Infunde amorem cordibus: an early 16th-century polyphonic hymn cycle from Seville

The manuscript Tarazona Cathedral 2–3 has received a good deal of attention from eminent scholars over the last half century. While they have differed in their findings as to its dating and provenance, they have been unanimous in concluding that it is the most important surviving source for sacred music from the time of the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella. I have studied the dating of the manuscript elsewhere, and proposed a Sevillian origin for it, but here I shall concentrate on one important aspect: the cycle of polyphonic hymn settings included in it (see table 1). Indeed, it was this cycle that first drew attention to the manuscript through the study and edition by Rudolf Gerber. The Tarazona cycle has since been studied in the broader context of the hymn cycle of this period by Tom R. Ward and Carmen Julia Gutiérrez; Bruno Turner has also considered it from the viewpoint of performance practice. Yet up till now, no one has examined it in detail in the context of Spanish liturgy of the first decades of the 16th century, an approach that proves to be enlightening as regards the provenance of the cycle, and thus the polyphonic repertory of the manuscript as a whole.

The Sevillian origins of Tarazona 2–3 are immediately suggested by the profile of the composers included in the manuscript. The proportion of works by composers with ties to Seville Cathedral is so high that it is difficult to imagine that its compilation could have been carried out at any other institution. While there were several musicians with the name ‘Alba’, I have shown that the works attributed to ‘Alonso/A dalua’ must have been by Alonso Pérez de Alba, a singer at Seville Cathedral from 1482 and chapelmast from 1491, a position he held until 1497. His name reappears in documents from 1503 until his death in September 1504. The identification of Pedro de Porto and Pedro de Escobar remains to be clarified, but only the name Escobar appears in Seville during the time he was chapelmast there (1507–14), and this was how he signed his name (illus.1). The third and most prominent composer in Tarazona Cathedral 2–3, as well as in the hymn cycle, is Francisco de Peñalosa.

My recent research in the cathedral archives has shown that Peñalosa was present in Seville more often than has been thought, since he was obliged to reside there in order to obtain the income from the benefices he held at the cathedral. It is clear that, although the archdeaconate of Carmona, held by Peñalosa, was the last dignity to be founded at the cathedral, it was more important, and more lucrative than previously believed, yielding 50 per cent more than a standard canonry; it was thus a major step in his career, both socially and economically. During his sojourn in Rome (1517–20), albeit only after a fierce lawsuit, he managed to receive part of the income, but never that part that required his actual presence. Between 1506 and 1509 his time in Seville was irregular, but from July 1510 he maintained a house, rented from the cathedral chapter, in the Abades area of the city. From 1516, following the death of King Ferdinand, he rented a second house in Borciguenería Street; both properties were transferred to his nephew Luis de Peñalosa, also a canon at Seville, on his death in 1528. Between 1513 and 1517 he resided in Seville for long periods, as he did on his return from Rome...
in 1520 until his death some eight years later. He was buried in the nave dedicated to St Paul in the cathedral, near to the epistle pulpit; his burial inscription reads: ‘Here lies the illustrious Francisco de Pen˜alosa, archdeacon of Carmona, canon of this Holy Church who died on 1 April 1528.’

Thus the composer profile of Tarazona Cathedral is decidedly Sevillian, and it should come as no surprise that the manuscript was compiled there. In general, collections of hymns, by their nature short and functional pieces, would seem to have been composed or compiled according to certain local requirements, and many survive in a unique source, often without attribution. They are usually copied in liturgical order: the temporal feasts first, followed by those of the sanctorale in chronological order, with those used in a generic form (feasts of the apostles, virgins etc.) included at the end. From about 1500 and throughout the 16th century polyphonic hymn-settings were usually constructed over a cantus firmus in either the superius or tenor parts, and in some hymns the cantus firmus was highlighted by the use of chant notation in that voice, though at other times mensural notation was used. Usually only alternate verses of a hymn were set polyphonically, with the chant sung in alternatim; in the polyphonic settings the chant might be more or less elaborated, or its identity might be clearly preserved. It is the chant on which the hymn-setting was based that can often give a clue as to the origin of the cycle as a whole.

This study will focus on the Spanish breviaries most closely associated with the places with which the Tarazona cycle has been connected, as well as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folios</th>
<th>Feast</th>
<th>Hymn</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Voices</th>
<th>Verse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i–ii</td>
<td>Christmas</td>
<td>Veni redemptor gentium</td>
<td>Escobar</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii–iii</td>
<td>Epiphany</td>
<td>Hostis Herodes impie</td>
<td>Escobar</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii–iv</td>
<td>Passion Sunday</td>
<td>Vexilla regis prodeunt</td>
<td>Pérez de Alba</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv–v</td>
<td>Octave of Easter</td>
<td>Ad cenam agni providi</td>
<td>Sanabria</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v–vi</td>
<td>Ascension Day</td>
<td>Iesu nostra redemptio</td>
<td>Peñalosa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi–vii</td>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td>Beata nobis gaudia</td>
<td>Pérez de Alba</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii–viii</td>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td>Veni Creator Spiritus</td>
<td>Pérez de Alba</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii–ix</td>
<td>Trinity Sunday</td>
<td>O lux beata Trinitas</td>
<td>Peñalosa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix–x</td>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>Pange lingua</td>
<td>Urreda</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x–xi</td>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>Sacris sollemnis</td>
<td>Peñalosa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi–xii</td>
<td>St John the Baptist</td>
<td>Ut queant laxis</td>
<td>Pérez de Alba</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii–xiii</td>
<td>Sts Peter and Paul</td>
<td>Felix per omnes</td>
<td>Escobar</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiii–xivi</td>
<td>Marian feasts</td>
<td>Ave maris stella</td>
<td>Escobar</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv–xv</td>
<td>Marian feasts</td>
<td>Ave maris stella</td>
<td>Escobar</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv–xvi</td>
<td>St Michael</td>
<td>Tibi Christe splendor</td>
<td>Pérez de Alba</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvi–xvii</td>
<td>All Saints</td>
<td>Christe redemptor omnium</td>
<td>Pérez de Alba</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xviii–xlix</td>
<td>Common of Apostles</td>
<td>Exsultet caelum laudibus</td>
<td>Escobar</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xlix–cxcx</td>
<td>Common of one Martyr</td>
<td>Deus tuorum militum</td>
<td>Escobar</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cxcx–cxcii</td>
<td>Common of Martyrs</td>
<td>Sanctorum meritis</td>
<td>Peñalosa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cxcii–cxciii</td>
<td>Common of Confessors</td>
<td>Iste confessor</td>
<td>Escobar</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Pedro de Escobar’s signature (Seville, Cathedral Arch-  
ive, Section II, book 251) (By permission of Seville Cathedral Archive)
on the chant melodies used and their place specifically within the Sevillian liturgy. Scholars are agreed that the Tarazona manuscript was not originally compiled for that cathedral, though some have linked it with the royal chapel, since several of the composers also worked there at some time in their careers. Papal bulls promulgated by Sixtus IV in July 1474 confirmed that both the Roman and the Toledan rites were authorized for use in the Castilian royal chapel, as well as the Cistercian rite in the Aragonese royal chapel. It should also be pointed out that until the reformed breviary of Pius V, a great diversity of rite was maintained in the different churches of Spain, which encouraged the copying, and later printing, of breviaries for use in a particular diocese. Those breviaries and other musico-liturgical sources of possible interest to this study, including Roman, Sevillian, Toledan and Cistercian books are listed in the appendix below, together with others from different parts of Spain, including Tarazona, to ensure a wide spread of region and rite.

Basically, vespers hymns for first-ranking feasts were set polyphonically. The ranking of feasts could vary from one ecclesiastical centre to another, and these variations often emphasize cults to local saints. The diocese of Seville had its own peculiarities in this regard, and was the only one to order feasts in a ranking of one to six. Table 2 shows the feasts of first ranking in the diocese of Seville. A preliminary analysis of this table suggests that not all the first-ranking feasts with their own hymn are represented by a polyphonic setting in the Tarazona manuscript. This is not altogether surprising: the hymn cycle in Guerrero’s Liber vesperarum (1584) includes only the following vespers hymns in addition to those in Tarazona Cathedral 2–3 and not taking into account those introduced by Pius V’s breviary to substitute pre-Tridentine hymns: Conditor alme siderum (Advent); Lauda mater ecclesiae (Mary Magdalene, a feast of second rank with its own hymn); and Urbs beata Jerusalem (dedication of a church; also a second-ranking feast according to the Sevillian breviaries). These very additions are found in an anonymous 16th-century manuscript of vespers music, including a hymn cycle, preserved at Seville Cathedral (SevBC 2), in which the majority of the psalm- and hymn-settings can be attributed through concordances in other sources to Guerrero. In some cases these settings are clearly earlier versions of those published subsequently in the Liber vesperarum; in others, they appear to be intermediate versions between those of the printed edition and those found in a manuscript preserved in Guatemala Cathedral (GuatC 2). This manuscript is very worn, and some of the hymn-settings it contains have been drastically altered to conform to the reforms of Urban VIII, reflecting its continued use after that date. A recently discovered, previously unknown inventory, dating from 1721, of the polyphonic books held at the cathedral describes the manuscript in detail, and provides an index of all the works it contains; this confirms that all but three of the hymn settings (and one verse of a fourth) were by Guerrero. It was not until the first half of the 17th century that we find a hymn cycle containing new polyphonic settings for different feasts of special importance in the Sevillian sanctuaries, those of first rank which had apparently not previously been set polyphonically. Some of these hymns were included according to different supplements for Spain, and in particular for the diocese of Seville, in the reformed breviary.

The following discussion is based on those hymns in the cycle included in the Tarazona manuscript that reveal significant or telling differences according to the various breviaries studied (see table 3). Those hymns that do not display differences with these breviaries are not considered here. The first to be studied is that sung at Christmas vespers, Veni redemptor gentium, a hymn that in the Roman tradition was sung at matins on that feast. Pius V’s breviary later standardized and ordained the use of the hymn Christe redemptor omnium / ex patre, with a completely different text and chant melody, which subsequently resulted in the modification of hymn cycles compiled by Spanish composers before 1568. The second case study is that of Iesu nostra redemptio. In Spain only the Sevillian diocese prescribes this hymn for vespers on Ascension Day, following the Roman tradition, which was to become standard with the adoption of Pius V’s breviary. In the Toledan diocese the vespers hymn was
As regards the prescription of the hymns for the office hours for the feast of Pentecost, the dioceses of Seville and Tarazona differ from the Toledan and Roman traditions. Seville and Tarazona prescribe *Beata nobis gaudia* as the vespers hymn, reserving *Veni Creator Spiritus* for terce, which was especially important for this feast as being the hour, according to tradition, at which the Holy Spirit appeared. The Toledan breviaries, on the other hand, give *Iam Christus astra ascenderat* as the hymn for vespers, are in agreement with *Veni Creator Spiritus* as the hymn for vespers on this feast.

For Holy Trinity the same hymns are prescribed in the different dioceses, although there is a small but significant textual variant in the Seville breviary of 1521, but as first rank in that of 1563.

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* Hymnum canamus gloriae and in that of Tarazona, as well as Zaragoza of which it was suffragan, *Aeterne Rex altissime*. As regards the prescription of the hymns for the office hours for the feast of Pentecost, the dioceses of Seville and Tarazona differ from the Toledan and Roman traditions. Seville and Tarazona prescribe *Beata nobis gaudia* as the vespers hymn, reserving *Veni Creator Spiritus* for terce, which was especially important for this feast as being the hour, according to tradition, at which the Holy Spirit appeared. The Toledan breviaries, on the other hand, give *Iam Christus astra ascenderat* as the hymn for vespers, are in agreement with *Veni Creator Spiritus* for terce, and relegate *Beata nobis gaudia* to lauds. The Roman tradition indicates *Veni Creator Spiritus* as the hymn for vespers on this feast.

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**Table 2  First-ranking feasts and vespers hymns according to Sevillian use**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feast</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christmas</td>
<td>Veni redemptor gentium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumcision</td>
<td>Veni redemptor gentium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epiphany</td>
<td>Hostis Herodes impie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passion Sunday*</td>
<td>Vexilla regis prodeunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Octave of Easter*</td>
<td>Ad cennam agni providi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascension Day</td>
<td>Jesu nostra redemptio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td>Beata nobis gaudia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity Sunday</td>
<td>O lux beata Trinitas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>Pange lingua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dulcissimi nominis Ihesu (15 Jan)</td>
<td>Gloriosi salvatoris†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purificatio Sanctae Mariae (2 Feb)</td>
<td>Ave maris stella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isidori Archiepiscopi Hispalensis (4 Apr)</td>
<td>Congaudeat ecclesia†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inventio Sancte Crucis (3 May)</td>
<td>Arbor decora fulgida (Vexilla regis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corona Domini (4 May)</td>
<td>Lauda fidelis concio†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nativitas Sancti Iohannis Baptistae (24 Jun)‡</td>
<td>Ut queant laxis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostolorum Petri e Pauli (29 Jun)</td>
<td>Felix per omnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitatio Sanctae Mariae (2 Jul)</td>
<td>Ave maris stella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justae et Rufine virginum e martirum (17 Jul)</td>
<td>Jesu corona virginum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iacobi apostoli (25 Jul)</td>
<td>Exsultet caelum laudibus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanctae Mariae de Nives (4 Aug)</td>
<td>Ave maris stella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfiguratio Domini (6 Aug)</td>
<td>O lux beata Trinitas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asumptio Sanctae Mariae Virginis (15 Aug)</td>
<td>Ave maris stella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nativitas Sanctae Mariae (8 Sep)</td>
<td>Ave maris stella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michaelis Archangeli (29 Sep)‡</td>
<td>Tibi Christe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omnium Sanctorum (1 Nov)</td>
<td>Christe redemptor omnium / Conserva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentatio Beatae Mariae (21 Nov)</td>
<td>Ave maris stella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptio Beatae Mariae (8 Dec)</td>
<td>Ave maris stella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commem. Annuntiationis S. Mariae (18 Dec)‡</td>
<td>Ave maris stella</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Feasts not given a specific rank in the breviary, but the cycle contains a setting for them.
† No polyphonic setting in the cycle in Tarazona 2–3.
‡ Feasts appearing as second rank in the Sevillian breviary of 1521, but as first rank in that of 1563.
Table 3  Comparison of the liturgical function and chants used in Tarazona Cathedral 2–3 with the other dioceses studied in this article

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hymn</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Seville breviary</th>
<th>Toledo breviary</th>
<th>Tarazona breviary</th>
<th>Roman breviary</th>
<th>Voice/ Tarazona 2–3</th>
<th>E-Sc</th>
<th>Intonarium</th>
<th>E-TZ 152</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Veni redemptor gentium</td>
<td>Escobar</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>M*</td>
<td>C/148</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>71*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Hostis Herodes impie</td>
<td>Escobar</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>C/71</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Vexilla regis prodeunt</td>
<td>Alba</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Te/S 133</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>32*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Ad cenan agni providi</td>
<td>Sanabria</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>C/150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Iesu nostra redemption</td>
<td>Peñalosa</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>M*</td>
<td>M*</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>B/4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Beata nobis gaudia</td>
<td>Alba</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>L*</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>L*</td>
<td>C/87</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>139*</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 Veni Creator Spiritus</td>
<td>Alba</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>V*</td>
<td>C/17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 O lux beata Trinitas</td>
<td>Peñalosa</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>B/S 80</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75*</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 Pange lingua</td>
<td>Urrera</td>
<td>V/P</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Te/S 88</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Sacris sollemnis</td>
<td>Peñalosa</td>
<td>M/P</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Te/S 147</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Ut queant laxis</td>
<td>Alba</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>C/106</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Felix per omnes</td>
<td>Escobar</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M*</td>
<td>C/67</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
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<tr>
<td>13/14 Ave maris stella</td>
<td>Escobar</td>
<td>V/P</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Te/75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Tibi Christe splendor</td>
<td>Alba</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>C/159</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>113*</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 Christe redemptor omnium</td>
<td>Alba</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>C/155</td>
<td>155</td>
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<td>71*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Exsultet caelum laudibus</td>
<td>Escobar</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>C/752</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>83*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Deus tuorum militum</td>
<td>Escobar</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>M*</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Te/752</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>752*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Sanctum meritis</td>
<td>Peñalosa</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>C/32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Iste confessus</td>
<td>Escobar</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>C-Te/S 80</td>
<td>80</td>
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<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V = vespers; M = matins; T = terce; L = lauds; P = processions; C = cantus; Te = tenor; B = bass
* = hymns that are different in their liturgical placing or melody
hymn in Tarazona 2–3, attributed to Peñalosa (and which appears to be a contrafactum, see below), also includes in its text the variant ‘infunde amorem cordibus’—an important pointer towards Seville as the place of compilation of this hymn cycle and as regards the setting of this hymn in particular. This textual variant is not found in the earlier Sevillian breviaries consulted, including that printed in 1521, but this single fact is not sufficient on its own to suggest a terminus ante quem for the copying of the cycle, which probably took place c.1510. 21 Of the hymns for the sanctorale, the setting of Félix per omnes is of some significance; in the Sevillian and Toledan breviaries, this is the text for vespers on the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, with O Roma félis for matins and Aurea luce for lauds. The dioceses of Zaragoza follow the Roman tradition with the hymn Aurea luce for vespers, and Félix per omnes for matins. 22 The diocese of Tarazona differs from those of Seville and Toledo in two of the hymns it prescribes for the Common of the Saints: for vespers on the feasts designated In natale unius martyris it gives Martyr dei qui unicum patris; for the Common of the Virgins a change in hymn clearly occurred between 1527 and 1541. The 1497 breviary has the hymn Virginis proles opifexque matris for vespers, while Iesu corona virginum was designated for matins. This was also the case in the Zaragoza breviary of 1527, yet the Tarazona breviary of 1541 has Iesu corona virginum for vespers, matins and lauds. 23

Thus far one conclusion is clear: as regards the hymns designated for vespers, only the diocese of Seville coincides completely with the settings in the hymn cycle in Tarazona 2–3, pointing to a compilation in Seville in accordance with the use of that archdiocese. A similar pattern emerges from a study of the chant melodies, and their variants, used as cantus firmi in the polyphonic cycle as well as in other polyphonic settings by composers linked with the dioceses of Seville and Toledo. 24

As polyphonic hymn settings were based on the chant melody associated with the established hymn text for each liturgical occasion, each hymn text could be sung to different melodies in different ecclesiastical areas; generally the melody used would be that pertaining to the local diocese found in cantorales of the period. 25 Given the practice of performing the verses of hymns alternately in chant and polyphony, a degree of coherence between the melody used in the polyphonic settings and the chanted verses was, and is, desirable. Thus, in the case of pre-Tridentine hymn settings, these were often specific to a particular diocese and would have had little currency elsewhere. As is well known, a wide range of melodic variants is to be found in the various surviving chant sources. 26 The forthcoming volume dedicated to Spanish hymns in the Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi series, edited by Carmen Julia Gutiérrez, affords the possibility of analysing local variants present in a previously unknown Sevillian hymnal of the first half of the 15th century (E-Sc), 27 and these variants form the third piece of evidence for relating the hymn cycle to Seville. Comparison with the Intonarium Toletanum (IT), one of the most complete hymn collections, and among the first to appear in print, is clearly essential, especially given its Toledan origin, its closeness in date and its subsequent influence. 28 Close comparison points up shared repertory, subject to the inevitable variations of oral transmission and the potential differences arising from local traditions. 29 A study of the melodies in the 14th-century Tarazona hymnal (E-TZ 152), included in Gutiérrez’s edition, can help to show to what extent this repertory could have been used at Tarazona Cathedral, and what would have been of limited or no use according to its liturgical requirements. 30 Table 3 provides an overview at a glance of the discrepancies between the different dioceses as regards the melodies found in their hymnals and those used by the composers of the cycle preserved in Tarazona 2–3.

1 fols.i 1–ii 2 (fols.4v–5) Non ex virili semine. Scobar. ‘In natiuitate domini hymnus’ (verse 2 of Veni redemptor gentium)

Escobar follows closely the melody 145t, with a slight elaboration at the final cadence as well as a significant melodic turn at the beginning of the second verse in the version of the hymn in E-Sc. 31 Settings of Veni redemptor gentium, based on melody 145t, in mode 8, made before the introduction of Pius V’s breviary by Cristóbal de Morales and Francisco...
Guerrero were later adapted textually and continued in use for a substantial period of time. In Tarazona Cathedral this hymn was traditionally sung to the melody 71, so that Escobar’s polyphonic version would have been incompatible with it.

2 fols.ii”–iii” (fols.5v–6) Hostis herodes impie. Escobar. ‘In epiphania domini hymnus’

The two most significant differences in the melody 71, between IT and E-Sc are: the beginning of the second line and the melodic pattern that opens the third line. Escobar again follows the Sevillian chant. It is interesting to assess the texts set to these melodies: in the IT the transposed melody is used for the hymns Christe redemptor omnium, ex patre and Hostis Herodes. In the Sevillian hymnal, untransposed in the first tone, it appears set to the text Veni redemptor gentium for vespers on the feast of Circuncision, with the rubric (fol.185v): ‘In vigilia epiphanie et in die omnibus hymnis ad omnes horis dicitur cantus ut in die circuncisionis’. Guerrero and Ceballos use this melody in their pre-tridentine settings of the hymn Hostis Herodes (in both cases contrafacta survive for the feast of Transfiguration). The slight variant at the beginning of the second line of the chant, followed by Escobar, is also found in Ceballos’s setting, though the second variant is not. Neither appears in Guerrero’s pre-Tridentine setting which might, as Michael Noone has suggested, have been modelled on Morales’s version for Toledo, on the same chant, of the hymn Christe redemptor omnium and which is also used by Torrente in his setting of Hostis Herodes. On the other hand, Guerrero’s polyphonic settings in the Liber vesperarum of Christe redemptor omnium and Hostis Herodes adopt the same melody, although transposed, and with the two variants found in the Sevillian hymnal version of Veni redemptor gentium and Escobar’s setting of Hostis Herodes.

3 fols.iii”–iii” (fols.6v–7) Vexilla regis prodeunt. Aº dalua. ‘Dominica in passione hymnus’

Robert Snow, in his study of Guatemala Cathedral Ms.4, showed that Alba’s setting of the hymn Vexilla regis prodeunt was composed for Seville Cathedral, given the chant used: ‘of all the versions yet found, it is closest to the one that Guerrero seems to have paraphrased in the strophe 4 of the setting at Guatemala and in the three strophes of the revised form of the hymn in his Liber vesperarum. This is not surprising, since Alba may have composed his vespers hymns for Seville.’ This assumes that Guerrero’s fourth verse was composed for Seville, before he became chapelmaster at Jaén and that, in any case, it belongs to the hymn cycle he composed in the mid-1550s. The minor variants found in the melody S 133 in E-Sc are included without exception in Alba’s setting, and also in Ceballos’s setting of Vexilla regis prodeunt, extant in American sources, which he must have composed during his time in Seville between 1553 and 1556.

Both E-Sc (f.194v) and the IT (fol.v’) adopt a different melody for the hymn Vexilla regis as well as the rubric: ‘Ad primam et tertiam et sextam et nonam. ut in feriis adventus. ad vesperos’. This is the variant 32, also used in the diocese of Zaragoza for Passion Sunday and found in Tarazona chant books (E-TZ 152, fol.126r). It is again found as the cantus part in Juan Bermudo’s five-voice setting of Vexilla regis prodeunt, included in his Declaración de instrumentos musicales (Osuna, 1555), fol.cxiv, where he specifies: ‘I say that this music is meant to be played and not sung, and it is to be played from where it is notated’ (‘digo esta musica ser hecha para tañer y no para cantar y que se ha de tañer por donde va puntada.’) The setting attributed to Pérez de Alba is another example of a hymn that must have originated in Seville and would have had no place in the liturgy of Tarazona Cathedral.

4 fols.iii”–v” (fols.7v–8) Cuius corpus sanctissimun. Sanabria. ‘In tempore resurrectionis hymnus’; verse 2 of Ad cemam agni providi

This is the first of the hymns in a setting by a composer not known to have been connected with Seville Cathedral. This would suggest that it was imported, possibly in the volumes that contained
works by Peñalosa and were thus included in the cycle in Tarazona 2–3. In the cantus Sanabria uses a variant of the melody 150, very close to that found for vespers in both E-Sc and the IT, being modified only for the contrapuntal interplay between the four voices in the third line. In E-Sc it bears the rubric ‘in aliis diebus’, in the IT ‘in festis nouem lectionum’. Guerrero uses the same melody with the rubric ‘Dominica in albis’.

5 fols.v–vi (fols.8v–9) Que te vincit. Peñalosa. ‘In ascensione domini hymnus’; verse 2 of Iesu nostra redemptio

Comparison of the liturgical rubrics for this hymn in the dioceses so far studied would suggest a Sevillian origin for this piece. Guerrero adopts the same melody 4, in the printed version of this hymn.

6 fols.vi–vii (fols.9v–10) Beata nobis gaudia. A. dalua. In die sancto pentecostes hymnus

SevBC 2 includes an anonymous polyphonic setting of this hymn. Both this and that by Alba use melody S87 as a cantus firmus. Alba follows, almost note for note, the idiosyncrasies of the Seville version, which would strongly suggest that his setting was composed while he was chaplain at Seville. Only three polyphonic settings of this hymn are listed by Ward for the period 1400–1520: one, using a variant of melody 4, is attributed to Binchois; that by Alba; and another included in the manuscript BarcBC 454, fol.18v, without a clear cantus firmus, and no correspondence with any of the melodies found in known Spanish sources. This might suggest that it was not composed for performance as part of the office.


All the known Spanish chant sources use 17, for this hymn, although minor local variants are found, which can help to pinpoint its origin. Alba lightly elaborates the melody, which preserves all the idiosyncrasies of the Seville chant. Although the subtle differences separating the Sevillian and Toledan versions of the melody are not conclusive, this setting would fit with the Sevillian profile of the rest of the hymns in the cycle. However, it would also be suitable for more general use and this would account for it, together with Urreda’s setting of Pange lingua, being the only examples from the hymn cycle in Tarazona 2–3 to be found in other sources of the period. Guerrero and Torrentes use the same melody for their settings.

8 fols.viii–ix (fols.11v–12) O lux beata Trinitas. Peñalosa. ‘In festo sanctissime trinitatis hymnus’

This setting poses the most questions. Bruno Turner has suggested that it is a contrafactum. The chant used by Peñalosa is, almost exceptionally for the cycle, placed in the bass, the only other example being the same composer’s Iesu nostra redemptio. The melody (S80) was used in both the Sevillian and Toledan dioceses for the hymns Iste confessor and Ut queant laxis. These hymns employ different metres: O lux beata Trinitas is in iambic metre, while the other two are in sapphic verse. Turner suggests that as there was already a setting of Ut queant laxis (by Alba) for the feast of St John the Baptist, and one of Iste confessor (by Escobar) for the Common of Confessors, Peñalosa’s hymn, originally with the text Ut queant laxis or Iste confessor, was turned into O lux beata Trinitas in order to provide a hymn for Holy Trinity. If this is correct, then the adaptation must have been made in Seville, the only place (as mentioned above) where the word ‘amorem’ appears in the last line of the first verse in the breviaries of that diocese. It is the only hymn of the cycle which, in its modified version, would not have fitted the Sevillian liturgy, nor, indeed, that of any diocese, for metrical reasons. If the change was made to provide the cycle with a Trinity hymn, for use in Seville, the settings of Exsultet coelum laudibus or Deus tuorum militum by Escobar using the melody 752S could have been taken and the text O lux beata Trinitas easily adapted, since all use the same metre. This would suggest that the change was made at the time of compilation of the choirbook, and would confirm that it was not
Spanish melody identified as S\text{SevBC} (‘Te mane laudum carmine’) are found in 216 diffused throughout the Iberian peninsula in the 16th century. This hymn is, without doubt, the most widely specific time and place.

Two anonymous settings of verse 2 of this hymn (‘Te mane laudum carmine’) are found in SevBC 2, fols.lxxix–lxxxi, the first of which, by Ceballos, follows the traditional Sevillian melody 752, and the second agrees, with only slight differences, with verse 2 of the setting published by Guerrero in the Liber vesperarum, fols.44v–45r, using the Toledan melody 71, v. It is interesting to note that the inscription ‘this is not said’ (‘no se dice este’) is found next to this setting. It is possible that Guerrero, for commercial reasons, decided to set the hymn using a melody that would more easily allow it to be used elsewhere, sacrificing its use in the Sevillian liturgy.\textsuperscript{56}

9 fols.ix–x (fols.12v–13) \textit{Pange lingua.} Urreda. ‘In festo corporis christe’

This hymn is, without doubt, the most widely diffused throughout the Iberian peninsula in the 16th century.\textsuperscript{58} The \textit{cantus firmus} is the well-known ‘Spanish’ melody identified as S88, the earliest known source for which is the 13th-century Toledan breviary.\textsuperscript{59} It should be pointed out that this melody, with the text \textit{Pange lingua gloriosi/corporis} is known only in four Spanish chant sources before the 16th century. In addition to the \textit{IT} and \textit{E-Sc}, there are the \textit{Cantorale sancti Ieronimi} of the monastery of Sant Jeroni de la Murtra (Barcelona) (\textit{E-Be} 251),\textsuperscript{60} and the \textit{Psalterium hymnarium}, which survives at the Biblioteca del Orfeo Catalá, s.s. (\textit{E-BoC}). It seems likely that Urreda’s setting originated in the Aragonese royal chapel, and that the possibilities for its performance elsewhere were fairly limited, Seville among them, from where it spread further as the melody began to be adopted in other dioceses, probably after it was published in the \textit{IT} and through the apparent popularity of Urreda’s polyphonic version.

Urreda was presumably in Seville during the visit of the Catholic Monarchs from the end of July 1477 to the beginning of October 1478. This hymn setting was still being performed at Seville Cathedral in 1613, and the surviving sources suggest that, as at other Spanish ecclesiastical institutions, it continued to be sung well into the 18th century. The endowment in 1613 by the archdeacon of Carmona, Don Mateo Vázquez de Leca, for the octave of Christmas specifies: ‘each afternoon of the feast should be concluded with the \textit{Tantum ergo} said to be by Urreda (‘se ha de rematar la fiesta cada tarde con el \textit{Tantum ergo} que dicen de Vreda.’)\textsuperscript{61} The different settings of this hymn by Guerrero use the traditional Sevillian melody.\textsuperscript{62}

10 fols.x–xi (fols.13v–14) \textit{Sacræ sollemniæ.} Peñalosa. ‘De corpore christi hymnus’

The old ‘Rule’ (15th century) prescribes this hymn ‘ad matutinum’, and offers two chant melodies for this hour, the first (‘In vigilia corporis christi’) being S147 and the second (‘post dies solemnes’) S23. The \textit{IT} also includes two melodies, the first (‘In vigilia corporis christi ad matutinum in nocturno’) being S155, and the second (‘ad completorium’) S147. Some time between the publication of the \textit{IT} and 1544 the use of these melodies must have changed since in a \textit{Psalterio de maitines} of that year the chant S147 is included for matins of the feast of Corpus Christi.\textsuperscript{63} Both \textit{Pange lingua} and \textit{Sacræ sollemniæ} were sung during Corpus Christi processions, notably in cities such as Seville and Toledo where polyphonic settings also had a place.\textsuperscript{64}

Penalosa’s setting uses the chant melody S147, rarely used in Spanish sources before the 16th century, in the tenor, note for note and unadorned.\textsuperscript{65} Only three other polyphonic settings of this text are included by Ward for the period 1400–1520: one by Jean Brassart, using the melody 512, and two anonymous versions preserved in the manuscript BarcBC 454, both based on S147, with the melody in the tenor in one and the cantus in the other.\textsuperscript{66} It would seem likely that Peñalosa’s setting was composed for the diocese of Seville, since it preserves the melodic variants found in line 3 in the Seville hymnal. Later in the 16th century Morales used the same melody, including the variants, and adopted the same unadorned treatment in one of his most striking works, emphasizing the Sevillian origin of both pieces. Only one other polyphonic setting of this hymn is preserved, that by Guerrero,
which is found only in instrumental sources; there appears to have been none by Ortiz, Torrentes, Ceballos, Navarro, Durán de la Cueva or Victoria. Several instrumental versions of Sacris sollemniis survive in different printed books, all of them using the same cantus firmus (S147), and this melody seems to have become established during the first half of the 16th century and adopted in the dioceses of Seville and Toledo and by extension in the royal chapel.

11 fols.xi”–xii” (fols.14v–15) Ut queant laxis. Alonso dalua. ‘In nativitate sancti Ioannis baptiste hymnus’

Alba’s setting preserves most of the melodic features of the Sevillian variant of melody S80 which does not appear in the Toledan chant and thus again points to a Sevillian origin. The same melody is paraphrased by Guerrero, also in the cantus, in his pre- and post-Tridentine settings of the hymn.

12 fols.xii”–xiii” (fols.15v–16) Hi sunt oliue due. Escobar. ‘Hymnus apostolorum petri et pauli’ (verse 2 of Felix per omnes)

Escobar uses the chant melody 106, which seems to have been widely distributed in Spanish sources. On the other hand, Ward includes only this polyphonic setting for the period 1400–1520, possibly because of the liturgical limitations for the use of this hymn already mentioned. Escobar appears to have followed the slight variations in the last line of the Sevillian chant. Morales also set this text and this melody, which continued to be used even when, with the adoption of the Roman breviary which prescribes the hymn Aurea luce for vespers on this feast, Felix per omnes was moved from this hour. Aurea luce has four lines in each verse, Felix per omnes five, but shares the same metre. The traditional melody for Aurea luce in Sevillian and Toledan sources was that of 1525g in the fourth mode. In the version preserved in the IT the text of this hymn was added in manuscript to the melody for O Roma/lex; in the Spanish tradition the matins hymn also sung to the melody 106, for lines 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6. The omission of the third phrase of the melody was observed by Guerrero when he altered his original version of the hymn Felix per omnes in order to adapt it to Pius V’s breviary, with the text Aurea luce, for publication in the Liber vespertinum.

13 fols.xiii”–xiii” (fols.16v–17) Sumens illud aue. Escobar. ‘In festiuitatibus gloriosissime virginis marie’ (verse 2 of Ave maris stella)

Escobar’s two settings of the hymn Ave maris stella use the same cantus firmus and have the same liturgical function, so they may be considered together. As Rudolf Gerber has pointed out, the inclusion of two versions of this hymn may possibly be explained by its use at vespers on all Marian feasts, thus reflecting its importance. This was true of Italy, and also of Spain, in particular of the Sevillian diocese. There all the feasts of the Virgin, among them seven major feasts, prescribe Ave maris stella for vespers, and there would be a particular demand for polyphonic settings of it. From the time of its foundation, Seville Cathedral, with its dedication to Santa María de la Sede, was a centre for Marian devotions. The Virgin was venerated at the high altar, and there was also the cult of the Virgen de la Antigua, based on a tradition with Visigoth roots that was later to be exported to other peninsular and American centres of Marian devotions, as well as the Virgen de los Reyes, an image placed by Alfonso X in the part of the mosque that became a royal chapel, and whose feast (held on 15 August), together with Corpus Christi, was celebrated with the utmost solemnity.

The chant used by Escobar is 671 (see also 674), precisely that prescribed by the Sevillian hymnal for the feast of the Assumption, as well as that of the Conception of the Virgin in September, and their octaves. The polyphonic settings by Morales and Guerrero use this same melody; in all these versions the cantus firmus follows, in each verse, the Sevillian variant D a b G a b, as opposed to the
Toledan D a a b a G a b. This otherwise slight variant becomes more significant with its consistent use by composers with such strong Sevillian connections.  

15 fols.xvۜ–xvi۝ (fols.18v–19) Tibi Christe splendor. A’ dalua. ‘In festiuitate sancti michaelis hymnus’

Until now the cantus firmus used by Alba in this hymn was unknown. The melody, S159, is found only in E-Boc and the Sevillian hymnal (see illus.2). Alba paraphrases the chant in a setting that could only have been composed for Seville Cathedral and in a very limited performing area (illus.3). For Toledo Cathedral, Torrentes’s setting uses the melody S150, while Guerrero ornaments the Sevillian melody in the cantus, here transposed to G final.  

16 fols.xviۜ–xvii۝ (fols.19v–20) Christe redemptor omnium. A’ dalua. ‘In festiuitate omnium sanctorum hymnus’

In this setting, Alba uses a variant of the melody 155. Morales, Guerrero and Torrentes composed their settings on the same chant.  

17 fols.xviiۜ–xviii۝ (fols.20v–21) Vos secli iusta iudices. Escobar. ‘In natale apostolorum hymnus’ (verse 2 of Exsultet coelum laudibus)

E-Sc prescribes the melody 752S, used here by Escobar transposed to the C final, precisely for vespers of the feasts of apostles of first, second and third ranking. Guerrero uses the same cantus firmus, in the cantus and untransposed, in his setting of this hymn. Ceballos also uses this melody, in the tenor in the first verse and the cantus in the second, in a setting that must surely have been composed for

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2 Tibi Christe splendor, vespers hymn for the feast of St Michael [Regla vieja] (15th century) (E-Sc), fols.238v–239r (By permission of Seville Cathedral Archive)
Seville. Torrentes and Ginés de Boluda use the chant from the *IT* (S134), characteristic of the Toledan diocese, in their polyphonic settings of *Exsultet coelum laudibus*.

As in the case of the previous hymn, the melody 752s2 (also here transposed to the C final by Escobar) is used in the Sevillian diocese. In *SevBC* 2 (fols.cxxixv–cxxxiv) there are again two polyphonic settings of this hymn, both by Guerrero according to the 1721 inventory. The first, with verses 2 and 4 with the text observing Urban VIII’s reforms, uses the traditional Sevillian melody 752s2. The second setting, of verse 2 alone, and thus incomplete, corresponds with the hymn published by Guerrero in his *Liber vesperrarum*. Here Guerrero uses the melody S8 (transposed to the G final) in the cantus, which in the Seville hymnal, fol.249v, is included for feasts of fifth ranking. Both settings may well be by Guerrero, and, as was the case with the hymn *O lux beata Trinitas*, it is possible that, for commercial reasons, the setting prepared for the *Liber vesperrarum* eschewed performance in Seville in favour of use in other dioceses. Morales and Torrentes in their settings of *Nova resultent gaudia*, for first vespers of the feast of San Eugenio in Toledo Cathedral, used the melody 29s. This was the chant used there for most of the feasts of martyrs, and it is also found in Boluda’s setting of *Deus tuorum militum*.

Peñalosa paraphrases the chant S23 (transposed to the final C) found in the Seville hymnal with this
liturgical function on feasts of first, second and third ranking. Guerrero, Torrentes and Boluda use the same melody in their settings which would thus have been suitable for both Seville, Toledo and by extension the royal chapels.

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20 fols.xx’–xxi”(fols.23v–) *Iste confessor.*

Escobar. ‘In natale confessorum’

Escobar, exceptionally, uses the chant S80 as a cantus firmus vagans—in the cantus in lines one, two and four, and in the tenor for line three (illus.4, 5). Guerrero, Torrentes and Boluda also base their settings of this hymn on this melody:

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4 *Iste confessor,* vespers hymn for feasts of the Common of Confessors [Regla vieja] (15th century) (E-Sc), fol.254r

(By permission of Seville Cathedral Archive)
from Seville, Toledo and Tarazona, as well as Roman and Cistercian books, only the diocese of Seville is consistently represented, and only in Seville would the melodies used in the hymn cycle be completely appropriate. Some of the hymns might have been imported to Seville in order to complete the cycle, but by the same token only a very few could have been used in other dioceses; most of the settings are preserved uniquely in this manuscript. The cycle would certainly not have been appropriate for use in the liturgy of Tarazona, and could only have been performed in part in the cathedral there. The chants found in the Sevillian hymnary would correspond most closely in *alternatim* performance of the hymn settings by Alba and Escobar, which make up 70 per cent of the cycle. It would clearly be of great interest to reconstruct a ‘map’ of the different chants used in polyphonic hymn cycles preserved in sources from the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas, and to study their continued use or their modification over time. This would afford insight into how this repertory was transmitted, its liturgical use—or not—in the specific places where the sources happen to have been preserved, as well as into the appropriate choice of chants for performance of such polyphonic cycles.

*Translated by Tess Knighton*
Appendix

Sevillian breviaries (manuscript)
- [Breviario de Sevilla] (1460–70) [Seville, Biblioteca Capitolar y Colombine, Sig: 56-1-22]
- [Regla Vieja] (15th century) (E-Sc) [Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla, sección III, libro 1]

Sevillian breviaries (printed)
- [Breviarium secundum consuetudinem ecclesiae Hispalensis] [Seville: Estanislao Polono y/o Jacobo Cromberger, c.1500–05] The only known copy is in the Vatican Library; it has not been possible to consult it yet.
- [Breviarium secundum ritum et consuetudinem alma eccesiae Hispalensis] (Paris: Thomas Wesalie, 1510) A copy of this breviary is preserved in Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense; it has not been possible to consult it yet.
- [Breviarii hispalensis diocesis denuo impressum] (Seville: Jacobo Cromberger, 1521)
- [Breviarii hispalensis diocesis] (Salamanca: Andrea de Portonarii, 1563) The prescriptions of the revised printed Sevillian breviaries, the manuscript and the Regla Vieja are unanimous.

Toledan breviaries and other books (printed)
- [Breviarium secundum morem ecclesiae Toletanae] (Venice: Johann [Hamman] Hertzog, 1492)
- [Breviarium secundum consuetudinem Sanctae Ecclesiae Toletane] (Lyons: Barthélemy Frein, 1551)
- [Intonarium Toletanum] (Alcalá de Henares: Arnao Guillén de Brocar, 1515)

Tarazona breviaries and other books (manuscript and printed)
- Psalterium feriale, Hymnarium (14th century) (E-TZ 152)
- [Breviarium secundum consuetudinem et ordinationem ecclesiae Tarazonensis] (Venice: Johann [Hamman] Hertzog, 1497)
- [Breviarii Tirasonense] (Zaragoza: Jorge Coci, 1541)

Zaragozan breviaries and other books (printed)
- Breviarius sancte metropolitane ecclesie Caesaraugustanum (Zaragoza: Jorge Coci, 1527)
- [Intonario General para todas las iglesias de España] (Zaragoza: Pedro Bernuz, 1548)

Roman breviaries (printed)
- Breviarius secundum consuetudinem romane curie (Venice: [s.i.], 1504)
- Breviarius romanum: ex decreto sacrosancti concilium Tridentini restitutum Pio V (Venice: Giuntas, 1571)
- Breviarius romanum ex decreto sacrosancti concilii Tridentini restitutum Pii V Pont. Max iussu editum, et Clementis VIII auctoritate recognitum (Antwerp: Balthasar Moretus, widow of Johannes Moretus and Jean van Meurs, 1628)
- Breviarius romanum ex Decreto Sacro-Sancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum / S. Pii V Pontificis Max. Jussu editum; et Clementis VIII primím, nunc denuò Urbani PP. VIII auctoritate (Antwerp: architypographia plantiniana, 1747)

Other printed breviaries consulted
- Breviarius secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Gienensis (Seville: Jacobo Cromberger, 1528) This is a copy of the Toledan breviary, since it belongs to that archdiocese.
- Breviarium aliae ecclesiae Compostellanae (Salamanca: Matías Gast, 1569)
- Breviarius secundum consuetudinem ecclesiae Valentine (Valencia: Francisco Díaz Romano, 1533)
- Breviarii [Monasterio de Santa Maria de Solsona] (Zaragoza: Jorge Coci, 1514) (Archdiocese of Tarragona)
- Breviarius sacri ordinis Cisterciensis ad vsum congregationis Hispaniarum (Paris: officina Cramosiana, 1658)

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I wish to thank Soterrana Aguirre Rincón, Carmen Julia Gutiérrez, Tess Knighton and Bruno Turner for their invaluable comments on earlier drafts of this article.


6 According to an inventory of 1588, Seville Cathedral owned, in addition to the printed editions of hymns by Francisco Guerrero (1584) and Tomás Luis de Victoria (1581), as well as other books that might have been acquired and lost, the following manuscript volumes including hymns: ‘libro de pergamino, mediano, de psalms y hinos, encuadernado en tabla y cuero grande’; ‘otro libro grande de pergamino de hinos de muchos autores encuadernado en tabla’ and ‘vn libro viejo de ynos, desencuadernado’. See M. C. Álvarez Marqués, El mundo del libro en la iglesia catedral de Sevilla en el siglo xvi (Seville, 1992), pp.250–51.

7 Twenty works are attributed to ‘Escobar’ in Tarazona Cathedral 2/3, as opposed to only one three-voice Magnificat to ‘Porto’, this conflicting attribution serving to throw doubt on the identity of both composers: Ruiz Jiménez, ‘Los sonidos de la montaña hueca’.

8 On the creation of the archdeaconate of Carmona, see J. Hazañas y la Rua, Maese Rodrigo (1444–1509) (Seville, 1999), pp.24–5. For Peñalosa’s biography, see T. Knighton, Peñalosa, Francisco de’, New Grove II.

9 He resided briefly in 1506 and December 1508 (no documents survive to confirm his presence in 1509). Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla (ACS), sección II, libro 434, 435, 722, 1489.

10 ‘Aquí yace el muy Illustre Señor Francisco de Peñalosa, arcéndice de Carmona, canónico desta Santa Iglesia que murió en 1º de abril de 1528’. ACS, sección I, libro 8 (autos capitulares), fols.17, 24r, 25v, 110r; sección II, libro 2B, 438, 439, 1489; sección IV, libro 408, fol.214v; sección IX, leg.124, pieza 12.


12 Tess Knighton presented a preliminary study of the hymn cycle in Tarazona Cathedral 2/3 in the context of Spanish hymn composition in the period, but did not go into detail regarding the bearing it might have on the provenance of the manuscript or the use to which it might have been put see Knighton, Música y músicos en la corte de Fernando el Católico, pp.128–31.

13 Knighton, Música y músicos en la corte de Fernando el Católico, pp.113, 116–21.

14 The Toledo breviary (1492) classified them as feasts of six capas, four capas and of nine lessons (lecciones), while the Intonarium Toletanum also introduced the categories of two capas and three lessons; the Tarazona breviary (1497) categorized feasts as solemn, duplex and semiduplex; and the Roman breviary (1571) as duplex, semiduplex and simplex.


16 ACS, sección o, libro 11157, fols.151v–16r. The hymns in question are O lux beata Trinitas and one verse of Ave maris stella by Ceballos, also Quicumque Christum and Quodcumque vinci by Juan Navarro.

17 Music manuscript no.16 of Seville Cathedral, copied in the 18th century, brings together some of these new hymns in settings by Alonso Lobo (chaplain of Seville Cathedral between 1604 and 1617) and Fray Francisco de Santiago (chaplain 1617–48).


19 Seville breviary (1561), fols.207v–208r; Toledo breviary (1492), fols.117v–119r; Zaragoza breviary (1527), fols.230v–232r; Tarazona breviary (1541), fols.269r–271v.

20 Seville breviary (1561), fols.212v–215r; Toledo breviary (1492), fols.123v–v; Zaragoza breviary (1527), fols.341v–81r; Tarazona breviary (1541), fols.281v–284r; Roman breviary (1571), fols.192–194r.

21 Seville breviary (1561), fols.218r. TarasC 2, fols.viii–ix (11v–12r).

30 Psalterium feriale, Hymnarium, 14th century, Biblioteca capitular, Tarazona, Ms.152 (E-TZ 152), fol.124v. All references to this, and other books from before the 15th century are taken from Hymnen II, ed. C. J. Gutiérrez, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, i (Kassel, 1956). Those with variants in Spanish sources adopt the same number, but have the letter S and the corresponding subscript number (eg: 14ac). Spanish melodies that do not appear in Hymnen I begin with the letter S, followed by the number and the corresponding subscript, as necessary (eg: 588). In order to note the variants in E-Sc I shall follow Gutiérrez. In this case, E-Sc, fol.184r: Veni redemptor gentium: melody 14ac, H: i acc, 7 GF: III: 6 cc. IV 4 FED.; IT, iv: Veni redemptor gentium II i ac, 2 ch, 3r GF: III: 6 cc. IV 4 FED. Melody 6 for Escobar’s setting is suggested erroneously in Ward, The polyphonic office hymn, p.289.

32 Snow, ‘Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala’, p.186; M. Noone, Códice 25 of the catedral de Toledo (Madrid, 2003), pp.77–. Liber vesperarum, fol.291–32r. In SevBC 2, fol.xxxvii–xxxviii, ‘xxvii–xxxvi’, there are three verses of Guerrero’s setting of Christe redemptor omnium with the text corrected to conform to Urban VIII’s reforms, first applied to the hymn Iesu redemptor omnium and, later, as a contrafacta, the hymn Exultet orbis gaudis.

33 E-Sc, fol.185v: Veni redemptor gentium: 71f; I and IV: 5 EDE. II: 3 a, 6 abca, 7 G. III: 1 ahb, 3 FG, 5 C, 7 E, 8 EFEDD; IT, ii: Hymns Herodes impie (transposed to the G final): I and IV: 5 EDE. II: 1 DE, 3 a, 6 abca, 7 AG. III: 1 a, 3 FG, 5 C, 7 E, 8 EFED. Hymnen I, ed. Stäblein, p.43.

34 This melody is found, note for note, transposed to the G final in Málaga Cathedral, suffragan of Seville, Cantorale no.17, with the text Hymnus Herodes impie and the rubric ‘In Epiphania domini. Ad vespm’, fol.299–31v. This is one of the cantorales from the 15th–16th centuries copied during the time of the first bishop of Málaga, Pedro de Toledo, who had been promoted to this see from the post of dean of Seville Cathedral. For a brief description of this cantorale, see A. Martin Moreno et al, Catálogo del Archivo de Música de la Catedral de Málaga, i (Granada, 2003), pp.11–12. The same melody is also found in Seville Cathedral, Cantorale no.40, fol.57–9 (new foliation), with Urban VIII’s reformed text, Iesu redemptor omnium, and the rubric for it to be sung at Christmas vespers, thus confirming a continuous tradition in the Seville diocese.


36 Liber vesperarum, fol.32v–34r. As with the previous hymn, verses 2 and 4 of Guerrero’s setting are found anonymously in SevBC 2, fol.xxxvi–xxxviii, ‘xxvii–xxvi’, with the text altered to that of Urban VIII, and used first for the hymn Deus tuorum militum, a contrafactum of which, Crudelis Herodes, appears later. These contrafacta were clearly created a good number of years after the copying of the manuscript, since these hymns are not found in their usual position in the cycle, nor, as will be seen, do they use the melodies traditionally employed in
suggest a greater distinction between the two melodies than just two different notes. Stäblein, *Hymnen [I]*, p.91.

44 *Liber vespertuarum*, fols.37v–39r. In SevBC 2, fols.lxxxiv–lxxxi, superius and tenor parts for the second verse, and altus and bassus of the doxology of Guerrero’s setting are found, preserved anonymously and with major differences. The early foliation of the manuscript jumps from fols.xlviii to lxv.

45 E-Sc, fol.201v: *Iesu nostra redemp tor*: 4r: l 3 DEF, 7 G. II: 4 c, 5 hc. III: 1 D. IV: 5 EF, IT, vii*: *Iesu nostra redemp tor*: l 3 DEF, 7 G. II: 4 c, 5 hc. III: 1 D, 3 ha. IV 7 FaG, 5 EF. B. Stäblein, *Hymnen [I]*, p.26. This melody is found in Málaga Cathedral, Cantonale no.17, fols.44, 48–9, with the same liturgical rubric as in Seville ‘In vigilia Ascensionis. Ad vespas.’ (See note n.34 above.)

46 *Liber vespertuarum*, fols.391–411. An anonymous version of Guerrero’s hymn is found in SevBC 2, fols.lxxvii–lxxviii. There are significant variants at the beginning of verse 2 and verse 4 is completely different; verse 6, the doxology ‘Gloria tibi Domine’, has the music for verse 4, again with minor variants, as in the printed edition of the Guerrero cycle.

47 The two hymns for Pentecost are discussed in Ruiz Jiménez, “‘Los sonidos de la montaña hueca’”.

48 The inclusion of verses 2, 4 and 6 of this hymn in SevBC 2, fols.lxxxiii–lxxxvi, would date its copying from before 1575, the year in which the new reformed books were adopted in Seville, as it would not subsequently have been sung at vespers, being relegated to lauds. It can probably be attributed to Guerrero or Ceballos. This hymn is not listed in the 1721 inventory, perhaps as it was not a hymn still used in vespers, although the pagination for the previous and the following hymns would suggest its hidden presence. Possibly this can be identified as the ‘libro de himnos y salmos’ copied by Diego de Orta between 1573 and 1576 and altered in this last year. It can also probably be identified with the ‘libro de pergamino, mediano, de psalmos y hinos, encuadernado en tabla y cuero blanco’ in the 1588 inventory, and as the ‘libro de salmos y ynos de Guerner en pergamo’ in that of 1618. The earlier inventory is published in Alvarez Márquez, *El mundo del libro*, pp.250, 307–9; both are found in ACS, section 0, leg.53.

49 E-Sc, fol.204r: *Beata nobis gaudia*: S 87: l: 1 GaF, 3 a, 4 cdhc, 6 a. II: 2 cde, 4 ch. III: 5 ah. IV: 1 GaF, 3 a, 4 cdhc, 6 a; *IT*, fols.ix*: l and IV: 7 FG. II: 1 c, 2 cd, 6 cd, 7 ch. III: 5 a, 6 haG.


52 The concordance for Alba’s setting is the Cancionero de Segovia (SegC.s.s.), fol.99, where it is anonymous. For a brief description of this hymn, see Kreitner, *The church music of fifteenth-century Spain*, pp.82–3.

53 *TolteBC* 21 (1549), fols.42v–43r; *Liber vespertuarum*, fols.41v–44r. Versions of the three verses, with minor variants, are found in SevBC 2, fols.lxxvii–lxxxvi.


55 The melody 752Sc, was used for the hymn *O lux beata Trinitas* in Seville (E-Sc, fol.206v), while 71r, transposed to the final G, was used in Toledo (*IT*, fol.ix*).’

56 For the hypothesis that it was not used for practical purposes at Tarazona, see Urchueguia, *Die mehrstimmigen Messe*, pp.109–15.

57 It is only conjectural that Juan Navarro in his pre-Tridentine printed settings drew on the melody 752–52 which must also have been used in Avila, part of the archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela.

58 An interesting discussion of the two versions of Urreda’s *Pange lingua* as well as an up-to-date bibliography is found in Kreitner, *The church music of fifteenth-century Spain*, pp.72–8.
59 Breviarium Toletanum, Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo, Ms.33.4 (E-T 33.4), fol.87r. Gutiérrez, 'Himno', p.305.
E-Sc, fol.208r: Pange lingua gloriosi / corporis: S 88: 1 and V: 8 aGaGF. II: 5 F, 6 (E), III: 6 d, 7 ch. IV: 4 c, 6 (E). The cadences of lines two and four have been scratched out and corrected from G to E. Some of these variants are included in the two sources cited and also in the IT, fol.ix. The only extant copy of the IT also displays corrections, scratched out and corrected in ink, in this hymn as well as in Sacris sollemniis (see below). Some of the corrections in Pange lingua are also found in the Sevillian version of this hymn: I and V: 7 h. III: 6 d, 7 ch. VI: 6 E.

60 M. Bernardo, 'Sobre el origen . . . de la Edad Media', pp.235-8.
61 S. de la Rosa y López, Los seíses de la catedral de Sevilla (Seville, 1904), p.250. There is a curious 18th-century Sevillian source in the Cathedral Archive, signatura 114/15/1, which sets the text of the verse Tantum ergo. In another hand, in the upper margin, the inscription 'Urrera.1560' is found. A figured bass has been added together with performance indications: '1' [estrofa] coro, 2' órgano, 3° orquesta, 4° tenor, 5° orquesta, 6° coro'.


63 Psalterio de mañitnes (uncatalogued), Pérez, 1544 (unfoliated). I am grateful to Michael Noone for sending me a copy of this hymn. The melody used in Toledo was S23-2 from E-T 34.4.

64 The performance of Sacris sollemniis alternating 'a versos Cantores, Cantollano, y Ministriiles' is indicated in the 1604 Memorial of Toledo Cathedral (fol.23r): Noone, Códice 25, p.99. A minstrel’s book listed in the 1721 inventory from Seville Cathedral includes a verse of Sacris sollemniis attributed to Ceballos.

65 E-Sc, fol.209r; E-Be 251, fol.557; the Office y Misa de la Toma de Granada de Fray Hernando de Tulavera (Santa Fe–Granada, 1495) (E-SF), fol.161v; and two 15th-century processional from the collegiate church of San Isidoro, León (E-Lc 54, fol.89v; E-Lc 66, fol.100). E-Sc, fol.209r: Sacris sollemniis: S 147: I: 9 d. II: 7 f, 8 d. III: 1 F, 2 G, 3 G, 4 a, 5 h; IT, x1: Sacris sollemniis: I: 9 d. II: 7 f, 8 d. The version found in the IT was corrected in the printed edition, the corrections making it conform closely to the Sevillian melody: IT: Sacris sollemniis: I: 9 d. II: 4 (I), 7 f, 8 d, III: 1 (F), 2 (G), 3 (G), 4 (a), 5 (h). This change must have been made somewhere other than in Toledo Cathedral, or at a later date, given that the melody in the 1544 Psalterio de mañitnes was not corrected in this way.


67 Narváez (B538-1), five diferencias on Sacris sollemniis; Pisador (B552-7), Sacris sollemniis (3yv); Fuenllana (B554-1), Sacris sollemniis. Una boz de contrapunto sobre el canto llano and an intabulation of Guerrero’s setting (3yv); Venegas de Henestrosa (B557-2), the first verse of Morales’s setting with the text ‘Sacris sollemniis, Joseph vir’ and the rubric ‘para la fiesta del sanctissimo virgen Joseph’, an anonymous two-voice setting, and a third attributed to Antonio [Cabezón] (4v): see H. M. Brown, Instrumental music printed before 1600: a bibliography (Cambridge, MA, 1965), pp.58, 140, 156, 175-7.

68 E-Sc, fol.224r: Ut queant laxis resonare fibris: S 8o: II: 7 GF, 10 EE. III: 4 ddcchG, 5 F, 8 (a). IV: 3 D, 4 FGFE. The note in brackets was scratched out; it is found in the cantus firmus used by Alba; IT xiii: Ut queant laxis resonare fibris: III: 4 ddcG, 5 F, 8 a. IV: 3 E, 4 GGEF. Seville Cathedral, Cantorale no.64, fol.6v (modern foliation), includes the incipit of this hymn with the same liturgical incipit.

69 Noone, Códice 25, pp.100–1. In SevBC 2, fol.sxcvii–xcvii, verses 2 and 4 of Guerrero’s hymn are found anonymously, with slight differences, most notable in the altus part in verse 4.


71 Noone, Códice 25, p.102. On the other hand, in his post-Tridentine setting of Aurea luce Torrentes uses the melody found in the IT, 1526, ToleBC 12 (1579), fol.slv-62v.

72 Snow, ‘Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala’, pp.192–8. In SevBC 2, fol.sxcviii, owing to damage to the manuscript, only the cantus and tenor of verse 2 of Guerrero’s hymn have been preserved, anonymously.


74 D. Ortiz de Zañúa, Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla (Seville, 1795–6), i, pp.28–9. 41, 49, 55, 82, 142–5, 227, 304.


76 Noone, Códice 25, pp.83–1. ToleBC 21, fol.s6v–97v, Liber vesperarum, fols.61v–66. In SevBC 2, fols.s6v–s87v (modern foliation), two incomplete and anonymous settings of this hymn are found, one corresponding to that found in Guerrero’s edition; the other, according to the 1721 inventory, is by Ceballos.


78 E-Sc, fols.s238v–s239r: Tibi Christe splendor Patris: S 159: II: 5 c, 6 d, 7 d. III: 7 a, 8 G. V: 1 GG. VI: 4 F, 6 C. The
The relationship between these two chant sources, given that there are several melodies and hymns that are only found in them, as well as a significant number of melodic variants in common, will be considered in a future study.

79 Noone, Códice 25, fols.58r–60r. An incomplete version of Guerrero’s hymn is found, anonymously, in SevBC 2, fols.cii–ciii (fol. ciii is missing).

80 E-Sc, fol.240r–v. Christe redemptor omnium / conserv: I: 1 GaGG, 6 ahG. II: 1 Gde, 4 ch, 8 GaG. III: 5 F, 7 a, 8 aha. IV: 2 ddc, 4 ha, 5 G; IT, xxv. Christe redemptor omnium / conserv: I: GaGG, 6 ahG. II: 1 Gde, 4 ch, 8 GaG. III: 2 FE, 5 F, 7 a, 8 ahaG. IV: 2 c, 4 ha, 5 G, 6 haG. The chant in the IT has some slight ornamental variants with the traditional melody in E-T 33.4, fol.88v.

Stäblein, Hymnen [I], p.288.

81 ToleBC 12, fols.391v–401r. Liber vespasianum, fols.60v–63r. The earlier version of verses 2 and 4 by Guerrero is found in SevBC 2, fols.ciii–civi; verse 6 corresponds to one setting by Morales. Both verses 2 and 6 have the text altered to conform to the reforms of Urban VIII, and verse 4 has only the incipit ‘Vos purpurati Martyres de canto Illano’; Noone, Códice 25, p.66. The hymn is attributed to Guerrero in the 1721 inventory from Seville Cathedral.

82 E-Sc, fol.246v. Exsultet coelum laudibus 752s: I: 1 ahc. II: 3 d. III: 7 Ga. IV: 5 E. The note E is changed to D in II: 5 d, and the note C was eliminated in the melisma IV: 5 ED.

83 Liber vespasianum, fols.66v–69r. Snow, ‘Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala’, p.199. This setting by Guerrero is found anonymously in SevBC 2, fols.cxx–cxxxv, with the text 4 and 6 corresponding to the reformed hymn Exsulcio orbi gaud. Another incomplete setting, also anonymous, is found with the same cantus firmus at fols.cxxv–cxxxvii.

84 It is only found in VilVic:B 8, fols.199v–212r, probably reaching Portugal from Seville, and not in the sources of the royal chapel in Granada, where he would later be chapelmaster: Snow, The extant music of Rodrigo de Ceballos, pp.67–8.


86 E-Sc, fol.249r. Deus tuorum militum: 752s: I: 2 ahc. II: 3 d. III: 7 Ga. IV: 5 E. The same erasures and corrections are found as in the previous hymn.

87 ToleBC 18, fols.41v–43r. The melody 29 S-1 for Deus tuorum militum is also found in the Intonarium of Toledo Cathedral of 1564, fol.41v. Noone, Códice 25, pp.69–70; Aguirre Rincón, Gines de Boluda, pp.32–4, 56.

88 E-Sc, fol.251v. Sanctorem meritis inclita gaudia: S 23: I: 1 d. II: 1 d, 3 g, 4 f, 5 e. III: 1 d, 3 d. The chant in the IT, for high ranking feasts, is identical with E-Sc, except for one note: IV: 5 G.

89 Liber vespasianum, fols.73v–75r. ToleBC 12, fols.56v–57r. Snow, ‘Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala’, p.200; Aguirre Rincón, Gines de Boluda, p.57. Guerrero’s setting is found anonymously in SevBC 2, fols.cxxxi–cxxxv, with the text corrected according to the reforms of Urban VIII.

90 E-Sc, fol.254r. Iste confessor Domini sacratus: S 80: II: 7 GF, 10 EE. III: 4 dcdchaG, 5 F. IV: 3 D, 4 FGFE; IT, fol.cxxvii. Iste confessor Domini sacram: I: 10 GFE. III: 4 dcaG, 5 F, 8, a, 10 GFE. IV: 3 E, 4 GFEE. The melody previously found in Toledo was S46 found in E-T 33.4, fol.91v.

91 ToleBC 12, fols.57v–58r. Liber vespasianum, fols.75v–77r. Two verses of this hymn found in Guerrero’s setting are found anonymously in SevBC 2, fols.cxxv–cxxxvii, with the text modified according to the reforms of Urban VIII; Aguirre Rincón, Gines de Boluda, p.57.

92 Gerber only considers the metrical aspect: Gerber, ‘Spanische Hymnensätze um 1500’, p.174.

93 In sources from before the 16th century, once again only E-Bc 251 and E-Boc prescribe the melody 752s for these three hymns.

94 Only one source from before 1500 is known to have prescribed the chant used by Escobar—S80—for the hymns Iste confessor and Virgines proles, that is Lleida Cathedral Archive, Ms.6: Consuetudines Herdenses (14th century), fols.987, 101v.

95 Liber vespasianum, fols.77v–79r. Snow, ‘Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala’, p.200. Two verses of Guerrero’s setting are preserved anonymously in SevBC 2, fols.cxxix–cxl’, again with the text modified according to the reforms of Urban VIII.

96 IT, xxxviii–xxxix. ToleBC 12, fols.54v–56r; Aguirre Rincón, Gines de Boluda, p.58.