts of music for wind band from Lerma, and the high number of concordances between them and E-GRmf 975, some of these being particularly significant. Another possible candidate for the composer of these two instrumental canons is the wind-player Luis de Medrano who served in Seville Cathedral for almost 30 years and enjoyed a considerable reputation. In 1563, together with his son, a wind-player of the same name, he formed part of a group of instrumentalists from Seville who were employed at Cordoba Cathedral. Although based in Granada by this time, Ceballos returned to Cordoba twice—in 1563 and 1567—to assess the contests held for the chapel mastership there, and would have encountered Medrano whom he would have known from his years in Seville. Luis de Medrano remained at Cordoba until his death in August 1576. Thus, the connections with Seville, and with Guerrero and Ceballos, would make him a possible candidate for the composer of these two canons.

The third canon is attributed to Villalobos, but I have not yet been able to ascertain a convincing identification for this composer. The only

44 Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 128-9 and 133.
45 Garrido 1997: 150.
46 Vicente 1996: 14-5.
47 Among these concordances are the five songs by Guerrero that only survive in these instrumental books, all five are attributed to Guerrero in E-GRmf 975, but are preserved anonymously and scattered through the two Lerma manuscripts, see Guerrero 1999.
49 In 1563, Don Luis Cristóbal Fonse de León, second Duke of Arcos, and dedicatee of
possibility might be Juan de Villalobos, either the father or son of that name, even though the son belonged to the next generation of composers, and the father occupied a central position in the chapel of Almeria Cathedral, where he remained until 1632. In 1631, he replaced his father in this position at Granada Cathedral, where he remained until his death in 1650. His son followed him in this position at Granada Cathedral, until his appointment in 1642 to the same post at Guadix Cathedral, where he remained until 1645. 

The Libro de polifonia nº 1 of the Capilla Real (E-GRB 41, fols. 34v-37v) contains two incomplete textless works, also copied in a rough hand, the first of which bears the same attribution to Villalobos. The work is of crucial importance for our understanding of the repertory performed by the wind bands that formed such an integral part of the musical resources of sixteenth-century ecclesiastical institutions in Spain. The relative importance of some of the works that have only survived in manuscript of instrumental repertory, the original vocal versions having been lost, and for which it has not proved possible even to identify their texts. The transcription, performance and recording of some of these works continues, and a detailed codicological study of the manuscript is in progress. Clues to the performance practice of this repertory remain to be explored in depth, while some as yet to be identified works are still to be analyzed in future studies of this fascinating manuscript.

The works of Guerrero and the other Spanish composers are an important aspect of the manuscript and these works have an important role to play in its dating and provenance. In addition to the unique works themselves and those works that have only survived in manuscript, the original vocal versions having been lost, and for which it has not proved possible even to identify their texts. The transcription, performance and recording of some of these works continues, and a detailed codicological study of the manuscript is in progress. Clues to the performance practice of this repertory remain to be explored in depth, while some as yet to be identified works are still to be analyzed in future studies of this fascinating manuscript.

Table 3.1: References to music books for wind band

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution / Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seville Cathedral</td>
<td>1528 Payment to Francisco Martín Artayri for 'a book he is copying of certain works for the ministrés' ('un libro que pinta de ciertas obras para los ministrés') (88x ms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1549 Payment to the ministro Molnaro for 'a big music book for use by the ministrés' ('por un libro grande de música para el servicio de los ministrés') (148x ms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1549 Payment to the sakkah-player Mondoza for 'a music book for the ministrés' ('un libro de música para los ministrés') (120x ms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1566 Payment to the sakkah-player Jerónimo de Medina for a 'libro de música para los ministrés' presented to the chapter (900x ms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1571 Binding of a 'libro de música para los ministrés'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1571 Payment to Juan Bautista, sakkah-player, for '27 songs that he copied in a music book for the ministrés' ('27 canciones que hizo panta en un libro de música de ministrés') (84x ms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1572 'A book of masses by Guerrero for the ministrés' ('Un libro de misas del maestro Guerrero para los ministrés')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1578 Payment to Juan Bautista, sakkah-player, for repairing 'a music book for the shawms' ('un libro de música para los clarines')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1586 Payment to Diego López, ministro, for 'a book of motets for the ministrés' ('libro de motetes para los ministrés') (16,420 ms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1587 'A book of Victoria motets... do not give to the ministrés' ('Libro de los motetes de Victoria... no se entregue a los ministrés') [Motetae fectorum totius annus (Rome: Bazz, 1585)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1592-1594 Payments to Diego López, ministro, for notating ('pantando') a 'libro para los ministrés' of 230 folios (13,800 ms plus 2,234 ms for the binding)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|                    | 1616 Inventory of the books in the possession of the wind-band, in the case of the ministro Francisco Cano Albiznachin: Five partbooks with black covers 'de música de Guerrero' A choirbook of Victoria motets with old ['cohejadas'] covers [Motetae fectorum totius annus (Rome: Bazz, 1585)]
Another book called the 'battle book' (lHman de batallas') which is in the music gallery. Another music book with black wooden covers, manuscript ('canto a mano') usually used in the small gallery.

1625 Payment to Cristóbal de Rojas for a book he sold 'for the minstrels of this holy church to play from' (para laíer los minstrels desta Santa Iglesia') (128 mrs).

1626 Pedro de Porras donates his printed music book ('que es de cartas') to the chapel of the Virgen de la Antigua, to be used there.

Toledo Cathedral

1552 A book for the minstrels 'de las quince misas de Josquin' (125 mrs) (Liber quindecim missarum (Rome: Ancio, 1116)).

1537 Payment to the minstrel Cuellar for 'noting and testing and binding a book for the minstrels to play from' (pintar y letra y encadernación de un libro que se hizo por donde toman los dichos minstrels') (720 mrs).

1544 Payment to Martín Pérez, 'secretor de libros', for a book of polyphony of 107 folios 'para los minstrels' with three- and four-voice works (14,008 mrs).

1552-1554 Payment to Martín Pérez for a book of polyphony of 153 folios 'para los minstrels', for the major feasts with five- and six-voice works (16,094 mrs).

1590-1594 Alonso Gascón agreed to copy the following books for the cathedral:
A book 'de salmería' for four voices of 137 folios (13,974 mrs).
A book 'de salmería' for five and six voices of 153 folios (13,706 mrs).
A Te Deum Laudamus and another 14 works for four, five and six voices 'for processions inside and outside the church, for the greeting them and offerings and elevation motets' ('para cuando hay procesión por la iglesia o fuera, para recibimiento de ellas y ofrendas y motetes al altar')
'Songs and motets copied for the corregio players' ('Canones y motetes que está sacados para ministros para las corregimientos') for five and six voices, 73 folios.
A collection of psalms to be sung by 2 a cappella accompanied by an unspecified instrument, 154 folios.
An anthology of works for the wind band, 416 folios, bound in two volumes (42,452 mrs).

Granada Cathedral

1566-1568 Payments 'for carrying the shawm-players' book at Corpus Christi' ('por llevar el libro de las chirimías para el día del Corpus'); 'for carrying the shawm-players' book in the processions during the octave' ('llevar el libro de las chirimías en las procesiones'), (1236 mrs).

1569 Payment 'for copying the minstrels' book' (para pintar el libro de los minstrels') (730 mrs).

1575 References to 'los libros de los minstrels'.

1600 The books copied by Pedro Durán for the minstrels ('que hubo escrito para los minstrels') are returned to him.

1610 Purchase at the auction of the belongings of one of the minstrels of 'cinco libros con los que han de hacer los minstrels' (6500 mrs). At this time they only had one old book ('un libro muy viejo').

Placentia Cathedral

1568 The chapel master is requested 'if there were any good polyphonic works, whether for singers or minstrels, needed by the church, he should seek them out and bring them to the church' ('si osiere algunas obras buenas que falten en esta iglesia de canto de órgano se procuren y trayan a esta iglesia, así para los cantores como para los minstrels').

1600 It is agreed 'that the minstrels take the book and each keep it for a month' ('que los minstrels lleven el libro y le tengan por mes cada uno').

1608 It is agreed that 'a book of new and very good music should be sought and purchased for the minstrels to play from, given that the book they have now is very old and antiquated' ('Buscar y comprar un libro de música muy bueno, de cosas nuevas, por donde tengan los minstrels, atento que el que tienen es muy viejo y antiguo')

Burgos Cathedral

1587 'A book that has been acquired for the minstrels' ('Un libro que se ha traído para los minstrels').

1594 The instruments and books belonging to the church should be repossessed from a minstrel.
The Unica in MS 975 of the Manuel de Falla Library

Cuenca Cathedral

1635
Inventory of books for minstrels:
"An old book of motets and songs by various composers" ('Un libro viejo de motetes y canciones de diferentes autores')
"Another book of songs by various composers" ('Otro libro de canciones de diferentes autores')
"Another book of songs and psalms by various authors" ('Otro libro de canciones y salmódias de autores diferentes')
"Another book, just of songs" ('Otro libro de canciones solamente')
"Another small book with few leaves; the composer is Galvez" ('Otro libro pequeño con pocas hojas que es Galvez su autor').

Duca house of Medina Sidonia

1558
"Two music books belonging to the minstrels" ('Dos libros de música de los ministrillos').

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Composer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>127-28957</td>
<td>Pange lingua</td>
<td>J. Urrutia / C. Morales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>135-28957</td>
<td>Pange lingua</td>
<td>F. Guerrero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>134-28957</td>
<td>Sio fusce certo de levar per morte</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>137-28957</td>
<td>Ung moine</td>
<td>Lupus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>141-28957</td>
<td>Y te quiere materre</td>
<td>P. M anschinirz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>145-28957</td>
<td>Nescurost en trouver</td>
<td>J. Clements non Papa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>165-28957</td>
<td>Vultur quien</td>
<td>P. Guerrero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>183-28957</td>
<td>Christe potens rerum</td>
<td>F. Guerrero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>197-28957</td>
<td>Alginus dei</td>
<td>R. Celis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>188-28957</td>
<td>O quem super terram</td>
<td>F. Guerrero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>192-28957</td>
<td>Fuga enThisinus a duo</td>
<td>Medrano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>192-28957</td>
<td>Canon ad uniusus</td>
<td>Villalobos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>194-28957</td>
<td>[Canon]</td>
<td>Medrano</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3-3. Works by Pedro Guerrero in E-GR 975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Concordances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>150'--158</td>
<td>O Beata Maria, 24 pars  Accipe cor offerimus</td>
<td>E-ST 31, f. 97'; E-TZ 8, f. 31'--33; E-Vp 82, f. 16'--18; E-Zec 14, ff. 51'--52; GCA-Gc 3, f. 8', 11'--12; MEX-Pc 1, f. 135'--135; Intabulata for vihuela 1778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158'--159</td>
<td>Quaels occ dilecta nostra, 24 pars Dilecta nostra</td>
<td>GCA-Gc 3, ff. 9'--10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160'--161</td>
<td>Valtum tueum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161'--162</td>
<td>Quiroque prudentes</td>
<td>E-Tz 7, ff. 199'--201; GCA-Gc 3, ff. 56'--57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4

A Tale of Two Queens, Their Music Books, and the Village of Lerma

Douglas Kirk

In September 1538, when Philip III acceded to the Spanish throne, his first act was to appoint Francisco Gómez de Sandover y Rojas, Count of Deuia and a Gentleman of the Chamber and long-time acquaintance of the young king, as his valido, or first minister. Almost immediately, Gómez de Sandover (to whom we shall refer hereafter as the Duke of Lerma, or simply Lerma) began the pursuit of wealth and power that has given him an enduringly bad name among historians of the Hispanic empire.1 However, historians of the arts have many reasons to be grateful to the Duke of Lerma: he was an active patron, providing money for lavish court spectacles featuring music, poetry and dance; he funded the publication of many collections of music; he gave the young Rubens his start by commissioning the magnificent equestrian painting of himself that is now thought to have instigated the court culture of noble patronage of the arts in Golden Age Spain2; and, not least, he rebuilt the village seat of his dukedom after the image of the ideal secular and religious community—a construction that survives today largely as he envisioned it.

As part of this municipal construction, the Duke of Lerma substantially expanded the former parish church of San Pedro to serve as his ducal chapel. He also obtained the necessary dispensation from the Pope to

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1 More recent historians have favoured a more balanced view of Lerma and his efforts in foreign policy and economics as crown, while acknowledging the difficulties he faced in maintaining his position as the king’s favourite—the only source of his power. The magisterial account by Antonio Ferro (Ferres 2005) is particularly to be recommended.

2 Above this equestrian portrait of Lerma in 1653 and of the importance of the arts in Lerma’s formative years, including his relation by his uncle, Conrado Rojas y Sandover (legate to the Council of Trent and Archbishop of Seville), see Ferro 2004 and Schroth 2004.