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## *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.<sup>1</sup> I have studied the dating of the manuscript elsewhere, and proposed a Sevillian origin for it,<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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;<sup>4</sup> Bruno Turner has also considered it from the viewpoint of performance practice.<sup>5</sup> 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.

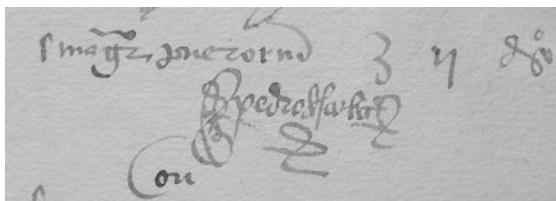
The Sevillian origins of Tarazona 2–3 are immediately suggested by the profile of the composers included in the manuscript. The proportion of works by composers with ties to Seville Cathedral is so high that it is difficult to imagine that its compilation could have been carried out at any other institution.<sup>6</sup> 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 chapelmaster 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 chapelmaster there (1507–14), and this was how he signed his name (illus.1).<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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

Table 1 The hymn cycle in Tarazona 2–3

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



1 Pedro de Escobar's signature (Seville, Cathedral Archive, Section II, book 251) (By permission of Seville Cathedral Archive)

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 Peñalosa, archdeacon of Carmona, canon of this Holy Church who died on 1 April 1528.'<sup>10</sup>

Thus the composer profile of Tarazona Cathedral 2–3 is decidedly Sevillian, and it should come as no surprise that the hymn cycle it contains should reinforce the idea 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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

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

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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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 vespertinum* (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 vespertinum*; 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.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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 sanctorale, those of first rank which had apparently not previously been set polyphonically.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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

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

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

\* 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.

*Hymnum canamus gloriae* and in that of Tarazona, as well as Zaragoza of which it was suffragan, *Aeterne Rex altissime*.<sup>19</sup>

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.<sup>20</sup>

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 1563 that does not appear in any of the other breviaries so far consulted. The last line of the first verse is, in the Seville version, ‘infunde amorem cordibus’, while elsewhere it is consistently ‘infunde lumen cordibus’. The polyphonic setting of the

Table 3 Comparison of the liturgical function and chants used in Tarazona Cathedral 2–3 with the other dioceses studied in this article

Hymn	Composer	Seville breviary	Toledo breviary	Tarazona breviary	Roman breviary	Voice/ Tarazona 2–3	E-Sc	Intonarium Toletanum	E-TZ 152
1 Veni redemptor gentium	Escobar	V	V	V	M*	C/14s <sub>1</sub>	14s <sub>1</sub>	14s <sub>1</sub>	71*
2 Hostis Herodes impie	Escobar	V	V	V	V	C/71 <sub>1</sub>	71 <sub>1</sub>	71 <sub>1</sub>	71 <sub>1</sub>
3 Vexilla regis prodeunt	Alba	V	V	V	V	Te/S 133	S 133	S 133	32 <sub>2</sub> *
4 Ad cenam agni providi	Sanabria	V	V	V	V	C/150 <sub>1</sub>	150 <sub>1</sub>	150 <sub>1</sub>	150
5 Iesu nostra redemptio	Peñalosa	V	M*	M*	V	B/4 <sub>2</sub>	4 <sub>2</sub>	4 <sub>2</sub>	4 <sub>2</sub>
6 Beata nobis gaudia	Alba	V	L*	V	L*	C/S 87	S 87	S 87	S 139*
7 Veni Creator Spiritus	Alba	T	T	T	V*	C/17 <sub>1</sub>	17 <sub>1</sub>	17 <sub>1</sub>	17 <sub>1</sub>
8 O lux beata Trinitas	Peñalosa	V	V	V	V	B/S 80*	75 <sub>2</sub> S <sub>2</sub> *	71*	71*
9 Pange lingua	Urreda	V/P	V	V	V	Te/S 88	S 88	S 88	17 <sub>1</sub> *
10 Sacris sollempniis	Peñalosa	M/P	M	M	M	Te/S 147	S 147	S 147	–
11 Ut queant laxis	Alba	V	V	V	V	C/S 80	S 80	S 80	S 80
12 Felix per omnes	Escobar	V	V	M	M*	C/106 <sub>1</sub>	106 <sub>1</sub>	106 <sub>1</sub>	106 <sub>1</sub>
13/14 Ave maris stella	Escobar	V/P	V	V	V	Te/67 <sub>1</sub>	67 <sub>1</sub>	67 <sub>1</sub>	67
15 Tibi Christe splendor	Alba	V	V	V	V	C/S 159	S 159	S 150*	113*
16 Christe redemptor omnium	Alba	V	V	V	V	C/155 <sub>3</sub>	155 <sub>3</sub>	155 <sub>3</sub>	71*
17 Exsultet caelum laudibus	Escobar	V	V	V	V	C/75 <sub>2</sub> S <sub>2</sub>	75 <sub>2</sub> S <sub>2</sub>	S 134*	S 83*
18 Deus tuorum militum	Escobar	V	V	M*	V	Te/75 <sub>2</sub> S <sub>2</sub>	75 <sub>2</sub> S <sub>2</sub>	29s <sub>1</sub> *	S 8*
19 Sanctorum meritis	Peñalosa	V	V	V	V	C/S 23 <sub>2</sub>	S 23 <sub>2</sub>	S 23 <sub>2</sub>	–
20 Iste confessor	Escobar	V	V	V	V	C-Te/S 80	S 80	S 80	S 116*

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.<sup>21</sup> Of the hymns for the sanctorale, the setting of *Felix 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 felix* for matins and *Aurea luce* for lauds. The dioceses of Zaragoza follow the Roman tradition with the hymn *Aurea luce* for vespers, and *Felix per omnes* for matins.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup>

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.<sup>24</sup>

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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> 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*),<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> Close comparison points up shared repertory, subject to the inevitable variations of oral transmission and the potential differences arising from local traditions.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> 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<sup>v</sup>–ii<sup>r</sup> (fols.4<sup>v</sup>–5) *Non ex virili semine. Scobar. ‘In natiuitate domini hymnus’ (verse 2 of Veni redemptor gentium)***

Escobar follows closely the melody 14<sub>S1</sub>, 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*.<sup>31</sup> Settings of *Veni redemptor gentium*, based on melody 14<sub>S1</sub>, 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.<sup>32</sup> 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<sup>v</sup>–iii<sup>r</sup> (fols.5<sup>v</sup>–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.<sup>33</sup> Escobar again follows the Sevillian chant.<sup>34</sup> 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 Circumcision, with the rubric (fol.185<sup>v</sup>): 'In vigilia epiphaniae et in die in omnibus hymnis ad omnes horis dicitur cantus ut in die circumcissionis'. 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*.<sup>35</sup> 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*.<sup>36</sup>

**3 fols.iii<sup>v</sup>–iiii<sup>r</sup> (fols.6<sup>v</sup>–7) *Vexilla regis prodeunt*. A<sup>o</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> The minor variants found in the melody S 133 in *E-Sc* are included without exception in Alba's setting,<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup>

Both *E-Sc* (f.194<sup>v</sup>) and the *IT* (fol.<sup>v</sup>) 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 aduentus. ad vespersos'. This is the variant 32<sub>2</sub>, also used in the diocese of Zaragoza for Passion Sunday and found in Tarazona chant books (*E-TZ* 152, fol.126<sup>r</sup>).<sup>40</sup> 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.cxix, 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.iiii<sup>v</sup>–v<sup>r</sup> (fols.7<sup>v</sup>–8) *Cuius corpus sanctissimum*. Sanabria. 'In tempore resurrectionis hymnus'; verse 2 of *Ad cenam agni providi***

This is the first of the hymns in a setting by a composer not known to have been connected with Seville Cathedral.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> In the cantus Sanabria uses a variant of the melody 150<sub>1</sub> 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.<sup>43</sup> 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’.<sup>44</sup>

**5 fols.v<sup>v</sup>–vi<sup>r</sup> (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.<sup>45</sup> Guerrero adopts the same melody 4<sub>2</sub> in the printed version of this hymn.<sup>46</sup>

**6 fols.vi<sup>v</sup>–vii<sup>r</sup> (fols.9v–10) *Beata nobis gaudia*. A° dalua. ‘In die sancto pentecostes hymnus’<sup>47</sup>**

*SevBC* 2 includes an anonymous polyphonic setting of this hymn.<sup>48</sup> 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 chapelmaster at Seville.<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup>

**7 fols.vii<sup>v</sup>–viii<sup>r</sup> (fols.10v–11) *Veni Creator Spiritus*. Alonso dalua.**

All the known Spanish chant sources use 17<sub>1</sub> for this hymn, although minor local variants are found, which can help to pinpoint its origin.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup> Guerrero and Torrentes use the same melody for their settings.<sup>53</sup>

**8 fols.viii<sup>v</sup>–ix<sup>r</sup> (fols.11v–12) *O lux beata Trinitas*. Peñalosa. ‘In festo sanctissime trinitatis himnus’**

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.<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup> 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 752<sub>S2</sub> 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



copied with the aim of being used elsewhere, but as an anthology of a liturgical repertory representing a specific time and place.<sup>56</sup>

Two anonymous settings of verse 2 of this hymn ('Te mane laudum carmine') are found in *SevBC* 2, fols.lxxix<sup>v</sup>-lxxxi<sup>r</sup>, the first of which, by Ceballos, follows the traditional Sevillian melody 752<sub>S2</sub>, and the second agrees, with only slight differences, with verse 2 of the setting published by Guerrero in the *Liber vesperarum*, fols.44<sup>v</sup>-45<sup>r</sup>, using the Toledan melody 71. It is interesting to note that the inscription 'this is not said' ('no se dize 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.<sup>57</sup>

**9 fols.ix<sup>v</sup>-x<sup>r</sup> (fols.12<sup>v</sup>-13) *Pange lingua*. Urreda.  
'In festo corporis christe'**

This hymn is, without doubt, the most widely diffused throughout the Iberian peninsula in the 16th century.<sup>58</sup> The *cantus firmus* is the well-known 'Spanish' melody identified as S88, the earliest known source for which is the 13th-century Toledan breviary.<sup>59</sup> It should be pointed out that this melody, with the text *Pange lingua gloriosi/corporis* is known only in four Spanish chant sources before the 16th century. In addition to the *IT* and *E-Sc*, there are the *Cantoriale sancti Ieronimi* of the monastery of Sant Jeroni de la Murtra (Barcelona) (*E-Bc* 251),<sup>60</sup> and the *Psalterium hymnarium*, which survives at the Biblioteca del Orfeò Català, s.s. (*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 *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 *Tantum ergo* said to be by Urreda ('se ha de rematar la fiesta cada tarde con el *Tantum ergo* que dicen de Vreda. . .').<sup>61</sup> The different settings of this hymn by Guerrero use the traditional Sevillian melody.<sup>62</sup>

**10 fols.x<sup>v</sup>-xi<sup>r</sup> (fols.13<sup>v</sup>-14) *Sacris sollemniis*.  
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<sub>2</sub>. The *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 *IT* and 1544 the use of these melodies must have changed since in a *Psalterio de matines* of that year the chant S147 is included for matins of the feast of Corpus Christi.<sup>63</sup> Both *Pange lingua* and *Sacris sollemniis* were sung during Corpus Christi processions, notably in cities such as Seville and Toledo where polyphonic settings also had a place.<sup>64</sup>

Peñalosa's setting uses the chant melody S147, rarely used in Spanish sources before the 16th century, in the tenor, note for note and unadorned.<sup>65</sup> 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<sub>3</sub>, 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.<sup>66</sup> 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 sollempniis* survive in different printed books,<sup>67</sup> 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<sup>v</sup>–xii<sup>r</sup> (fols.14<sup>v</sup>–15) *Ut queant laxis.*  
Alonso dalua. ‘In natiuitate 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.<sup>68</sup> The same melody is paraphrased by Guerrero, also in the cantus, in his pre- and post-Tridentine settings of the hymn.<sup>69</sup>

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

Escobar uses the chant melody 106<sub>1</sub>, 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.<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> *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 152<sub>S2</sub> 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 felix*; in the Spanish tradition the matins hymn also sung to the melody 106<sub>1</sub>, 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 vesperarum*.<sup>72</sup>

**13 fols.xiii<sup>v</sup>–xiiii<sup>r</sup> (fols.16<sup>v</sup>–17) *Sumens illud aue.*  
Escobar. ‘In festiuitatibus gloriosissime virginis marie’ (verse 2 of *Ave maris stella*)**

**14 fols.xiiii<sup>v</sup>–xv<sup>r</sup> (fols.17<sup>v</sup>–18) *Sumens illud aue.*  
Escobar. ‘Hymnus beatissime virginis marie’**

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.<sup>73</sup> 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.<sup>74</sup>

The chant used by Escobar is 67<sub>1</sub> (see also 67<sub>4</sub>), 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.<sup>75</sup> 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 b a G a b. This otherwise slight variant becomes more significant with its consistent use by composers with such strong Sevillian connections.<sup>76</sup>

15 fols.xv<sup>v</sup>–xvi<sup>r</sup> (fols.18<sup>v</sup>–19) *Tibi Christe splendor*. A° dalua. ‘In festiuitate sancti michaelis hymnus’

Until now the *cantus firmus* used by Alba in this hymn was unknown.<sup>77</sup> The melody, S159, is found only in *E-Boc* and the Sevillian hymnal (see *illus.2*).<sup>78</sup> 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.<sup>79</sup>

16 fols.xvi<sup>v</sup>–xvii<sup>r</sup> (fols.19<sup>v</sup>–20) *Christe redemptor omnium*. A° dalua. ‘In festiuitate omnium sanctorum hymnus’

In this setting, Alba uses a variant of the melody 155<sub>3</sub>.<sup>80</sup> Morales, Guerrero and Torrentes composed their settings on the same chant.<sup>81</sup>

17 fols.xvii<sup>v</sup>–xviii<sup>r</sup> (fols.20<sup>v</sup>–21) *Vos secli iusta iudices*. Escobar. ‘In natale apostolorum hymnus’ (verse 2 of *Exsultet coelum laudibus*)

*E-Sc* prescribes the melody 752<sub>S22</sub>, used here by Escobar transposed to the C final, precisely for vespers of the feasts of apostles of first, second and third ranking.<sup>82</sup> Guerrero uses the same *cantus firmus*, in the cantus and untransposed, in his setting of this hymn.<sup>83</sup> 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



2 *Tibi Christe splendor*, vespers hymn for the feast of St Michael [*Regla vieja*] (15th century) (*E-Sc*), fols.238<sup>v</sup>–239<sup>r</sup> (By permission of Seville Cathedral Archive)



3 Alonso de Alba, *Tibi Christe splendor* (Tarazona Cathedral 2–3, fols.xv<sup>v</sup>–xxi<sup>r</sup> (fols.18<sup>v</sup>–19<sup>r</sup>); by permission of the Chapter)

Seville.<sup>84</sup> 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*.<sup>85</sup>

**18 fols.xviii<sup>v</sup>–xix<sup>r</sup> (fols.21<sup>v</sup>–22) *Hic nempe mundi gaudia*. Escobar. ‘In natale unius martyris hymnus’ (verse 2 of *Deus tuorum militum*)**

As in the case of the previous hymn, the melody 752<sub>S2</sub> (also here transposed to the C final by Escobar) is used in the Sevillian diocese.<sup>86</sup> In *SevBC* 2 (fols.cxxix<sup>v</sup>–cxxx<sup>i</sup><sup>r</sup>) 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 752<sub>S2</sub>. The second setting, of verse 2 alone, and thus incomplete, corresponds with the hymn published by Guerrero in his *Liber vespertinum*. Here Guerrero

uses the melody S8 (transposed to the G final) in the cantus, which in the Seville hymnal, fol.249<sup>v</sup>, 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 vespertinum* eschewed performance in Seville in favour of use in other dioceses. Morales and Torrentes in their settings of *Nova resultant gaudia*, for first vespers of the feast of San Eugenio in Toledo Cathedral, used the melody 29<sub>S1</sub>. 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*.<sup>87</sup>

**19 fols.xix<sup>v</sup>–xx<sup>r</sup> (fols.22<sup>v</sup>–23) *Sanctorum meritis*. Peñalosa. ‘In natale plurimorum martyrum hymnus’**

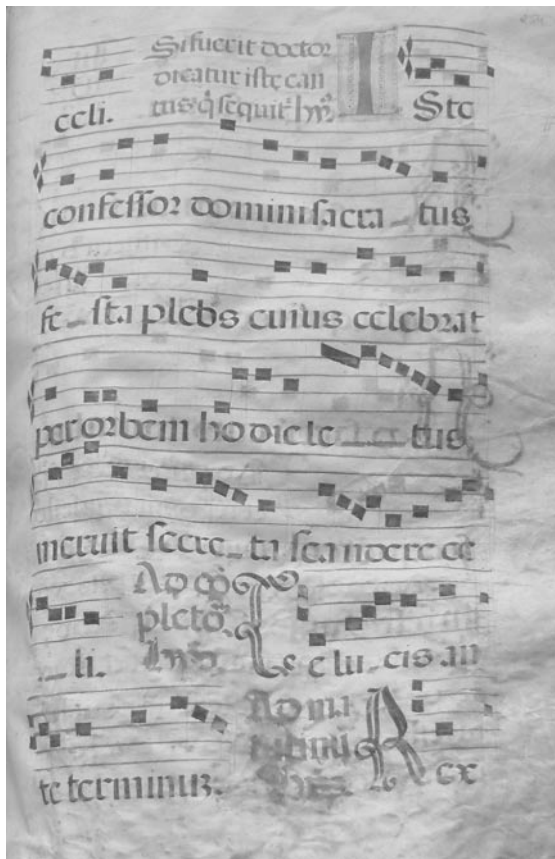
Peñalosa paraphrases the chant S23<sub>2</sub> (transposed to the final C) found in the Seville hymnal with this



liturgical function on feasts of first, second and third ranking.<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup>

**20 fols.xx<sup>v</sup>–xxi<sup>r</sup>(fols.23<sup>v</sup>–) *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).<sup>90</sup> Guerrero, Torrentes and Boluda also base their settings of this hymn on this melody:<sup>91</sup> Guerrero



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)

places it in the cantus, Torrentes and Boluda (transposing it to G final) in the altus and tenor respectively. Gerber has already pointed out that, as regards the rubric on fol.xxi<sup>r</sup> of *TarazC* 2/3 ‘por este hymno se puede cantar el hymno de las virgenes’ (‘this hymn may be sung as a hymn for the feasts of virgins’), the text of *Iesu corona virginum*, usually prescribed for vespers of the Common of Virgins, does not fit the metre of *Iste confessor* (iambic and sapphic respectively), under which this inscription is found, and suggests that it must refer to *Deus tuorum militum*.<sup>92</sup> There are, however, two other possibilities: the hymn *Exsultet coelum laudibus*, since the melody for *Iesu corona virginum* in the Sevillian hymnal on feasts of first, second and third ranking is the same used for *Deus tuorum militum*, as well as 752<sub>S2</sub> for *Exsultet coelum laudibus*, all three having the same iambic metre.<sup>93</sup> The third hypothesis, and perhaps the most likely, is that the annotation refers not to *Iesu corona virginum*, but to *Virgines proles opifex que Matris*, which is metrically interchangeable with *Iste confessor*, both being sapphic verses. As has already been mentioned, *Virgines proles* was the hymn in the archdiocese of Zaragoza (and thus in Tarazona) for vespers on feasts of the Common of the Virgins, while *Iesu corona virginum* was sung at matins. Another aspect that must be taken into consideration is that of the viability in performance of this exchange as regards a *cantus firmus*, which would have been extremely limited.<sup>94</sup>

Guerrero, in his different settings of *Iesu corona virginum*, used the chant melody 752<sub>S2</sub>.<sup>95</sup> Toledo prescribed S104, as it is found in the *IT* (fol.xxxviii<sup>v</sup>) for high-ranking feasts, and this is used, in the tenor, in the Torrentes/Boluda version.<sup>96</sup> In both the *IT* and *E-TZ* 152 different melodies are found for the hymns *Iesu corona virginum*, *Deus tuorum militum* and *Exsultet coelum laudibus*, for high ranking feasts, making use of them in performance in those dioceses problematic.

This detailed study of the hymn cycle of Tarazona Cathedral 2–3 would appear to confirm the Sevillian origin of the manuscript suggested by the profile of the composers represented in it. From a liturgical point of view, and based on the study of breviaries



5 Pedro de Escobar, *Iste confessor* (Tarazona Cathedral 2–3, fols.xx<sup>v</sup>–xxi<sup>r</sup> (fols.23<sup>v</sup>–24<sup>r</sup>); by permission of the Chapter)

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 Capitular y Colombina, 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 almae ecclesiae 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.
- \**Breviarium hispalensis diocesis denuò impressum* (Seville: Jacobo Cromberger, 1521)
  - \**Breviarium hispalensis diocesis* (Salamanca: Andrea de Portonariis, 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 Toletanae* (Lyons: Barthélemy Frein, 1551)
- \**Intonarium Toletanum (IT)* (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 Tirasonensis* (Venice: Johann [Hamman] Hertzog, 1497)
- \*[*Breviarium Tirasonense*] (Zaragoza: Jorge Coci, 1541)

### Zaragozan breviaries and other books (printed)

- \**Breviarium sancte metropolitane ecclesie Caesaraugustanum* (Zaragoza: Jorge Coci, 1527)
- \**Intonario General para todas las iglesias de España* (Zaragoza: Pedro Bernuz, 1548)

### Roman breviaries (printed)

- \**Breviarium secundum consuetudinem romane curie* (Venice: [s.i.], 1504)
- \**Breviarium romanum: ex decreto sacrosancti concilium Tridentini restitutum Pio V* (Venice: Giuntas, 1571)
- \**Breviarium 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)
- \**Breviarium romanum ex Decreto Sacro-Sancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum / S. Pii V Pontificis Max. Jussu editum; et Clementis VIII primúm, nunc denuò Urbani PP. VIII auctoritate* (Antwerp: architypographia plantiniana, 1747)

### Other printed breviaries consulted

- \**Breviarium secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Giensis* (Seville: Jacobo Cromberger, 1528) This is a copy of the Toledan breviary, since it belongs to that archdiocese.
- \**Breviarium almae ecclesiae Compostellanae* (Salamanca: Matías Gast, 1569)
- \**Breviarium secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Valentine* (Valencia: Francisco Díaz Romano, 1533)
- \**Breviarium* [Monasterio de Santa María de Solsona] (Zaragoza: Jorge Coci, 1514) (Archdiocese of Tarragona)
- \**Breviarium sacri ordinis Cisterciensis ad vsum congregationis Hispaniarum* (Paris: oficina Cramosiana, 1658)

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- 1 H. Anglés, *La música en la corte de los Reyes Católicos* (Barcelona, 1941; 2/ 1960), pp.122–4; J. M. Hardie, *The motets of Francisco de Peñalosa and their manuscript sources* (PhD diss., U. of Michigan, 1983), pp.42–52; *Census-catalogue of manuscript sources of polyphonic music, 1400–1550* (Neuhausen, 1979–88), iii, pp.194–5, and iv, p.477; E. Ros Fábregas, *The manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 454: study and edition in the context of the Iberian and Continental manuscript traditions* (PhD diss., City U. of New York, 1992), pp.237–44; T. Knighton, *Música y músicos en la corte de Fernando el Católico, 1474–1516* (Zaragoza, 2001), pp.246–62; E. Ros Fábregas, 'Libros de música en bibliotecas españolas del siglo XVI', *Pliegos de bibliofilia*, xvii (2002), p.34; C. Urchueguia, *Die mehrstimmigen Messe in 'Goldenen Jahrhundert': Überlieferung und Repertoirebildung in Quellen aus Spanien und Portugal (ca. 1490–1630)* (Tutzing, 2003), pp.108–15; K. Kreitner, *The church music of fifteenth-century Spain* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.140–42.
- 2 J. Ruiz Jiménez, "'Los sonidos de la montaña hueca". Innovación y tradición en las capillas musicales eclesiásticas de la corona de Castilla durante los albores del Renacimiento: el paradigma sevillano', *La música en tiempos de Isabel la Católica* (Valladolid, 2005) (forthcoming).
- 3 R. Gerber, 'Spanische Hymnensätze um 1500', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, x (1953), pp.165–84; R. Gerber, *Spanische Hymnar um 1500*, Das Chorwerk, lx (Wolfenbüttel, 1957).
- 4 T. R. Ward, *The polyphonic office hymn, 1400–1520: a descriptive catalogue* (Neuhausen, 1980); C. J. Gutiérrez, 'Himno', *Diccionario de la música Española e Hispanoamericana*, vi (Madrid, 2000), pp.304–6.
- 5 B. Turner, 'Spanish liturgical hymns: a matter of time', *Early music*, xxiii (1995), pp.472–82; see also *Five Spanish*

- liturgical hymns*, ed. B. Turner (Lochs, 1996).
- 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 psalmos 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. Alvarez Márquez, *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, 1909), 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, arcediano de Carmona, canónigo desta Santa Iglesia que murió en 1° de abril de 1528'. ACS, sección I, libro 8 (autos capitulares), fols.1r, 24r, 25r, 110r; sección II, libro 2B, 438, 439, 1489; sección IV, libro 408, fol.214r; sección IX, leg.124, pieza 12.
- 11 T. R. Ward, 'Polyphonic setting of mensural hymn melodies', *Monumenta monodica Medii Aevi: Subsidia Band IV: Der lateinische Hymnus im Mittelalter*, ed. A. Haug (Kassel, 2004), pp.331–3.
- 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 *Intonarum 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.
- 15 On Guerrero's settings in *GuatC 2*, see R. Snow, 'Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala', *Nassarre*, iii (1987), pp.153–202.
- 16 ACS, sección o, libro 11157, fols.15v–16r. The hymns in question are *O lux beata Trinitas* and one verse of *Ave maris stella* by Ceballos, also *Quicumque Christum* and *Quodcumque vinclis* 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 (chapmaster of Seville Cathedral between 1604 and 1617) and Fray Francisco de Santiago (chapmaster 1617–48).
- 18 On these modifications, see R. Snow, 'Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala', pp.153–202; R. Snow, 'Liturgical reform and musical revisions: reworkings of their vespers hymns by Guerrero, Navarro and Durán de la Cueva', *Livro de Homenagem a Macario Santiago Kastner* (Lisbon, 1992), pp.463–99.
- 19 Seville breviary (1563), fols.207v–208r; Toledo breviary (1492), fols.117v–119v; Zaragoza breviary (1527), fols.230r–232v; Tarazona breviary (1541), fols.269r–271v.
- 20 Seville breviary (1563), fols.212v–215r; Toledo breviary (1492), fol.123r–v; Zaragoza breviary (1527), fols.234v–8v; Tarazona breviary (1541), fols.281r–284r; Roman breviary (1571), fols.192r–194r.
- 21 Seville breviary (1563), fols.218r. *TarazC 2*, fols.viii<sup>v</sup>–ix (11v–12r).

22 The Seville tradition also coincides with that of Santiago de Compostela. Seville breviary (1563), fols.380v–383r; Toledo breviary (1492) fols.331r–333r; Zaragoza breviary (1527), fols.459v–450r; Tarazona breviary (1541) fol.500r; Santiago breviary (1569), fols.414r–417r; Roman breviary (1571), fol.331v.

23 Tarazona breviary (1497), fols.336v, 344r; Zaragoza breviary (1527), fols.325–332; Tarazona breviary (1541), fol.548r–v.

24 I am very grateful to Michael Noone for providing a newly revised version of the hymn cycle by the Toledan chapelmaster Andrés de Torrentes which originally formed part of his master's thesis *Andrés de Torrentes (1510–1580): Spanish polyphonist and chapelmaster: Opera omnia, biography and source study* (U. of Sydney, 1982).

25 Gutiérrez, 'Himno', p.304.

26 On medieval hymnody in Spain, see C. J. Gutiérrez, 'The hymnodic tradition in Spain', *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi: Subsidia Band IV: Der lateinische Hymnus im Mittelalter*, ed. A. Haug (Kassel, 2004), pp.215–43; C. J. Gutiérrez, 'Procedimientos de creación y adaptación en los himnos litúrgicos medievales en España: la composición de un repertorio', *Revista de musicología*, xxvii (2004), pp.815–39.

27 For a description of this source, see J. Ruiz Jiménez, "Los sonidos de la montaña hueca". I am deeply grateful to Carmen Julia Gutiérrez for allowing me to study this volume in advance of publication.

28 An important collection of hymns is also found in the *Psalterium secundum vsum Sancte ecclesie Toletane* which formed part of Cardinal Cisneros's ambitious publication project, being published in 1515. Further chant books copied in the 16th century found in the archive of Toledo Cathedral include melodies for the hymns under discussion here. Notable among these are the *Psalterios de Maitines y Vísperas*, copied in 1542, and the *Intonarum* of 1564, neither of which appear to have significant variants from the *IT*.

29 M. Bernadó, 'Sobre el origen y la procedencia de la tradición hispánica a fines de la Edad Media', *Revista de musicología*, xvi (1993), pp.2347–9.

On this major source, see also H. Anglés, 'Early Spanish musical culture and Cardinal Cisneros's hymnal of 1515', *Aspects of medieval and Renaissance music: a birthday offering to Gustave Reese* (New York, 1966), pp.3–16; and M. Bernadó, 'The hymns of the Intonarum Toletanum (1515): some peculiarities', *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus: papers read at the 6th meeting* (Eger, Hungary, 1993), i (Budapest, 1995), pp.367–96.

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*, x (forthcoming), as are the melodies referred to that were not published by Stäblein.

31 The chant melodies are identified according to the sigla used in *Hymnen II*, ed. Gutiérrez. A number, followed by a subscript number (eg. 71<sub>1</sub>), refers to the melodies published in *Hymnen [I]*, ed. B. Stäblein, *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. 14<sub>S1</sub>). 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. S88). In order to note the variants in E-Sc I shall follow Gutiérrez. In this case, E-Sc, fol.184r: *Veni redemptor gentium*: melody 14<sub>S1</sub>; II: 1 ach, 7 GF. III: 6 cc. IV 4 FED.; *IT*, iiv: *Veni redemptor gentium*: II 1 ac, 2 ch, 3 aG, 7 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 de la catedral de Toledo* (Madrid, 2003), pp.77–8. *Liber vesperarum*, fols.29v–32r. In *SevBC 2*, fols.xxxii<sup>v</sup>–xxxv<sup>r</sup>, xxxviii<sup>v</sup>–xli<sup>r</sup>, 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 gaudiis*.

33 E-Sc, fol.185r: *Veni redemptor gentium*: 71<sub>1</sub>; I and IV: 5 EDE. II: 3 a, 6 ahca, 7 G. III: 1 aha, 3 FG, 5 C, 7 E, 8 EFEDD; *IT*, iii<sup>r</sup>: *Hostis Herodes impie* (transposed to the G final): I and IV: 5 EDE. II: 1 DE, 3 a, 6 ahc, 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 *Hostis Herodes impie* and the rubric 'In Epiphania domini. Ad vesp.', fols.29v–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. Martín 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.5r–v (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.

35 R. Snow, *The extant music of Rodrigo de Ceballos and its sources* (Detroit, 1980), p.68; Snow, 'Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala', p.189; *Obras completas de Rodrigo de Ceballos*, iv: *Lamentaciones, Salmos, Himnos*, ed. R. Snow (Granada, 1997), pp.138–41; Noone, *Códice 25*, pp.85–6, 105. *ToleBC 18 (A)* (1545), fols.44v–45r.

36 *Liber vesperarum*, fols.32v–34r. As with the previous hymn, verses 2 and 4 of Guerrero's setting are found anonymously in *SevBC 2*, fols.xxxvi<sup>v</sup>–xxxviii<sup>r</sup>, xlii<sup>v</sup>–xlii<sup>r</sup>, 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

Seville for these hymns. In both cases the two versions display minor differences.

37 R. Snow, *A New-World collection of polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service: Guatemala City, Cathedral Archive, Music MS 4* (Chicago, 1996), pp.63–4. *Liber vespertinum*, fols.34v–37r. Verses 2, 4 and 6 of Guerrero's hymn are found in *SevBC* 2, fols.xliv<sup>v</sup>–xlvi<sup>ii</sup>, with minor but significant differences, especially in verse 2.

38 *E-Sc*, fol.192v: *Vexilla regis prodeunt*: S 133: I and IV: 2 aG, 4 F, 5 GFGa, 6 F, 7 GFE. II: 2 D, 7 G. III: 3 dch, 6 GG, 7 aG.; *IT*, iv<sup>v</sup>: *Vexilla regis prodeunt*: I and IV: 4 F, 5 GFa, 6 F, 7 GFE. III: 7 aG. This chant is found in Seville Cathedral, Cantorale no.28, fols.1v–5r, catalogued as a 15th-century antiphoner, and in all the verses in Seville Cathedral, Cantorale no.96, fols.6v–10v, copied in the 16th century.

39 Snow, *The extant music of Rodrigo de Ceballos*, pp.69–70; *Obras completas de Rodrigo de Ceballos*, iv, ed. Snow, pp.xvi–xvii, 142–55, 204–17.

40 P. Calahorra, 'Vexilla regis: himno polifónico del siglo XV del Archivo Musical de la Catedral de La Seo de Zaragoza', *Nassarre*, i (1985), pp.179–82; P. Calahorra, *Polifonia aragonesa. i: Obras de los maestros de la capilla de música de Zaragoza en los siglos XV, XVI y XVII* (Zaragoza, 1984) pp.8, 15–9. This melody is also used for this hymn in the *Intonario general* (1548), fol.43r. Stäblein, *Hymnen* [I], p.34.

41 For the most recent bibliography on this composer's life and a brief analysis of this piece, see Kreitner, *The church music of fifteenth-century Spain*, pp.148–9.

42 On the copy of the volume of works by Peñalosa, see Ruiz Jiménez, "'Los sonidos de la montaña hueca'".

43 *E-Sc*, fol.197r–v: *Ad cenam agni providi*: 150: I: 2 ch, 4 h. II: 1 ah, 2 G, 3 EF, 5 GE, 6 F. III: 2 G, 3 GE, 7 cha. IV: 1 hd, 2 ch, 4 h, 6 G.; *IT*, vii<sup>v</sup>: *Ad cenam agni providi*: I: 1 Gch, 2 a, 3 G. II: 1 ah, 2 G, 3 GE, 5 GE, 6 F. III: 2 G, 3 GE, 7 cha. IV: 1 hd, 2 ch, 4 h, 6 G. The first verse is the same, except for one note (on the fourth syllable), although the distribution of syllables is different at the beginning in the two sources, which

suggest a greater distinction between the two melodies than just two different notes. Stäblein, *Hymnen* [I], p.91.

44 *Liber vespertinum*, fols.37v–39r. In *SevBC* 2, fols.lxxix<sup>v</sup>–lxx<sup>r</sup>, 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 fol.xlviii to lxx.

45 *E-Sc*, fol.201v: *Iesu nostra redemptio*: 42: I: 3 DEF, 7 G. II: 4 c, 5 hc. III: 1 D. IV: 5 EF; *IT*, viii<sup>v</sup>: *Iesu nostra redemptio*: I: 3 DEF, 7 G. II: 4 c, 5 hc. III: 1 D, 3 ha. IV 4 FaG, 5 EF. B. Stäblein, *Hymnen* [I], p.26. This melody is found in Málaga Cathedral, Cantorale no.17, fols.44, 48–9, with the same liturgical rubric as in Seville 'In vigilia Ascensionis. Ad vespertas'. (See note n.34 above.)

46 *Liber vespertinum*, fols.39v–41r. An anonymous version of Guerrero's hymn is found in *SevBC* 2, fols.lxx<sup>v</sup>–lxxiii<sup>r</sup>. 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.lxxiii<sup>r</sup>–lxxvi<sup>r</sup>, 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, encuadrado en tabla y cuero blanco' in the 1588 inventory, and as the 'libro de salmos e ynos de Guerrero en

pergamino' 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: I: 1 GaF, 3 a, 4 cdhc, 6 a. II: 2 cde, 4 ch. III: 5 ah. IV: 1 GaF, 3 a, 4 cdhch, 6 a.; *IT*, fol.ix<sup>v</sup>: I and IV: 7 FG. II: 1 c, 2 cde, 6 cd, 7 ch. III: 5 a, 6 haG.

50 Ward, *The polyphonic office hymn*, p.103; Ward, 'Polyphonic settings', p.331. For a transcription of this hymn, see Ros Fábregas, *The manuscript Barcelona*, ii, pp.61–3.

51 *E-Sc*, fol.205r–v: *Veni Creator Spiritus*: 17: I: 5 aG, 7 dc. II: 1 ch, 7 ee. III: 2 de, 4 a, 5 ccd, 6 G, 7 Ga. IV: 5 aha, 7 FG; *IT*, ix<sup>v</sup>: *Veni Creator Spiritus*: I: 5 aG, 7 dch. II: 1 ch. III: 2 de, 4 a, 5 hd, 6 G, 7 Ga. IV: 5 ha, 7 FG. B. Stäblein, *Hymnen* [I], p.9.

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 *ToleBC* 21 (1549), fols.42v–43r; *Liber vespertinum*, fols.41v–44r. Versions of the three verses, with minor variants, are found in *SevBC* 2, fols.lxxvi<sup>v</sup>–lxxix<sup>r</sup>.

54 B. Turner, 'Peñalosa's hymn *O lux beata Trinitas*—a contrafactum?', *Early music*, xxiii (1995), p.485.

55 The melody 752<sub>S2</sub> was used for the hymn *O lux beata Trinitas* in Seville (*E-Sc*, fol.206v), while 71<sub>1</sub>, transposed to the final G, was used in Toledo (*IT*, fol.ix<sup>v</sup>).

56 For the hypothesis that it was not used for practical purposes at Tarazona, see Urchueguía, *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-S2 which must also have been used in Ávila, 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.208v: *Pange lingua gloriosi / corporis*: S 88: I and V: 8 aGaGF. II: 5 F, 6 (E). III: 6 d, 7 ch. IV: 4 e, 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<sup>v</sup>. The only extant copy of the *IT* also displays corrections, scratched out and corrected in ink, in this hymn as well as in *Sacris solemniis* (see below). Some of the corrections in *Pange lingua* are also found in the Sevillian version of this hymn: I and V: 7 hh. III: 6 d, 7 ch. VI: 6 E.
- 60 M. Bernadó, 'Sobre el origen . . . de la Edad Media', pp.2335–8.
- 61 S. de la Rosa y López, *Los seis 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 'Urreda.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'.
- 62 In Ms.975 of the Manuel de Falla Library, Granada, there are two four-voice versions (one published in Guerrero's *Liber vesperarum* and the other concordant with *PueblaC* 19) and a three-voice unicum. A further three-voice setting is found in Fuenllana's *Orphenica lyra*. See Snow, 'Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala', p.191; M. Christoforidis and J. Ruiz Jiménez, 'Manuscrito 975 de la Biblioteca de Manuel de Falla: una nueva fuente polifónica del siglo XVI', *Revista de musicología*, xvii (1994), pp.226–7.
- 63 *Psalterio de maitines* (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 solemniis* alternating 'a versos Cantores, Cantollano, y Ministriles' is indicated in the 1604 Memorial of Toledo Cathedral (fol.23r): Noone, *Códice* 25, p.99. A minstrels' book listed in the 1721 inventory from Seville Cathedral includes a verse of *Sacris solemniis* attributed to Ceballos.
- 65 *E-Sc*, fol.209r; *E-Bc* 251, fol.55r; the *Oficio y Misa de la Toma de Granada de Fray Hernando de Talavera* (Santa Fe-Granada, 1493) (*E-SF*), fol.161v, and two 15th-century processions from the collegiate church of San Isidoro, León (*E-Lc* 54, fol.89v; *E-Lc* 66, fol.100). *E-Sc*, fol.209r: *Sacris solemniis*: S 147: I: 9 d. II: 7 f, 8 d. III: 1 F, 2 G, 3 G, 4 a, 5 h; *IT*, x<sup>r</sup>: *Sacris solemniis*: 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 solemniis*: I: 9 d. II: 4 (f), 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 maitines* was not corrected in this way.
- 66 Ward, *The polyphonic office hymn*, pp.239–40. For a transcription of the two hymns in BarcBC 454, see Ros Fábregas, *The manuscript Barcelona*, ii. pp.336–9.
- 67 Narváez (B1538-1), five *diferencias* on *Sacris solemniis*; Pisador (B1552-7), *Sacris solempnis* (3vv); Fuenllana (B1554-3), *Sacris solemniis*. *Una voz de contrapunto sobre el canto llano* and an intabulation of Guerrero's setting (3vv); Venegas de Henestrosa (B1557-2), the first verse of Morales's setting with the text '*Sacris solemniis*, Joseph vir' and the rubric 'para la fiesta del sanctissimo virgen Joseph', an anonymous two-voice setting, and a third attributed to Antonio [Cabezón] (4 vv): 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 80: II: 7 GF, 10 EE. III: 4 dcdchaG, 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<sup>v</sup>: *Ut queant laxis resonare fibris*: III: 4 dcaG, 5 F, 8 a. IV: 3 E, 4 GFEE. Seville Cathedral, Cantorale no.64, fol.6v (modern foliation), includes the incipit of this hymn with the same liturgical rubric.
- 69 Noone, *Códice* 25, pp.100–101. In *SevBC* 2, fols.xci<sup>v</sup>–xciv<sup>r</sup>, verses 2 and 4 of Guerrero's hymn are found anonymously, with slight differences, most notable in the altus part in verse 4.
- 70 *E-Sc*, fol.225r: *Felix per omnes*: 106.; I: 4 DE, 8 GF, 9 FGA. II: 6 G, 9 C, 11 E. III: 4 E, 8 D, 9 C, 11 E. IV: 1 EF, 4 G, 8 hc, 12 FGA. V: 1 aG, 2 E, 7 FgaG, 9 EFE, 11 CD. The *IT* has the same variants, only differing from the Sevillian version in the last line. *IT*, xiii<sup>v</sup>: *Felix per omnes*: I: 4 DE, 8 GF, 9 FGA. II: 6 G, 9 C, 11 E. III: 4 E, 8 D, 9 C, 11 E. IV: 1 EF, 4 G, 8 hc, 12 FGA. V: 1 aG, 2 E, 4 E, 9 E, 10 FD, 11 CD. Stäblein, *Hymnen* [I], pp.54–5; Ward, *The polyphonic office hymn*, p.144.
- 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*, 152<sub>S2</sub>. *ToleBC* 12 (1579), fols.61v–62r.
- 72 Snow, 'Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala', pp.192–8. In *SevBC* 2, fol.xciv<sup>r</sup>, owing to damage to the manuscript, only the cantus and tenor of verse 2 of Guerrero's hymn have been preserved, anonymously.
- 73 Gerber, 'Spanische Hymnensätze um 1500', p.174.
- 74 D. Ortiz de Zúñiga, *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.
- 75 *E-Sc*, fols.235r/238v: *Ave maris stella* (transposed to G final): 67<sub>r</sub>: I: 2 ah. II: 5 FEDE. III: 6 DEFEDC. IV: 2 GG, 5 E.; *IT*, fol.xix<sup>v</sup>: *Ave maris stella*: I: 2 aah, 3 aG. II: 5 FEDE. III: 6 DEFEDC. IV: 5 E. Stäblein, *Hymnen* [I], p.40.
- 76 Noone, *Códice* 25, pp.81–3, 224–37. *ToleBC* 21, fols.96v–97r; *Liber vesperarum*, fols.63v–66. In *SevBC* 2, fols.64v–68r (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.
- 77 Snow, 'Liturgical reform', p.468; Ward, *The polyphonic office hymn*, p.249.
- 78 *E-Sc*, fols.238v–239r: *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

presence of two different cadences in lines two and three make it a variant of melody S159. 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*, p.65. *Liber vesperarum*, fols.58v–60r. An incomplete version of Guerrero's hymn is found, anonymously, in *SevBC 2*, fols.ci<sup>v</sup>–ciii<sup>r</sup> (fol.cii is missing).

80 *E-Sc*, fol.240r–v. *Christe redemptor omnium / conserva*: 155; I: 1 GaGG, 6 ahG. II: 1 Gde, 4 ch, 8 GaG. III: 5 F, 7 a, 8 aha. IV: 2 cdc, 4 ha, 5 G; *IT*, xxv<sup>r</sup>: *Christe redemptor omnium / conserva*: I: GaGG, 6 ahG. II: 1 Gde, 4 ch, 8 GaGG. III: 2 FE, 5 F, 7 a, 8 ahaGa. 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. Ståblein, *Hymnen [I]*, p.288.

81 *ToleBC 18*, fols.39v–40r; *Liber vesperarum*, fols.60v–63r. The earlier version of verses 2 and 4 by Guerrero is found in *SevBC 2*, fols.ciii<sup>v</sup>–cv<sup>i</sup>; 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 llano'; Noone, *Códice 25*, p.66. The hymn is attributed to Guerrero in the 1721 inventory from Seville Cathedral.

82 *E-Sc*, fol.246r. *Exsultet coelum laudibus*: 752<sub>s</sub>; I: 2 ahc. II: 3 d. III: 7 Ga. IV: 5 E. The note E is changed to D in II: 3 d, and the note C was eliminated in the melisma IV: 5 ED.

83 *Liber vesperarum*, fols.66v–69r. Snow, 'Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala', p.199. This setting by Guerrero is found anonymously in *SevBC 2*, fols.cxxi<sup>v</sup>–cxciv<sup>r</sup>, with verses 2, 4 and 6 corresponding to the reformed hymn *Exsultet orbis gaudiis*. Another incomplete setting, also anonymous is found with the same *cantus firmus* at fols.cxxv<sup>v</sup>–cxcvii<sup>r</sup>.

84 It is only found in *VilViç B 8*, fols.109v–112r, 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.

85 *ToleBC 12*, fols.51v–52r. S. Aguirre Rincón, *Ginés de Boluda* (ca. 1545 – des. 1604): *biografía y obra musical* (Valladolid, 1995) p.156.

86 *E-Sc*, fol.249r: *Deus tuorum militum*: 752<sub>s</sub>; 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 *Intonarum* of Toledo Cathedral of 1564, fol.41v. Noone, *Códice 25*, pp.69–70; Aguirre Rincón, *Ginés de Boluda*, pp.32–4, 56.

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

89 *Liber vesperarum*, fols.73v–75r; *ToleBC 12*, fols.56v–57; Snow, 'Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala', p.200; Aguirre Rincón, *Ginés de Boluda*, p.57. Guerrero's setting is found anonymously in *SevBC 2*, fols.cxxxiii<sup>v</sup>–cxxxv<sup>r</sup>, 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<sup>r</sup>: *Iste confessor Domini sacratus*: I: 10 GFEE. III: 4 dcaG, 5 F, 8 a, 10 GFEE. IV: 3 E, 4 GFEE. The melody previously used in Toledo was S46 found in *E-T 33.4*, fol.91v.

91 *ToleBC 12*, fols.57v–58r; *Liber vesperarum*, fols.75v–77r. Two verses of this hymn in Guerrero's setting are found anonymously in *SevBC 2*, fols.cxxxv<sup>v</sup>–cxxxvii<sup>r</sup>, with the text modified according to the reforms of Urban VIII; Aguirre Rincón, *Ginés 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 752<sub>s</sub> 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 Ilerdenses* (14th century), fols.98r, 101v.

95 *Liber vesperarum*, 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.cxxxix<sup>v</sup>–cxli<sup>r</sup>, again with the text modified according to the reforms of Urban VIII.

96 *IT*, xxxviii<sup>v</sup>–xxxix<sup>r</sup>. *ToleBC 12*, fols.54v–56r; Aguirre Rincón, *Ginés de Boluda*, p.58.

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