

71b	142-143	Sancta Maria succurre miseris	4	<i>P.-Pm</i> MM 79; canon for four voices <i>ex unica</i> (S) In a different hand
72	144-145	O gloriosa domina	4	In a different hand
73	146-147	[R]egina coeli laetare	4	In a different hand
74	148-149	Miserere mei Deus	4	<i>vai continuando</i> f. 155 In a different hand
75	150-154	Miserere mei Deus	4	In a different hand; continued from no. 74
76	155-159	Ecce enim veritatem [Miserere mei Deus]	4	<i>P.-Pm</i> MM 77-78; plainchant, in a different hand; <i>P.-Pm</i> MM 76 only on p. 168; remaining pages: blank
77a	160-168	[Different texts]	1	<i>P.-Pm</i> MM 79, in a different hand; pp. 161-8: blank
77b	160	Passio	4	

THE UNICA IN MS 975 OF THE MANUEL DE FALLA
LIBRARY: A MUSIC BOOK FOR WIND BAND

Juan Ruiz Jiménez

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 1526 that their presence became formalized at major ecclesiastical institutions. The motive for this institutionalization was essentially financial. Seville Cathedral, aware of the expenditure occasioned by the participation of groups of minstrels in an increasing number of annual services, decided to place them on the pay roll. The cathedral chapter was 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

¹ Ruiz Jiménez 2004: 199-240; and Kreitner 2003b.

polyphony is found in an *intarsia* in the choirstalls of Burgos Cathedral, which can be dated between 1505 and 1512 and attributed to Andrés de Nájera (Figure 3.1).² The piece depicted in the *intarsia* appears to be unique, and is the earliest work that can be definitely associated with a Spanish wind band. It establishes that at least from the early sixteenth century the wind-players' musical education included the ability to read 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 ecclesiastical institutions dates from the late 1520s, and references are also found to wind bands in the service of noble chapels (see Table 3.1).³

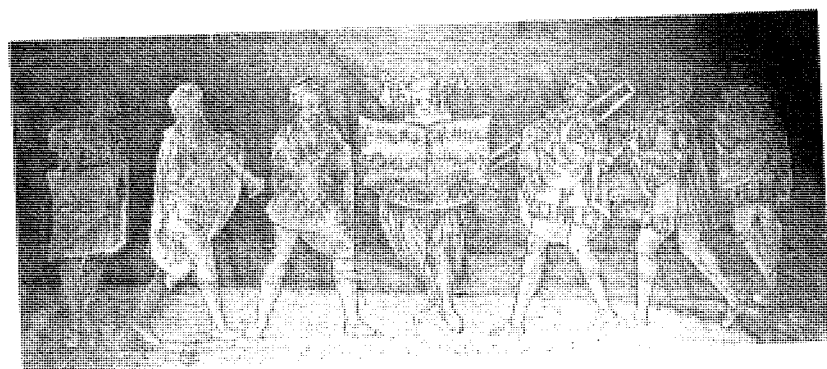


Figure 3.1. Wind band performing from a choirbook, *intarsia*, choirstalls of Burgos Cathedral, 1505–1512, attributed to Andrés de Nájera (Photograph Juan José Rey Marcos, reproduced with permission)

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 the *intarsia* of the second seat (counting from left to right) in the lower row of choirstalls: see Mateo Gómez 1997. The piece was transcribed in Rey Marcos 1979: 348–50, and a recording of it made by the Ministriles de Marsias, *Trazos de Ministriles* (NBmusika, 2008). I wish to thank Pepe Rey for supplying the photograph, and allowing me to reproduce it in this article, as well as the related bibliographical references.

³ Ruiz Jiménez 2004: 233–5; and Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 102. The post-mortem inventory of Juan Alonso de Guzmán, Sixth Duke of Medina Sidonia, drawn up on 26 November 1558, in his palace at Sanlúcar de Barrameda, lists an impressive collection of instruments as well as two music books for the use of his wind-players: see Urquizar Herrera 2007: 201.

in Spain and Spanish America;⁴ the earliest of these is MS 975 of the library of the composer Manuel de Falla [*E-GRmf* 975].⁵ As is usually the case with this type of book, the orthography of the textual incipits and composers' names – or, indeed, the absence of either or both – makes identification of some works difficult, a task made even more problematic by the occasional false attribution. These books generally include works by important local composers as well as imported international repertory of the highest quality. The high incidence of concordances between the surviving books is striking; some of these works are known only through these instrumental sources, suggesting a degree of selection in the repertory and direct transmission through instrumentalists who were also copyists.⁶ Clearly, the concept of an unicum in this context is problematic: a unique work can lose that status on discovery of a new source, and may even already exist in a surviving source that has yet to be studied or located through a bibliographical reference that may have been overlooked. The risk of mistakenly granting a work unique status is even more pronounced in the case of, for example, psalm verses where it is sometimes impossible to identify concordances through existing catalogues or to gain access to the actual source. For the purposes of this essay, I will treat psalm verses as a group and have not listed them as separate items in Table 3.2, though I intend to analyse them in greater depth in a forthcoming study.

The precise date and origin of manuscript *E-GRmf* 975 is still open to question. I have proposed some hypotheses in my previously published studies, and these are further supported by the present consideration of its unica. Analysis of the repertory as a whole suggests a probable link with the Capilla Real in Granada and a likely date from the 1560s; analysis of the unica has thus far not contradicted these findings. The link with the Capilla Real is suggested by the inclusion of three works by Rodrigo de Ceballos, chapel master of the Royal Chapel between 1561 and his death in 1581. Especially noteworthy is the unicum 'A[g]nus [dei]', a work for five voices based on the chant melody sung in the Capilla Real in Granada on double-

⁴ I do not include in this list, because of its nature and function, the *Libro de polifonía* n° 6 preserved at Segovia Cathedral [*E-SE* 6]; this may have been used by the organist or the wind-players or even had a didactic purpose: see Cea Galán 1999: 136–7; and Lobo 2001: i–iii.

⁵ The contents and description of these books for wind-players are found in: Elders 1967; Christoforidis & Ruiz Jiménez 1994; Kirk 1995; Ruiz Jiménez 2001; Kirk 2002; and Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 196–8 and 346–7.

⁶ A comparative analysis of the contents of these books can be found in Ruiz Jiménez 2008a; see also Kreitner 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.⁷ 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 1553 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 e himnos', some of which became part of the canonic repertory of cathedral.⁸

The manuscript *E-GRmf 975* was a carefully planned collection, and has some noteworthy features. The first part (ff. 1^v-105) consists of psalm verses, Magnificats and responsories for the Office hours, organized by tone, from tone I to VIII. This first part is followed by the *Missa* 'tertii toni' by Ceballos, other sections of the Ordinary of the Mass, and verses of the multifunctional hymns 'Vexilla regis', 'Pange lingua' and 'Sacris solemnis' (ff. 106^v-134^r). Throughout this anthology of liturgical works songs and motets for four and five voices are interpolated for reasons that are not immediately apparent.⁹ From this point in the manuscript (f. 134^v), the works are ordered according to the number of voice parts: first comes a section of four-voice works, strictly divided into songs (ff. 134^v-156) and motets (ff. 156^v-173); then a section of five-voice works with alternating groups from both genres (ff. 173^v-192). The final section of the manuscript consists of three instrumental canons, added by a later hand (ff. 192^r-194^r).

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 tradi-

7 Ceballos OO I, prefatory note: 172-78.

8 Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 109-13.

9 'Song' ('canción') is used here according to its historical use and meaning as a generic term including all vernacular-texted works belonging to different genres: chanson, madrigal, villancico, etc.

tion, especially as far as psalmody and hymnody were concerned, areas of the liturgy that remained resistant to the introduction of works drawn from a northern repertory, particularly before the adoption of the norms advocated by the Council of Trent. The group of verses for the Office are, as I have already noted, the most complex in terms of identification. Concordances have not yet been found for a fairly large proportion of the anonymous psalms and doxologies, whether presented as isolated or alternatim verses. The best represented composer in this section, as in the manuscript as a whole, is Francisco Guerrero, even in those psalm-settings that, for the present, can be considered unica: 'Dilexi quoniam' (ff. 13^v-16) and the fourth-tone 'Dixit dominus' (ff. 43^v-44). A particularly important aspect of the psalm-settings by Guerrero found in this manuscript for which total or partial concordances have been found is that they present, to a greater or lesser degree, versions different to those published in his *Liber vesperarum* (Rome, 1584). A good example is provided by the two versions of the first-tone 'Dixit Dominus', copied in this manuscript at ff. 5^v-6/9^v-13, and in the 1584 edition at ff. 2^v-4. In the Falla manuscript, the verses 'Tecum in principio' and 'Dominus a dextris tuis' are completely different: they both include an alternative, five-voice 'Gloria patri' verse, presumably also by Guerrero, although I have not been able to find a concordance. Only the second manuscript version includes the 'Sicut erat', in which the Cantus II and Altus II are completely different to those found in the print, while major differences are also encountered in the other voices in the final section. Those psalms by Guerrero for which concordances have not been found, together with those that probably represent versions that predate the published ones, suggest direct transmission from Seville, or may reflect versions found in the now lost publication *Psalmorum quatuor vocum liber primus. Accedit missa defunctorum* (Rome, 1559),¹⁰ though these two possibilities would not necessarily be mutually exclusive. In either case, this would suggest a date earlier than 1584, and would reinforce a copying date in the 1560s. Indeed, there is evidence for the composition of these psalms at this time: in 1560, the cleric Antonio Pinedo was paid 7,786 maravedies by the Seville chapter for copying 'a book of psalms composed by Guerrero'.¹¹

Other works included in this section of the manuscript support a copying date of the 1560s. The bass part of the doxology of the anonymous setting of the psalm 'Dixit dominus' in the fourth tone (ff. 31^v-34)

10 On this print and the possible lines of transmission of its contents in manuscript collections, see Snow 1987: 157-8.

11 Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 115: 'un libro de salmos que compuso el maestro Guerrero'.

(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. 54^v-55) 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 polifonía n.º 2* (*E-Sc 2*, ff. 23^v-24^r) 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 'Laetatus sum' with an attribution to 'P.º [Pedro] Guerrero' (ff. 96^v-100). 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 Urrede's setting of 'Pange lingua' (ff. 127^v-128) to which a fifth voice has been added with an ascription to Morales – a further unicum.¹⁶ It is difficult to establish a route of transmission for this work, 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 solemniis' (ff. 128^v-129), which was composed while Morales was in Toledo, when he must have been taught by his compatriot at the start of his professional career.¹⁷ Among the settings of 'Pange lingua' – the most copied hymn in the manuscript because of its

12 Seville Cathedral, Archivo de música, Leg. 110-1-12.

13 Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 118 and 400.

14 For example, the 'Gloria patri' of the fifth-tone 'Dixit dominus' (ff. 47^v-48) and the setting copied separately at ff. 45^v-46.

15 Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 340-1 and 347.

16 The opening of this work is transcribed in Nelson 2007: 87.

17 Noone 2003: 31-2 and 98-100.

multi-functional nature in liturgical, devotional and processional contexts – another unique three-voice version by Guerrero is found (ff. 133^v-134). Both this version, and another four-voice setting of the hymn (ff. 129^v-130), with a concordance in Puebla Cathedral MS 19 (*MEX-Pc 19*, ff. 62^v-63), 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 chapelmaster 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 25*); these may or may not have formed part of the cycle copied for Jaén.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 975*, with twelve chansons and one motet, is Thomas Crecquillon; 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 1550. There is no actual unicum among these works, but one song, 'Pange me ami duche' (ff. 151^v-152), 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. 90^v-92).¹⁹ This manuscript, which was copied in the second half of the seventeenth 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 Crecquillon'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 975* and *MEX-Pc 19*) is reflected in their

18 Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 108-9; and Noone 2003: 29-32.

19 *Crecquillon OO xvii*: xxviii, 3-5.

20 Kirk 2002: 53-4; and Ruiz Jiménez 2008: 47-49.

16 concordances, three of which are found only in these sources and share a centre of diffusion, probably Seville or Granada.²¹

Two unica are found amongst the group of chansons copied in *E-GRmf 975*: 'Ung moine' by Lupus (ff. 137^v-138) and 'Nes gra voi' by Jacobus Clemens non Papa (ff. 145^v-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 'Brunecte / Ung moine blanc ou noir'.²² As regards the second song, the corruption of the text has made it resistant to identification, but it is in fact the chanson 'Ne sçauroit-on trouver', which survives incompletely (Altus and Bassus only) in Tylman Susato's *La fleur de chansons* (Antwerp, [1552]) [RISM 15527], and can thus be considered an unicum.²³

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.²⁴ 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.²⁵ 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-Josquin 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

21 In addition to Crecquillon's 'Pane me ami duche', there are the motet 'O Maria' (ff. 121^v-122) and Benedictus (ff. 124^v-125r) attributed to Francisco Guerrero.

22 Two sources survive for this work: the Dijon Chansonnier (*F-Dm 517*, ff. 176^v-177) and Montecassino 871 (*I-MC 871 N*, f. 149^v): see Maniates 1989: xlvi. If the incipit were in fact 'Ung jeune moine', other possibilities, closer chronologically and stylistically to the repertory of *E-GRmf 975*, would arise.

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

24 Ruiz Jiménez 2001: 27 and 31-2.

25 Ruiz Jiménez 2002.

did not make it into printed collections and would have circulated only in manuscript. Traces of them have been lost through the destruction of the library in the fire that burned down the Alcázar in Madrid in 1734.²⁶

Madrigals are more rarely found in *E-GRmf 975*, although works by Arcadelt, Lassus and Verdelot were included. Among the madrigals, a work bearing the incipit 'Sio fue si certo de levar per morte' is preserved (ff. 134^v-135); though somewhat corrupt, this is in fact the *strambotto* 'S'io fusse certo di levar per morte' by the Italian poet-musician Serafino de' Ciminelli dall'Aquila.²⁷ To date I have not been able to find a concordance for this piece and so have included it among the unica of the Falla manuscript.²⁸ The Petrarchan Italian poet had his admirers in Spain, who paid homage to him in their own verse, as did, for example, the poet and playwright Bartolomé Torres Naharro, who may have resided in Seville before and after a sojourn in Italy.²⁹ Serafino attained a marked degree of celebrity in Spain through the line 'Et per tal variar natura è bella' from his sonnet 'Io pur travaglio, e so che 'l tempo gioco', which endured into the seventeenth century thanks to its citation by writers of the renown of Lope de Vega and Miguel de Cervantes.³⁰ Of special interest in the Falla manuscript is the unicum 'Yo te quiere matare' attributed to Pierre de Manchicourt (ff. 142^v-143) since there is no other evidence to suggest that he composed a work with a Castilian or Italian text. His presence in the royal chapel in Madrid from 1559 until his death there in 1564, would explain the existence of such a work. His music continued to be copied for the chapel of Philip II in 1591, and some of his works are only known from their survival in musical sources of Spanish origin.³¹

Unica are also found amongst the motets copied in *E-GRmf 975*. The first to be included in this genre is the anonymous 'Vultum tuum' (ff. 160^v-

26 Robledo *et al.* 2000: 380-408; and Knighton 2004.

27 'S'io fusse certo di levar per morte/ Questa alma afflicta da sì longo errore,/ Con la mia man sarei costante e forte/ Per levar dal mio cor tanto dolore;/ Ma temo poi el morir di peggior sorte,/ Che amor non dia maggior martello al core;/ Et poi dal corpo l'anima partita/ Non desiasse retornare in vita. Strambotto n° 131 by Serafino Aquilano: see <http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it>, consulted 8 February 2010.

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

29 Torres de Naharro's plays *Seraphina* and *Aquilana* reflect his admiration for the Italian poet: see Gillet 1961, iv: 420.

30 Campana 1997; see <http://www.h-net.org/~cervantes/csa/artics97/campana.htm>, consulted 20 February 2010.

31 Robledo *et al.* 2000: 399-400.

161),³² 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, 'Quinque prudentes', anonymous in the Falla manuscript, can be attributed to the same composer thanks to another Granadine manuscript sent to Toledo Cathedral (see Table 3.3).³³ I believe the anonymous pieces 'Qualis est dilecta nostra' and 'Dilecta nostra' to be the *prima* and *secunda pars* of the same motet, 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.³⁴ This Mass is found only rarely in pretridentine Hispanic liturgies, though it is quite commonly included in printed Roman breviaries from the end of the fifteenth century.³⁵ The only known concordance for this work is found in the *Libro de Polifonía n.º 3* of Guatemala Cathedral (*GCA-Gc 3*).³⁶ 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. 8^v); the other complete (ff. 11^v-12). Following the first of these versions is copied the motet 'Qualis est dilecta nostra' (with the Superius and Tenor of its *prima pars* missing at ff. 9-10), thus observing the same order found in *E-GRmf 975*. Pedro Guerrero's 'Quinque 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

32 The text 'Vultum tuum deprecabuntur omnes divites plebes', drawn from Psalm 45(44):13, is frequently used in Marian works. In the Spanish context, it forms part of the motet 'Dulcissima Maria' set by Francisco Guerrero in his *Sacrae cantiones* (Sevilla, 1555) and by Sebastián de Vivanco in his *Liber motectorum* (Salamanca, 1610). In the international repertory, Josquin del Prez and William Byrd set this text for the Proper of the Mass, the first in the series of *motetti missali* published in the *Motetti libro quarto* (Venezia, 1505) for the Mass for the Annunciation, and the second in his *Gradualia ac cantione sacrae* (London, 1605) for the same liturgical occasion.

33 *E-Tc 7*, ff. 199^v-201; see Christoforidis & Ruiz Jiménez 1994: 210.

34 On Seville's importance at the vanguard of support for the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, see Borgerding 1997, Chapter IV 'Symbolism in text and music: Motets for the Immaculate Conception': 160-213.

35 *Missale Romanum* 1474, ii: 176.

36 The complete text can be reconstructed from this manuscript: 'Qualis est dilecta nostra, charissime, qualis est mater, dicite Domini, qualis et quanta sit soror et sponsa Christi. Dilecta nostra candida, immaculata quasi aurora consurgens. Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, Maria: quia fecit tibi magna qui potens est'. The last line is the text for Communion of the same feast.

of the two groups the follow, was dedicated to a single composer, in this case Pedro Guerrero. The choice of the Gradual text 'Qualis est dilecta nostra' might be connected with Pedro Guerrero's sojourn in Rome.³⁷

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.³⁸ It has been suggested that Pedro Guerrero's motet collection might have been printed, as was his brother Francisco's, by Martín de Montesdoca between 1553 and 1555.³⁹ The *Liber primus epigrammatum* reached Mexico Cathedral at some point in the sixteenth century, and Montesdoca was praecentor 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.⁴⁰

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 centonization 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 1560.⁴¹ The most likely source for this motet might be the poem *De Christo*, attributed by some commentators to the Spanish pope Saint Dámaso (366-84).⁴² Guerrero may

37 This text would be set many years later by Pietro Pace, organist of the Santa Casa de Loreto, and included in his *Il quinto libro de motetti*, op. 10 (Venice, 1615), composed 'in lode della Gloriosissima Vergine Maria'.

38 *Primeira parte* 1649: 36, n.º 201.

39 Iglesias 1998: 463-7.

40 Marín López 2008: 578-9.

41 The poets include Clément Marot, Helius Eobanus Hessus, Jakob Micyllus and Ugo-lino Verino. I am grateful to Pepe Rey for his helpful indications for some of these texts and for discussing them with me. On Lutheranism in Seville, see Menéndez Pelayo 1880, ii: 440-50.

42 'Christe potens rerum, redeuntis conditor aevi, / Vox summi sensusque Dei, quem fundit ab alta / Mente Pater, tantique dedit consortia regni / Impia tu nostrae domuisti crimina vitae': see *Patrologia*, 13: 376. Other scholars attribute the poem to the last of the great Ro-

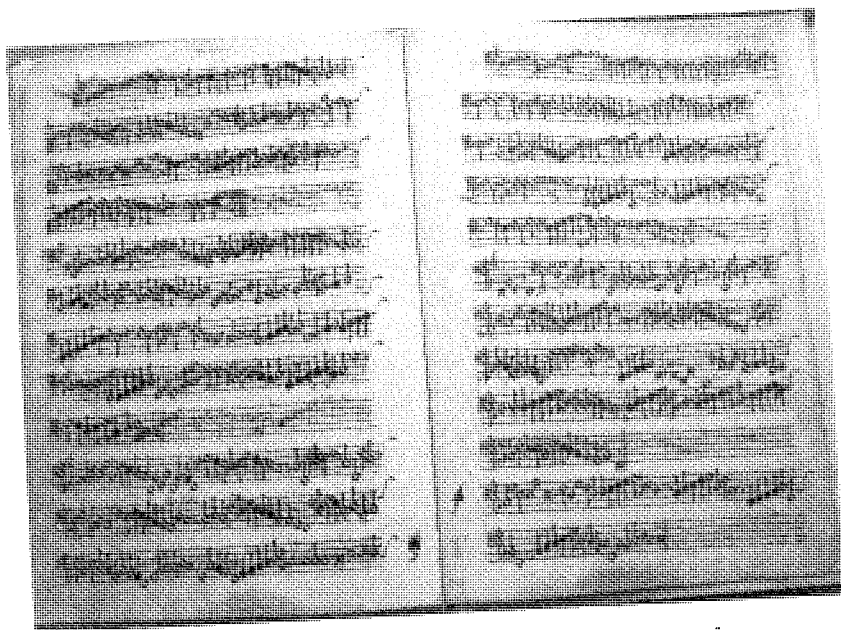


Figure 3.2. Francisco Guerrero, 'O quam super terram',
E-GRmf 975, ff. 188^v-189^r

have had access to a text of this kind through his contact with the humanist academy in Seville led by Juan de Mal Lara (1526-71); following this humanist's death, the academy was kept alive by some of his pupils until, towards the end of the sixteenth century, Francisco Pacheco became its director.⁴³ I have not yet been able to locate a possible source for the text of the second motet. In any case, it is surely significant that these two works, surviving uniquely in *E-GRmf* 975, were not included by Guerrero in his published volumes of motets, nor are they found in manuscript sources or listed in the inventories of the music collection at Seville Cathedral, although it is true that the contents of the music books were not always listed in detail. Possibly these were motets composed for special occasions, perhaps for specific events relating to the city of Seville, as is known to have happened from non-musical sources; if this were the case, it would explain the apparent rarity of the texts and their lack of trans-

man poets, Claudio Claudiano (fourth century), with the title *De Salvatore*, one of two Christocentric works found in his *Carmina minore*. For a textual analysis, see Lavalle 1988.

43 Pacheco 1599: 16-8.

mission. Happily these particular pieces survived in this anthology of instrumental music, and should be added to Guerrero's worklist.⁴⁴

The Falla manuscript concludes with three instrumental canons added later by different hands; they are also unica. 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 1596.⁴⁵ 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 1607.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ 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 1576.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ The only

44 Ruiz Jiménez 2007: 128-9 and 133.

45 Kastner 1957: 130.

46 Vicente 1996: 24-5.

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.

48 Dabrio González 1991: 109-18.

49 In 1568, don Luis Cristóbal Ponce 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 – indeed, this might explain the later addition of this work to the manuscript. Juan de Villalobos, father, was chapel master of Almería Cathedral from 1590 until his death in 1614.⁵⁰ His son followed him in this position until his appointment in 1627 to the same post at Guadix Cathedral, where he remained until 1633.⁵¹ In 1631, he competed for the chaplaincy linked to the chapel mastership of the Capilla Real in Granada, but was placed as runner-up.⁵² If this work is indeed by Juan de Villalobos, it would strengthen the ties between *E-GRmf* 975 and the Granadine Royal Chapel. The *Libro de polifonía n.º 1* of the Capilla Real (*E-GRcr* 1, ff. 34^v-37^r) contains two incomplete textless works, also copied in a rough hand, the first of which bears the same attribution to Villalobos.⁵³

The Falla manuscript 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 relatively large proportion of unica by both Spanish and non-Spanish composers is an important aspect of the manuscript, and these works have an important role to play in its dating and provenance. In addition to the unica themselves are those works that have only survived in manuscripts of instrumental repertory, the original vocal versions having been lost, and for which it has not proved possible even to identify their texts.⁵⁴ The transcription, performance and recording of some of these works continues, and a detailed codicological study of the manuscript is in preparation. Clues as to the performance practice relating to 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.

Guerrero's *Sacrae cantiones* (Seville, 1555) as well as patron of Morales, bought a book of polyphony from 'Villalobos', but I have not been able to find any more information on this musician. See Schwartz 2001, i: 432.

50 López Martín *et al.* 1997: 57. In 1599 Villalobos briefly left the chapelmastership at Almería to take up the same position at the collegiate church of Antequera, where he stayed only until the following year; see Llordén 1976-7: 124-5.

51 López Martín *et al.* 1997: 58; Francisco Javier Corral Báez, 'Guadix', *DMEH* 5: 919.

52 López Calo 2005: 56-7.

53 López Calo 1993, I: 20-1. Although there are some very similar notational elements in both the polyphonic manuscript in the Capilla Real and *E-GRmf* 975, the scribal hand would seem to be different.

54 Guerrero 1999.

Table 3.1. References to music books for wind band

<i>Institution / Date</i>	<i>Details</i>
Seville Cathedral	
1528	Payment to Francisco Martín Arroyo for 'a book he is copying of certain works for the minstrels' ('un libro que pauta de ciertas obras para los ministriles') (680 mrs).
1549	Payment to the minstrel Medrano 'for a big music book for use by the minstrels' ('por un libro grande de música para el servicio de ministriles') (3468 mrs).
1549	Payment to the sackbut-player Montoya for 'a music book for the minstrels' ('un libro de música para los ministriles') (1700 mrs).
1560	Payment to the minstrel Medrano 'por un libro de música para ministriles' (5283 mrs).
1566	Payment to the sackbut-player Jerónimo de Medina for a 'libro de música para los ministriles' presented to the chapter (9000 mrs).
1571	Binding of a 'libro de música para los ministriles'.
1571	Payment to Juan Bautista, sackbut-player, for '27 songs that he copied in a music book for the minstrels' ('27 canciones que hizo puntar en un libro de música de ministriles') (204 mrs).
1572	'A book of masses by Guerrero for the minstrels' ('Vn libro de misas del maestro Guerrero para los ministriles').
1578	Payment to Juan Bautista, sackbut-player, for repairing 'a music book for the shawms' ('un libro de música para los chirimías').
1580	Payment to Diego López, minstrel, for a 'a book of motets for the minstrels' ('libro de motetes para los ministriles') (10,200 mrs).
1587	'A book of Victoria motets... do not give to the minstrels' ('Libro de los motetes de Victoria... no se entregue a los menestres') [<i>Motecta festorum totius anni</i> (Rome: Basa, 1585)].
1592-1594	Payments to Diego López, minstrel, for notating ('puntar') a 'libro para los ministriles' of 230 folios (13,800 mrs plus 2244 mrs for the binding).
1616	Inventory of the books in the possession of the wind-band, in the care of the minstrel Francisco Cano Albánchez: Five partbooks with black covers 'de música de Guerrero' A choirbook of Victoria motets with old ['esbejadas'] covers [<i>Motecta festorum totius anni</i> (Rome: Basa, 1585)]

- Another book called the 'battle book' ('llaman de batalla') which is in the music gallery
 Another music book with black wooden covers, manuscript ('scrito de 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 tañer los ministriles desta Santa Iglesia') (5288 mrs).
- 1626 Pedro de Porras donates his printed music book ('que es de estampa') to the chapel of the Virgen de la Antigua, to be used there.
- Toledo Cathedral
- 1532 A book for the minstrels 'de las quince misas de Josquin' (1428 mrs) [*Liber quindecim missarum* (Rome: Antico, 1516)].
- 1537 Payment to the minstrel Cuellar for 'notating and texting and binding a book for the minstrels to play from' ('puntar y letra y encuadernación de un libro que se hizo por donde tañen los dichos ministriles') (1700 mrs).
- 1544 Payment to Martín Pérez, 'escritor de libros', for a book of polyphony of 107 folios 'para los ministriles' with three- and four-voice works (14,008 mrs).
- 1552-1554 Payment to Martín Pérez for a book of polyphony of 87 folios 'para los ministriles', for the major feasts with five- and six-voice works (14,994 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 (15,606 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 rescibimiento de ellas y ofrendas, y motetes al alçar')
 'Songs and motets copied for the cornett-players' ('Canciones y motetes que están sacados para ministriles para las cornetas') for five and six voices, 73 folios
 A collection of psalms to be sung by a *triple* accompanied by an unspecified instrument, 104 folios
 An anthology of works for the wind band, 416 folios, bound in two volumes (42,432 mrs).

Jaen Cathedral

- 1565 'Tres libros... de música de ministriles' presented by Francisco Carrillo, master of the minstrels (7500 mrs).
- 1573 Several books 'for shawms' ('para chirimías') copied by Francisco Carrillo.

Granada Cathedral

- 1566-1568 Payments 'for carrying the shawm-players' book at Corpus Christi' ('por llevar el libro de las chirimyas para el día del Corpus'); 'for carrying the shawm-players' book in the processions during the octave' ('llevar el libro de las chirimyas el octavario en las procesiones').
- 1569 Payment 'for copying the minstrels' book' ('para pabtar el libro de los ministriles') (748 mrs).
- 1585 References to 'los libros de los ministriles'.
- 1600 The books copied by Pedro Durán for the minstrels ('que había escrito para los ministriles') 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 tañer los ministriles' (6800 mrs). At this time they only had one old book ('un libro muy viejo').

Plasencia 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 oviere 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 ministriles').
- 1600 It is agreed 'that the minstrels take the book and each keep it for a month' ('que los ministriles 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 tañan los ministriles, 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 ministriles').
- 1594 The instruments and books belonging to the church should be repossessed from a minstrel.

1624	Pedro de Porras sends his printed book to the cathedral (5100 mrs).
Royal Chapel of Granada	
1598	The 'músicos' do not wish to take the books belonging to the Royal Chapel when they play outside the chapel 'because they own some very good ones themselves' ('porque ellos tienen otros muy buenos').
1611	A book is purchased for the minstrels (204 mrs).
Palencia Cathedral	
1605	Reference 'al libro de los ministriles'.
1624	Pedro de Porras sends his printed book to the cathedral (2040 mrs).
Sigüenza Cathedral	
1610	Books donated to the chapter by the minstrel Pedro Caballero.
1624	Pedro de Porras sends his printed book to the cathedral (1875 mrs).
1624	A book for minstrels is sent by the chapel master of Ciudad Rodrigo Cathedral.
Collegiate church of Lerma	
1609	Two books of 'songs for minstrels' ('canciones para ministriles').
College of Corpus Christi (Valencia)	
1618	Purchase of a 'libro de música para ministriles' (6 libras).
1620	Purchase of a book for minstrels.
Badajoz Cathedral	
1624	Pedro de Porras sends his printed book to the cathedral (2250 mrs).
Calahorra Cathedral	
1624	Pedro de Porras sends his printed book to the cathedral (3400 mrs).
Santiago Cathedral	
1624	Pedro de Porras sends his printed book to the cathedral (4500 mrs).
Zamora Cathedral	
1624	Pedro de Porras sends his printed book to the cathedral.
Saragossa Cathedral (La Seo)	
1624	Pedro de Porras sends his printed book to the cathedral (13 libras and 4 sueldos).

Cuenca Cathedral

1633	Inventory of books for minstrels: 'An old book of motets and songs by various composers' ('Un libro biexo de motetes y canciones de diferentes autores') 'Another book of songs by various composers' ('Otro libro de canciones de diferentes autores') 'Another books of songs and psalmody by various authors' ('Otro libro de canciones y salmodias 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 foxas que es Galvez su autor').
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Ducal house of Medina Sidonia

1558	'Two music books belonging to the minstrels' ('Dos libros de música de los ministriles').
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Table 3.2. Unica in E-GRmf 975

Nº	Fols	Work	Composer
61	127 ^v -128	Pange lingua	J. Urrede / C. Morales
66	133 ^v -134	Pange lingua	F. Guerrero
67	134 ^v -135	S'io fusse certo de levar per morte	Anonymous
70	137 ^v -138	Ung moine	Lupus
75	142 ^v -143	Yo te quiere matare	P. Manchicourt
78	145 ^v -146	Ne sçauroit-on trouver	J. Clemens non Papa
92	160 ^v -161	Vultum tuum	P. Guerrero?
108	183 ^v -184	Christe potens rerum	F. Guerrero
112	187 ^v -188	A[g]nus dei	R. Ceballos
113	188 ^v -189	O quam super terram	F. Guerrero
117	192 ^v	Fuga en unisonus a dúo	Medrano
118	192 ^v	Canon ad unisonus	Villalobos
119	194	[Canon]	Medrano

Table 3.3. Works by Pedro Guerrero in *E-GRmf* 975

<i>Fols</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Concordances</i>
156 ^v -158	O Beata Maria <i>2a pars</i> Accipe cor offerimus	<i>E-SI</i> 21, f. 97 ^v ; <i>E-TZ</i> 8, ff. 34 ^v -38; <i>E-Vp</i> s.s., ff. 56 ^v -58; <i>E-Zac</i> 34, ff. 51 ^v -52; <i>GCA-Gc</i> 3, ff. 8 ^v , 11 ^v -12; <i>MEX-Pc</i> 1, ff. 102 ^v -103; Intabu- lated for vihuela 1576 ⁸
158 ^v -159	Qualis est dilecta nostra <i>2a pars</i> Dilecta nostra	<i>GCA-Gc</i> 3, ff. 9-10
160 ^v -161	Vultum tuum	
161 ^v -162	Quinque prudentes	<i>E-Tc</i> 7, ff. 199 ^v -201; <i>GCA-Gc</i> 3, ff. 56 ^v -57

A TALE OF TWO QUEENS, THEIR MUSIC BOOKS,
AND THE VILLAGE OF LERMA

Douglas Kirk

In September 1598, when Philip III acceded to the Spanish throne, his first act was to appoint Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, Count of Denia and a Gentleman of the Chamber and long-time acquaintance of the young king, as his *valido*, or first minister. Almost immediately, Gómez de Sandoval (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 entire culture of noble patronage of the arts in Golden Age Spain;² and, not least, he rebuilt the village seat of his dukedom after his 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

¹ More recent historians have favoured a more balanced view of Lerma and his efforts in foreign policy and economics at court, 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 Feros (Feros 2000) is particularly to be recommended.

² About this equestrian portrait of Lerma in 1603 and of the importance of the arts in Lerma's formative years, including his tutelage by his uncle, Cristóbal Rojas y Sandoval (delegate to the Council of Trent and Archbishop of Seville), see Feros 2008 and Schroth 2008.