

**A LITTLE KNOWN PART-BOOK FROM TOLEDO.
MUSIC BY MORALES, GUERRERO, JORGE DE SANTA MARÍA, ALONSO LOBO AND
OTHERS IN BARCELONA, INSTITUTO ESPAÑOL DE MUSICOLOGÍA, FONDO RESERVA,
Ms 1***

*UN CUADERNO DE MÚSICA POCO CONOCIDO DE TOLEDO. MÚSICA DE MORALES,
GUERRERO, JORGE DE SANTA MARÍA, ALONSO LOBO Y OTROS, EN EL INSTITUTO ESPAÑOL
DE MUSICOLOGÍA (BARCELONA), FONDO RESERVA, Ms 1**

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Abstract:

A part-book preserved in the Instituto Español de Musicología, Barcelona, contains over fifty items of sacred music by composers associated with both the Cathedral and the Colegio de los Infantes in Toledo during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. These composers range from Morales and Guerrero, to Francisco de Tapia and Jorge de Santa María—both Masters at the Colegio in the later sixteenth century—and Alonso Lobo, chapelmaster at the cathedral, 1593 to 1603. The majority of the music is unique to this source, and it also includes works by Morales that were revised for publication when he was in Italy. The part-book is very largely copied for second or first superius, and there are indications that much of the repertory was intended for high voices; but there is also the occasional piece for a lower voice part. The manuscript contains a wide range of Latin-texted sacred music that includes mass settings, Magnificats, motets and psalms. In addition to about a dozen items by Morales, the part-book includes rare settings of *calendas* by Santa Maria, examples of mass propers in *contrapunto* style by Francisco de Tapia, and a sequence of music for the Christmas *Misa del gallo* (midnight mass).

Key Words:

Cristóbal de Morales; Francisco Guerrero; Alonso Lobo; Magnificat; Salve Regina; Midnight mass (Rooster's Mass); motet; counterpoint; Toledo cathedral; Toledo choir school; Instituto Español de Musicología (Barcelona); polyphony, sacred vocal music; choirbook; chapel master.

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Resumen:

Dentro del ‘Fondo Reserva’ del antiguo Instituto Español de Musicología de Barcelona, se conserva hoy en día un cuaderno de música que contiene más de cincuenta obras de polifonía sacra de compositores que pueden ponerse en relación con algunas tradiciones musicales propias de la Catedral de Toledo y su Colegio de los Infantes durante el siglo XVI y principios del siglo XVII. Estos compositores van desde Morales y Guerrero a Francisco de Tapia y Jorge de Santa María (ambos maestros en el citado colegio a finales del siglo XVI) e incluso a Alonso Lobo (maestro de capilla de la catedral, de 1593 a 1603). La mayoría de esta música únicamente se ha conservado en esta fuente documental, que incluye también obras de Morales que fueran revisadas para su publicación cuando estaba en Italia. El cuaderno se anota en su mayoría para un tiple segundo, o primero, lo que parecería indicar que estas obras hubieran sido interpretadas por un coro de voces agudas, aunque también aparece ocasionalmente alguna pieza para una parte vocal más grave. El manuscrito contiene una amplia variedad de música sacra con texto en latín, incluyendo misas, Magnificats, motetes y salmos. Además de en torno a una docena de composiciones de Morales, el cuaderno incluye también unas raras musicalizaciones de las calendas de Santa María, ejemplos del *proprium missae* en estilo contrapunto a cargo de Francisco de Tapia, y una serie de música para la misa del gallo del día de Navidad.

Palabras Clave:

Cristóbal de Morales; Francisco Guerrero; Alonso Lobo; Magnificat; Misa del gallo; Calenda; motete; contrapunto; Catedral de Toledo; Colegio de los Infantes de Toledo; Instituto Español de Musicología (Barcelona); música polifónica, música sacra vocal; maestro de capilla

There are many polyphonic manuscripts of sacred music preserved in Spain whose origins and *raison d'être* still remain uncertain. Nonetheless, they subsist as valuable repositories for vocal repertoires that had once been composed for specific purposes on specific occasions, thus presumably serving as testimonies to compositional activity in particular choral institutions. Where sources consist of complete choir books, these musical repertoires may be examined both for their intrinsic worth and for their contribution to knowledge of composer creativity and, where concordances can be found, repertory circulation. However, where sources are incomplete, or at worse consist merely of a single part-book, the task of musical and contextual reconstruction presents a particular challenge.

In the archives at the Instituto Español de Musicología in Barcelona, is preserved a ‘part-book’ of sacred vocal polyphony which probably dates from the turn of the seventeenth century. It has been assigned the call-number *Fondo Reserva Ms 1 (E-Bim 1: henceforth Bim 1)*, but was formerly entered in the *Census-catalogue* as BarCIM 34.¹ It is not intact, however, as the first thirty-three folios are missing (apparently torn out of the book), and there is evidence to suggest that others were detached from places towards the back. One of the most significant features of the surviving repertory is that the majority of items are attributed to composers who at some stage of their career —indeed for substantial periods in two cases— spent time at Toledo Cathedral, either as *maestros de capilla*, or as teachers at the Colegio de los Infantes, which was effectively the training ground for the cathedral choirboys (the *seises*).² These composers are Cristóbal de

1 Barcelona, Departamento de Musicología, Institución Milá y Fontanals, CSIC, Fondo Reserva, Ms. 1 (*olim* Ms. 34). See HAMM, Charles, and KELLMAN, Herbert, ed.: *Census-catalogue of manuscript sources of polyphonic music, 1400-1550*. Neuhausen-Stuttgart, Hänssler-Verlag, 1979, vol. 1, p. 21. (The copying dates given, 1601-1603, are from KIRSCH, Winfried: *Die Quellen der mehrstimmigen Magnificat- und Te Deum-Vertonungen bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Tutzing, Hans Schneider, 1966). In the present article, *sigla* derived from the system employed in RISM are used when referring to manuscript and printed musical sources: LESURE, François: *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*. Munich-Duisburgo, Henle, 1960. For provenance of the part-book, see below, n. 10.

2 The *Colegio de Nuestra Señora de los Infantes* (known as Colegio de los Infantes) was founded in c. 1540 by Cardinal Juan Martínez Siliceo (†1557). The term *seise* first appears in Toledo Cathedral documents in 1461, coinciding with the time when they were placed under the care of a music master. See REYNAUD, François: *La polyphonie toledane et son milieu des premiers témoignages aux environs de 1600*. París-Turnhout, CNRS, Brepols, 1996, p. 142.

Morales, Francisco Guerrero (in Toledo briefly in c. 1546 under Morales) and, in the second half of the sixteenth century Francisco de Tapia, Jorge de Santa Maria, and Alonso Lobo, the latter two whose terms of office extended into the first years of the seventeenth century.³ In addition, there is a motet by a certain ‘Ruys’ who cannot be identified with certainty; the style of his work suggests affinity with that of mid-sixteenth-century composers. There is also some anonymous music dating largely from the later period of which of particular interest is a sequence of music for midnight at Christmas headed *Oficio de la misa del gallo*.

This is not a typical part-book, as such, however. First of all, while the majority musical items would appear to represent the highest or second highest polyphonic line of equal range (superius), written with a C1 or occasionally a G2 clef, two other vocal ranges are represented with corresponding differing clef signatures: altus, with a C2 and C3 clef, and once, tenor, with a C4 clef. (Most of these clef variations occur with the music of Morales.) Curiously, two items with G2 and C1 clefs have the inscription *altus*.⁴ Second, the part-book records a handful of works reflecting specific contrapuntal practices —*contrapunto*— and also a particular type of polyphonic setting only rarely encountered in vocal manuscripts of the period—the *Calenda* (or *Kalenda*). Third, the majority of music copied (with few exceptions) is apparently unique to this source, thereby constituting an important contribution to our knowledge of at least the named composers.⁵ Further, a few decision changes and errors can be seen in the copying of some of the items. These mostly occur in copies of music by Morales: for an example, see Fig. 1.

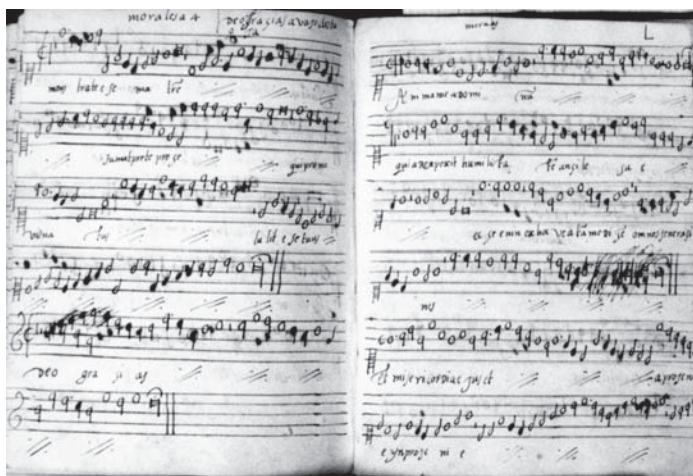


Figura 1. *E-Bim 1*, f. 49v-50. Morales: *Monstra te esse & Deo gratias*; Magnificat, tone 8 (opening verses).

3 Tapia died on 8 December 1599 (see: REYNAUD, François: *Les clerizones de la cathédrale de Tolède et le Colegio de los Infantes*. Turnhout, Brepols, 2002, p. 85). Santa María retired in 1603 (REYNAUD, François: *La polyphonie...*, *op. cit.*, p. 81). Alonso Lobo was chapelmaster at Toledo from 1593 to 1604.

4 See Inventory, nos. 41 and 48.

5 Further research may reveal additional concordances in due course.

I have already drawn attention to *Bim I* in recent years, focusing on music by Morales that would appear to have been composed prior to his time in Rome (c.1535-1545) when it was seemingly revised for publication. In particular, I have examined his four-voice *Missa Benedicta es* of which a previous version was entered into this part-book with the curious title *Misa Valençiana de Morales*⁶. There are also a few Magnificat settings by Morales in *Bim I* subsequently printed in revised versions in Italy, and a few *unica*. Of the small handful of works for which concordances have been found in manuscripts in Spain, however, only one of these occurs among the extant Toledo choirbooks.

From the point of view of musical repertory, this part-book can perhaps be considered on two main levels: first, from that of the important Morales repertory which not only appears to witness some of his composing activity prior to his time in Toledo as *maestro de capilla* in 1545-1547 by some ten to fifteen years or more, but also pre-dates the compilation of this manuscript by at least fifty years; and second, from that of the book's apparent connection with composing activity at Toledo during the second half of the sixteenth century onwards by Francisco de Tapia, Jorge de Santa María and Alonso Lobo. But a third level may also be considered: and that is from the point of view of the apparent paradox here of the late copying of certain items of music by Morales which —certainly after 1545— one would imagine were no longer 'in currency'. I refer in particular to the early version of the mass with its seeming indication of provenance.

A DESCRIPTION OF *Bim I*

This part-book measures c. 268 x 200 mm and is bound with the original brown (calf) leather covers over boards, stamped with designs that include gold floral motifs. It is not the standard oblong format associated with part-books, but is relatively large, and would normally require some sort of music stand for it to be propped up on to be read more easily. However, it does not compare in size with formal choirbooks. It now consists only of 39 folios numbered in small Roman numerals from fol. 34 onwards (the first visible polyphonic music is on fol. 33v); the last surviving page is not numbered, and there is no index. An intriguing inscription on the inside of the front cover indicates former ownership (though not necessarily copying origin) as follows:⁷

Contra alto de vos (?) que era de mi señora doña / ysabel de quiñoses
y de doña madalena / de billaguiran y de doña françisca maRi/que
(= manrique?) que dios guarde amen amen

⁶ NELSON, Bernadette: "Was Morales in Valencia? New light on the origins of the *Missa Benedicta es, caelorum regina*", in *Early Music*, vol. 30 (2002), pp. 365-79. Further references to music by Morales in this manuscript have subsequently been made in musicological literature that I shall also refer to below.

⁷ I am most grateful to Colleen Baade for helping me decipher this problematic inscription.

Isabel de Quiñoses's name is repeated (upside down) on the back cover along with a doña Beatriz, and another name. Clearly, the first line of the inscription, 'Contra alto de vos', was intended to describe the function of this book, and it seems probable that the group of ladies listed had been attached to a convent in which there was a tradition of singing polyphonic music during mass and the offices.⁸ This book may well therefore provide insight into such repertoires performed in conventual context. Indeed, available documentation has provided certain pointers that this could well have been one of the convents in Toledo.⁹ Moreover, besides the coincidence of music by masters associated with the cathedral, a further connection with Toledo is the fact that the part-book was purchased in Toledo from an antiquarian bookseller.¹⁰ However, as indicated above, the function of this book seems unlikely to have been purely for 'contra alto'.

Both the musical notation and script within the book are very painstakingly copied – particularly in the sections containing repertoires by Morales and the other named Toledo masters.¹¹ (The script bears no relation to the informal and somewhat inattentively written inscription, however.) There is good reason to suppose that it was very largely the work of a single hand, even though the section with the *Officio de la misa del gallo* seems to have been entered at a slightly later time, and displays greater fluency and speed. (For an example, see Fig. 2.) There is also one item added by a further (but similar) hand.¹² For purposes of simplification, the part-book will largely be referred to in terms of sections 'A' (A¹ and A²) and 'B': see breakdown on Table 1. A complete Inventory of this manuscript is included as an Appendix to this article.

8 A similar style of inscription on the front cover of a music book preserved in Jerez would seem to confirm this: 'Misa de mi Sra. Doña Ana de Cárdenas y Aguilar, religiosa del Convento de Xesus crucificado en Córdoba [...]'. This entry occurs in an eighteenth-century inventory which describes the book as containing a *Missa a8, de 3 tono* by a Juan Suarez. See QUEROL GAVALDÁ, Miguel: "El archivo de música de la Colegial de Jerez de la Frontera", in *Anuario Musical*, vol. 30 (1975), p. 175.

9 Colleen Baade has kindly indicated to me a possible connection between this group of ladies and the royal convent of Santa Isabel de los Reyes in Toledo where, certainly by the first decades of the seventeenth century, there was a considerable amount of music making, both vocal and instrumental. She has located the names of some of the nuns who were professed there that include some that are similar to those on this inscription: a Doña María de Villaquirán (1614), and several with the family name of Manrique.

10 A note by Higinio Anglés in an edition of motets by Morales indicates that the Instituto Español de Musicología was able to acquire the part-book in recent years owing to the 'diligence and interest' of José López Calo. See ANGLÉS, Higinio: *Cris-tóbal de Morales. Opera omnia v: Motetes xxvi-L*. Barcelona, "Monumentos de la Música Española, 20", CSIC, 1959, p. 8. The Toledo provenance is given in the *Census-catalogue* entry under BarCIM 34.

11 I previously suggested that the slow, careful script and notation might be evidence of a musician in training, perhaps a choirboy (NELSON, Bernadette: "Was Morales in Valencia?", *op. cit.*, p. 367). All that can be said is that the hand responsible for copying the works attributed to Morales and others, does not display fluency and experience, and there are a few errors.

12 It falls outside the scope of this paper to give a detailed paleographical study concerning the copying process of this book. However, as can be seen from the photographs (Figs. 1 and 2), the music and texts were generally entered with great care. The orthography is indicative of phonetic variations for the spelling of the Latin texts: for instance, 'Deo graçias', 'ecçe', 'Veatus' and 'suun' ('suum').

Table 1. Sections/ Hands of *Bim 1*

HAND/ SECTION	FOLS.	Nos.	ATTRIBUTIONS
(A ¹)	(0-33: missing)	---	?
A ¹	34-51 & 52r	1-28, 30	Anon.; Guerrero; Lobo; Morales; Ruys; Santa María; Tapia
B	51v, 52v-63v	29, 31-48	Anon.: <i>Oficio de la misa del gallo</i>
A ²	64v-66, 67v-(72)	49, 51-54	Anon.; Morales
C	66v-67	50	Anon.

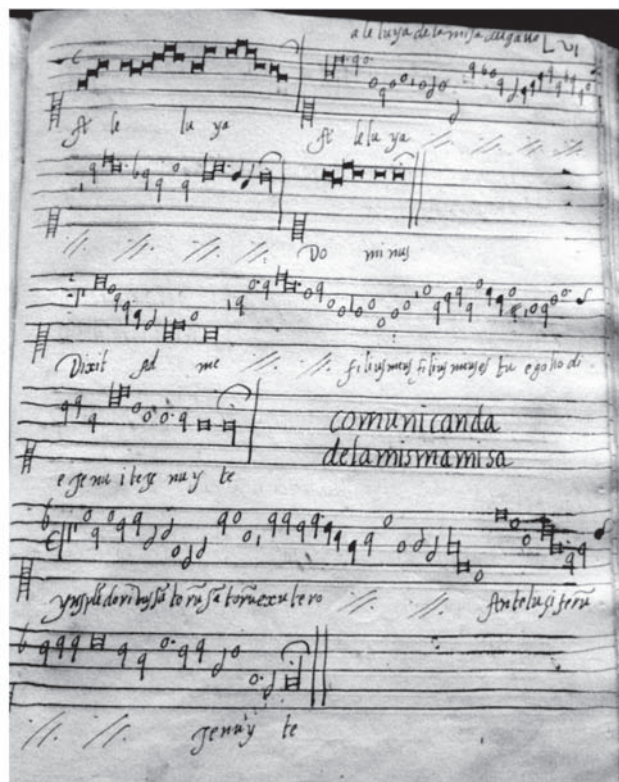


Figura 2. E-Bim 1, f. 56. Misa del Gallo: Alleluia. Dominus dixit ad me & In splendoribus
(Communion antiphon)

PART I: Music before c. 1550

MUSIC BY CRISTÓBAL DE MORALES

The quantity of material by Morales in *Bim 1* far outweighs that of any other named composer. He is represented by about a dozen polyphonic items, the principal work being the earlier version of his *Missa Benedicta es* (*Misa Valençiana*: Inventory no. 24). This mass, quite unusually, is a parody mass structured on two motet models: both Mouton's and Josquin's settings of the Marian sequence *Benedicta es*.¹³ Analysis of the surviving voice part of the version in *Bim 1* shows how Morales apparently quite freely re-worked the material for his Rome Dorico publication to recreate a structure that (to take just one aspect of parody mass design) demonstrated a greater concern to unify the openings of the mass sections by means of a 'head motif'. This concern for unity was also shown through the substitution of the former Credo (related to Credo I, and the Credo of his *a4* Marian mass) with one matching the dual-parody thematic structure of the other mass sections. The Gloria was also completely re-styled, and parts of some of the later sections of the mass were exchanged in the final version. The voice part in *Bim 1* for the Kyrie, Gloria, and Sanctus, written with a C1 clef, displays characteristics of a second superius part. Yet in the sole Agnus section, this melody line is clearly the same as the top voice of the Dorico Agnus. It is also interesting to see that at a certain point in the Christe in *Bim 1*, the distribution of rests suggests that an equal-voice (superius) canonic duo entered briefly in direct imitation of a passage in the Josquin motet; this idea was also to be explored in Morales's Dorico *Benedictus* (scored for ssAT).¹⁴ No further conclusions can be reached about the original form of this mass until a similar manuscript source comes to light, although the musical evidence here would seem to suggest that this version had two superius parts.

Morales's other music in *Bim 1* includes both *unica* —psalms, three Magnificats, a *Tantum ergo* setting— and music already known through concordances: the motet *O magnum mysterium*, the hymn verse *Monstra te esse matrem* and, though copied without attribution in *Bim 1*, a set of Lamentations.

THE MAGNIFICAT SETTINGS (NOS. 27, 52 & 53)

Morales's three Magnificat settings in *Bim 1* in tones 1, 6 and 8 are to all intents and purposes *unica*. But, judging from the motifs and contrapuntal style, there is good reason to believe that at least two of these (tones 1 and 6) were revised for the set published first in Italy in the early 1540s, usually classified as

¹³ For a detailed analysis and comparison of the structure and contrapuntal treatment with its ultimate published version in Morales's second book of masses (Rome, Dorico, 1544: RISM M3582), see NELSON, Bernadette: "Was Morales in Valencia?...", *op. cit.* The source situation shows that this was one of the most popular of Morales's printed masses.

¹⁴ See NELSON, Bernadette: "Was Morales in Valencia?...", *op. cit.*, p. 371.

the ‘Roman’ Magnificats.¹⁵ Furthermore, the 1st-tone setting also shows at least one thematic idea linked both to its ‘Rome’ equivalent, and to a further setting by Morales of a 1st-tone Magnificat that circulated independently in manuscript sources in the Iberian peninsula: through Kenneth Kreitner’s work, the latter has recently become known as Morales’s Magnificat *Beta*.¹⁶ The voice parts of these settings are dissimilar: the Magnificats in tones 6 and 8 have C1 clefs; that in tone 1 has a C3 clef, indicative that it was a lower voice. Magnificat tones 1 and 8 were probably the most widely performed: musico-liturgically, they are commonly used on Marian feasts (at second Vespers: see also below).

Analysis of the verses in the 1st-tone ‘Anima mea’ Magnificat especially shows quite close thematic correspondences between this voice part (with C3 clef) and the tenor of the ‘Rome’ version, but sometimes also with another voice part in the latter. These similarities may occur in both the equivalent verse being set or in another. In the first verse, ‘Anima mea’, for example, *Bim 1* gives the voice part the characteristic 1st-tone *saeculorum* formula; in the ‘Roman’ counterpart this theme is placed (in comparable rhythmic patterns) in the superius. Verse 5, ‘Et misericordia’, is also comparable with the equivalent verse in ‘Rome’, and Kreitner has demonstrated how the thematic idea here (clearly not related to the psalm tone) was already explored in Morales’s Magnificat *Beta*.¹⁷ See Ex. 1a-c.

(a) Et mi - se - - ri - cor - di - a e - - - - (jus)

(b) Et mi - se - ri - cor - - di - a

(c) Et mi - se - ri - cor - di - a e - - - - - jus

Ex. 1a. Morales, Magnificat, Tone 1: Verse 5 (*E-Bim 1*, no. 53)

Ex. 1b. Morales, Magnificat, Tone 1: Verse 5 (‘Rome’)

Ex. 1c. Morales, Magnificat, Tone 1: Verse 5 (‘Beta’)

However, in contrast with its stance in ‘Rome’ and in *Beta*, the marked progression rising through a 4th proceeds stepwise in the *Bim 1* verses. It is intriguing then to find that this thematic idea is used again in *Bim 1* for verse 9, ‘Suscepit Israel’. Then for ‘Deposuit’ (verse 7), *Bim 1* uses the theme found at ‘Suscepit

15 They were in fact first published in Venice by Scotto and Gardano. (The German publisher Rhau also produced the original set of settings in the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 6th & 7th tones in 1544, preceding the full tonal set published by Gardano (RISM M3594 and M3596).

16 See KREITNER, Kenneth: “Two Early Morales Magnificat Settings”, in REES, Owen, and NELSON, Bernadette, ed.: *Cristóbal de Morales: Sources, Influences, Reception*. Woodbridge, Boydell, 2007, pp. 21-62.

17 KREITNER, Kenneth: “Two Early Morales Magnificat Settings”, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

Israel' in 'Rome': see Exx. 2a-b. Interestingly again, this theme relates to one found also in the *Beta* Magnificat in the same verse, but where it is centred more on the repetition of the words 'et exaltavit', a point at which statements of the cantus-firmus psalm tone is heard in other voice parts.¹⁸

(a)



De po - su - it

(b)



Su - sce - pit Is - ra - el

Ex. 2a. Morales, Magnificat, Tone 1: Verse 7 (*E-Bim 1*, no. 53)

Ex. 2b. Morales, Magnificat, Tone 1: Verse 9 ('Rome')

Where the voice part for the 6th-tone 'Et exultavit' Magnificat setting presents the psalm tone as cantus firmus, we gain some indication that Morales could well later have recomposed or revised some of his Magnificat settings to accommodate even small variants in the psalm-tone contour. In this case, the variant occurs only in the *saeculorum* ending: see Ex. 3a-b.¹⁹ The cantus firmus placed prominently in the top voice part, as we have here, gives the impression of a somewhat conservative arrangement that relates to *fabordón* practice.

(a)



(b)



Ex. 3a. Morales, Magnificat, Tone 6 (*E-Bim 1*, no. 52): psalm-tone contour

Ex. 3b. Morales, Magnificat, Tone 6 ('Rome'): psalm-tone contour

¹⁸ The whole setting is reproduced in KREITNER, Kenneth: "Two Early Morales Magnificat Settings", *op. cit.* (see especially p. 56).

¹⁹ In Morales's 6th-tone psalm setting preserved in *E-Tc* 25, both versions of the *saeculorum* formula occur (but with 'b' only at the doxology). In the 6th-tone psalm settings in *Bim 1* only version 'a' is used. It is not clear at this stage whether any definite conclusions can be reached about this minor variant.

There are very few direct thematic coincidences between the 8th-tone ‘Anima mea’ Magnificat in *Bim 1* and the printed series in the 8th tone, beyond shapes connected with the actual psalm tone. The lines and general approach, however, clearly place this setting in the same compositional period and, like the other two settings in *Bim 1*, is of comparable length (counting the number of breves) to the Roman version.²⁰

Morales’s psalms in *Bim 1* (Inventory nos. 8 & 9) are very simple settings reflecting standard *fabordón* practice. The style of the two anonymous psalms (nos. 4 & 5) is slightly more elaborate, but can clearly be placed in the same compositional milieu.²¹

TANTUM ERGO (NOS. 28 & 30)

Morales’s *Tantum ergo*, a setting of the fifth verse of the Corpus Christi hymn *Pange lingua*, is copied twice in *Bim 1* on two consecutive folios. As I have previously demonstrated, the setting can be partially reconstructed by placing the famous hymn melody *Pange lingua, more hispano*, in a lower part as a cantus firmus.²² The style of the voice part in *Bim 1* suggests that it was written at an earlier stage of his career than the two years at Toledo. There is little more to say about it beyond the fact that it is included as one of two compositions based on *Pange lingua* in this part-book. The other occurs right at the start of the existing manuscript in a setting by ‘Ruys’ which uses the text of the fourth verse of this hymn, *Verbum caro* (no. 2). As in Morales’s *Tantum ergo*, the voice part with a range of *f-f’* is notated with a C3 clef (altus) and proceeds in perfect mensuration. A comparison of the opening lines of these two settings is given as Exx. 4 and 5, showing how the hymn tune in the tenor structures each setting.

20 With the exception of the extraordinary length of the ‘Sicut erat’ verse in Rome with 37 bars compared with just 19 in the *Bim 1* setting.

21 The distribution of notes in no. 4 indicates that it is not a setting of *Beatus vir*. The scribe begins by texteing the first, third and seventh verses of this psalm, then, realizing his error, leaves the remaining three verses untexted. The last untexted verse is clearly intended as a setting of the second half of the doxology, ‘Sicut erat’. Judging from the number of notes, and their rhythmic distribution, it is likely that this set of six verses was intended for a psalm with eleven verses (plus doxology verses).

22 See NELSON, Bernadette: “Morales’s contribution to the *Pange lingua* tradition and an anonymous *Tantum ergo*”, in REES and NELSON, ed.: *Cristóbal de Morales, op. cit.*, pp. 85-109, which includes a photographic reproduction from *Bim 1* and an editorial reconstruction of this (*altus*) voice part with added hymn melody in a lower voice.

[Altus]

Tan - tum er - go sa - cra - men - - tum, sa-cra-men -

Tenor (editorial)

Tan - tum er - go sa - cra - men - - - -

7

- tum ve - ne - re - mur cer-nu - - - i: ve-ne-re - mur cer-nu - i, cer - nui -

- - - tum ve - ne - re - mur cer - nu - i:

Ex. 4. Morales, *Tantum ergo* (*E-Bim 1*, nos. 28 & 30): surviving part and reconstruction of tenor (bars 1-12)

Altus

Ver - bum ca - ro pa - nem ver-rum ver-bo carnem ef - fi - cit, ef -

Tenor (editorial)

Ver - bum ca - ro pa - - - - -

fi - cit, ver - bo carnem ef - fi - cit, ver - bo car - nem ef - fi - cit:

- - - - - nem ver - bo car - nem ef - fi - cit:

Ex. 5. Ruys, *Verbum caro* (*E-Bim 1*, no. 2): surviving part and reconstruction of tenor (bars 1-11)

O MAGNUM MYSTERIUM AND MONSTRA TE (NOS. 13 & 25)

A number of concordances have been identified for the motet *O magnum*, all in late sources;²³ but none for *Monstra te* outside the Toledo choirbook *E-Tc 25*.²⁴ There are no structural differences between the concordant versions of *O magnum*, and both settings are fully texted in the part-book. The voice part in *Bim 1* of *O magnum* is that of the second *tiple* or superius; that of *Monstra te*, on the other hand, the first *tiple*. In fact, *O magnum mysterium* and *Monstra te* may be distinguished for having been written for a quartet involving at least three high voices, which is indicative of intended performance by the choirboys, or *seises*. A similar disposition of voices is required for Morales's setting of the verses of the Palm Sunday hymn *Gloria laus: Israel es tu* and *Cetus in excelsis* which were traditionally performed by the boys at the procession. Copies of the latter hymn survive only in Toledo.²⁵ The ranges of the lowest part of *O magnum* (*f* to *f'*)²⁶ and *Monstra te* (*f* to *g* [^]) are indicative of performance by an altus voice. The motet *O magnum mysterium* is not apparently specifically mentioned in the Toledo documents. However, performing patterns for *Monstra te* are quite clearly described, and Michael Noone has suggested that Morales's setting may date from his period in Toledo, 1545-1547.²⁷ (It was not the only setting to have been performed at Toledo, however).²⁸ In the following text outlining traditions on the feast of the Assumption, for example, it is shown how *Monstra te* was repeated at each 'station' in the cathedral at the morning procession, and then again in the evening procession (see below).

En la procession de por la mañana, con nuestra Señora del Sagrario se diçen versos de *Monstra te esse*, el primero al principio de la Proçession Junto al Choro. El segundo a la estaçion de la Capilla de Sanct Illefonso. El terçero al Sagrario. El quarto a la puerta del Perdon, estos versos se cantan acabada la Oraçion de cada estaçion. Ay Responcion a los versos y Oraciones de las Estaciones.²⁹

23 *E-PAbm* 6832, V s.s., Vp s.s., and *P-Pm* 40. In his edition of the motet, Anglés exchanged the roles of the top two voices in two places. The correct version should be restored in a future edition.

24 See NOONE, Michael, ed.: *Códice 25 de la Catedral de Toledo*. Madrid, Alpuerto, 2003, no. 34, and commentary, p. 108.

25 Morales's *Israel es* is copied in *E-Tc* 21 and again in the later *Tc* 22. For details of performing context at Toledo, see REYNAUD, François: *La polyphonie tolédane, op. cit.*, p. 317.

26 The copy of *O magnum* in *E-V* s.s. is designated for *Cantus I*, *Cantus II*, *Altus*, and *Contrabaxete*.

27 NOONE, Michael, ed.: *Códice 25, op. cit.*, p. 108.

28 There is an anonymous, older, setting of *Monstra te* in *E-Tc* 25 called 'el viejo' which is also edited in NOONE, Michael, ed.: *Códice 25...*, *op. cit.* (no. 33). Reference to a setting by Ginés de Boluda (chapelmaster at Toledo, 1580-1593) occurs in an Inventory entry copied in 1793: *Item cuatro libretes manuscritos que contienen el Monstra te esse matrem, su autor Boluda, y sirven en las festividades de Nuestra Señora y las coplillas de Navidad y Santos Reyes*. (Barbieri papers, *E-Mn*, MSS. 14.045¹⁰¹⁻¹²³, reproduced in CASARES, Emilio, ed.: *Francisco Asenjo Barbieri. Biografías y documentos sobre música española y epistolario*. Madrid, Fundación Banco Exterior, 1986, vol. 1, p. 588.

29 This, and succeeding passages, are reproduced from Michael Noone's transcription from an original copy of a *Memorial* written in 1604 (*E-Tc* Ms V.2.B.2.4) that prescribed the use of polyphony in Toledo Cathedral during the liturgical year. Noone recovered the document at Toledo Cathedral quite recently, and his transcription supersedes the one made in 1869 preserved among the Barbieri papers in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (*E-Mn* ms14045¹²²). See NOONE, Michael: "An early seventeenth-century source for performing practices at Toledo Cathedral", in BLOXAM, M. Jennifer, FILOCAMO, Gioia, and HOLFORD-STREVEN, Leofranc, ed.: *'Uno gentile et subtile ingenio': Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie Blackburn*. Turnhout, Brepols, 2009, pp. 160 and 155-167. See also, REYNAUD, François: *La polyphonie tolédane, op. cit.*, p. 292.

It seems likely that the ‘responson’ mentioned was a *Deo gratias* setting, as mentioned further on in the text, and such as we have immediately following the copy of this hymn verse in *Bim 1*.³⁰ The text continues to say that at Vespers, no such *Deo gratias* should follow the ‘responiones’ this time. And here, the whole hymn (*Ave maris stella*, of which *Monstra te* is normally the fourth verse) was to be sung:

En las segundas vespervas ay todo el Hymno a canto de Organo, ay Magnificat y Responiones sin Deo gratias.

It may well be significant that this sequence of *Monstra te* – *Deo gratias* in *Bim 1* is immediately followed by Morales’s Magnificat in the 8th tone – the Magnificat tone traditionally sung at second Vespers on Assumption day (and on other Marian feasts). The text continues to describe the evening procession with *Monstra te*, the hymn *O gloriosa*, and polyphonic *Deo gratias* at the end:

En la Procession de la tarde se dice *Monstra te*, quando nuestra señora sale de la puerta del choro mayor y otra vez en el Sagrario. En lo demas de esta Procession se va cantando *O gloriosa D(om)ina* con Organo, Canto llano, Ministriles y Cantores a versos. Ay Responiones y al fin de la Proçession Deo gratias a ca(n)to de org(a)no.

The hymn (verse) *Monstra te* was likewise sung during the procession marking each day of the Octave of the feast of the Assumption.³¹

MORALES’S LAMENTATIONS (NO. 49)

Towards the back of the part-book (Section A²), immediately succeeding Section B, is a set of Lamentations which opens with an exordium *Incipit lamentatione Jeremiae Prophetae*, after which are three verses beginning with ‘Aleph. Quomodo’. There is no attribution, but a concordance with the latter set of verses in *E-PABm 6829* (where there is no exordium) identifies Morales as the composer.³² It is the only work in *Bim 1* to be represented by a tenor voice notated with a C4 clef, corresponding with the setting in *E-PABm 6829* which is unusually scored for low voices (ATTB).

Glimpses of the underlying chant of this setting in *Bim 1* confirms that it is the same Toledan tone which Morales used to structure his only set of Lamentations (*a5*) copied into the Toledo choirbooks (*Tc 2I*) in the late 1540s, but which was later adapted and refashioned —textually and musically— to conform

30 An interesting detail occurs at the beginning of this copy of *Deo gratias* in *Bim 1*: the copyist jots in, then deletes, a slightly different contrapuntal phrase rising above the notated voice: see Fig. 1. It is possible that this added part reflects part of the original contrapuntal texture which, like *Monstra te*, was scored for high voices.

31 See NOONE, Michael: “An early seventeenth-century source”, *op. cit.*, p. 160

32 See HAM, Martin: “Morales: The canon”, in REES and NELSON, ed.: *Cristóbal de Morales, op. cit.*, p. 276. There is a number of discrepancies between the voice part in *Bim 1* and the equivalent in *E-PABm 6829*, however. The part in *Bim 1* is the second tenor.

with the Roman Breviary of 1573.³³ Michael Noone has shown that the original text of the *a5* Lamentations began with the long Toledo exordium *Et factum est* rather than the shorter *Incipit lamentatione* found in *Tc 21* which was a later substitution by an unknown composer.³⁴ In *Bim 1*, the set of verses ‘Aleph. Quomodo sedet’, ‘Beth. Plorans ploravit’, and ‘Gimell. Migravit Judas’, followed by ‘Jerusalem, convertere’, corresponds exactly with the texts for this Lesson for Maundy Thursday used in Toledo before 1573, and indeed the texts of the verses in Morales’s original *a5* setting.

The snippet of chant and ensuing syllabic treatment of the contrapuntal line in *Bim 1* of the exordium *Incipit lamentatione* would appear to match this given (later) text quite well; and the length of it—some 15 bars or so—matches that of the recomposed exordium copied in *Tc 21*. However, closer consideration of the distribution of notes in the surviving vocal line would appear to suggest that we are in fact looking at another revised exordium. A possible reconstruction of the *Bim 1* exordium with two of the voice parts is shown in Ex. 6. The editorially added voice is based on the Toledan Lamentations tone, entering first in brief canonic imitation with the surviving part in *Bim 1*. Two small details may be highlighted: first, the second and third notes of the voice part in *Bim 1* are not elided with a ligature, which is what we would expect if these were to be underlaid with the middle syllable of ‘In-ci-pit’;³⁵ second, in considering the possibility that the *Bim 1* exordium had thus originated with a different text, and that it may even have been the earlier Toledan *Et factum est postquam*, it is interesting to see that the contour and rhythm at the end of the phrase (bars 11-12) matches that given at the words ‘(ductus) est Israel’ in the second and third voices (same pitches) in Noone’s restored *a5 Et factum est postquam* exordium.³⁶ The chant-bearing voice added editorially in Ex. 6 corresponds to a large extent with the opening phrase of the second voice in Noone’s edition of the exordium beginning ‘Et factum est’ (as shown also by the suggested editorial underlay in italics) and the one used for the verses in the setting in PAbm 6829. Following this single statement of the reconstructed Lamentations tone ending at bar 12, it has been possible to include a paraphrase of the conclusion of the chant tone above the given voice part in the final three-to-four bars of the exordium in *Bim 1*. This may not of course be the correct solution to the problem; but we may also bear in mind that musically, the entire exordium *Et factum est* in fact consists of three statements of the Lamentation tone succeeded by the chant’s concluding phrase. Given that the single voice part surviving in *Bim 1* certainly suggests Morales’s style, then it is possible that this exordium subsequently texted to *Incipit lamentatione* is a truncated or revised version of the original.

33 See NOONE, Michael, and SKINNER, Graeme: “The *Nuevo rezado*, music scribes, and the restoration of Morales’s Toledo Lamentation”, in REES and NELSON, ed.: *Cristóbal de Morales, op. cit.*, pp. 3-20. Most of this set of lamentations was entered in *E-Tc 21*, which is dated 1549.

34 Noone’s conclusions are the result of close scrutiny of three concordant sources of the work and analysis of the texts used in Toledo both before and after the introduction of the 1573 Roman Breviary.

35 Semibreve ligatures are to be found elsewhere in this Lamentation, and in other parts of Section A of the manuscript.

36 An edition of *Et factum est* is included as Ex. 1.3 in NOONE, Michael and SKINNER, Graeme: “The *Nuevo rezado*”, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

Tenor (editorial)

Tenor

8 In - ci - pit la - men - ta - ti -
Et fac - tum est post - quam in cap -

8 o - ne Je - re - mi - ae pro - phe - tae, pro - phe -
ti - vi - ta - tem duc - tus est Is - ra - el, ti - vi - ta - tem duc - tus est Is - ra - el, pro - phe -

- Ex. 6.** Morales, Lamentations (*E-Bim 1*, no. 49): surviving part of exordium and reconstruction of an upper voice texted to *Incipit lamentatione*, also showing reconstruction of opening lines of exordium *Et factum est* below.

THE SALVE REGINA AND DEO GRATIAS BY GUERRERO (NOS. 6 & 7)

The alternatim setting of the *Salve regina* in *Bim 1* (copied without attribution) is a concordance of the setting for high voices (SSSA) attributed to Guerrero in Seville 1 (*E-Sc 1*), where it appears with several other settings of the *Salve*, and other music associated with the ‘Salve service’ which is particularly connected with traditions in Seville Cathedral. In fact, the pairing of the *Salve* and the *a3 Deo gratias* setting in *Bim 1* suggests the Salve service context, which opened and closed with these two items (the latter a response to *Benedicamus domino*). (This service also included a Marian motet).³⁷ The voice part in *Bim 1* of the *Salve* setting is the equivalent of the third *tiple* in *E-Sc 1*.³⁸ Thus, once again, we have music written for a quartet involving three high (equal) voice parts.

37 For details of the Salve service, see SNOW, Robert: *A New-World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service: Guatemala City, Cathedral Archive, Music MS 4*. Chicago and London, “Monuments of Renaissance Music, Vol. 9”, University of Chicago Press, 1996, pp. 65-74, and WAGSTAFF, Grayson: “Mary’s own: Josquin’s five-part *Salve regina* and Marian devotion in Spain”, in *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 52 (2002), pp. 9-14.

38 I am most grateful to Juan Ruiz Jiménez for kindly verifying this concordance, and for checking the voice parts in *E-Sc 1* against that in *Bim 1*.

Guerrero's unique *a3 Deo gratias* setting in *Bim I* would appear to be based on the chant associated with the Kyrie *Rex virginum* (or *Cunctipotens genitor*), which was frequently used for this response in its Marian context, and indeed matched the mode of the *Salve*. It is repeated one folio later in *Bim I* where it also receives an attribution (no. 10). There were many other functions for a sung *Deo gratias*: for example at the end of mass, at Vespers, and at the end of processions on important feasts of the church, including Corpus Christi and the principal Marian feasts (see below). While Seville choirbooks include music for the *Salve* service (in particular *E-Sc 1*), actual pairings of *Salve* and *Deo (dicamus) gratias* settings occur in the later Guatemala 4 MS (*GCA-Gc 4*).³⁹ (The response is texted *Deo dicamus domino* in the settings in *E-Sc 1*.)

PART II: Music of the later sixteenth century

MUSIC BY TWO MASTERS AT THE COLEGIO DE LOS INFANTES: FRANCISCO DE TAPIA AND JORGE DE SANTA MARÍA

The works by these two composers are copied together in Section A of the manuscript between fols. 37v and 43v, immediately preceding Alonso Lobo's Magnificat (no. 23). Apart from three motets and a responsory for Holy Week by Tapia (nos. 11-12, and 14-15), these include a group of three mass propers in *contrapunto* style by Tapia (nos. 20-22), and a set of four *Calendas* by Santa María (nos. 16-19).⁴⁰ From the point of view of both form and contrapuntal procedure, the mass propers and the *Calendas* possibly constitute some of the most important contributions to an appreciation of musical activity at Toledo during the later sixteenth century, particularly as they attest to compositional activity that may be described in documentation, but which has only rarely survived in musical sources.

FRANCISCO DE TAPIA: CONTRAPUNTOS (NOS. 20-22)

Contrapunto was in fact one of the most prevalent musical styles practised in liturgical context in Spain and Portugal from at least the late fifteenth century onwards, especially in major cathedrals where there were trained singers. Numerous documentary references attest to the necessity of the choirmaster and of all singers—including the choirboys—in mastering this performing and compositional skill, ultimately for the sole practical reason of regular performance of liturgical chant items in polyphonic renderings using this technique.⁴¹ Tapia's long career at Toledo Cathedral—from *seise* to *maestro de*

³⁹ See SNOW, Robert: *A New-World Collection*, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76.

⁴⁰ Santa María is otherwise only known for two Passion settings in *E-Tc 22* alongside Passion settings by Alonso Lobo. *Bim I* appears to be the only source with music attributed to Tapia.

⁴¹ Statutes directed to the *maestro cantor* (and chapter) at Avila Cathedral as early as 1497 (shortly before the election of Juan de Sanabria in this capacity), for instance, instruct that the four choirboys (*mozos de coro*) in his care should be taught plainchant, polyphony, and 'contrapunto llano e dyminuydo'. See MOLL, Jaime: "El estatuto de maestro cantor de la Catedral de Avila

música of the Colegio de los Infantes (see below)— would have guaranteed a high level of competence in *contrapunto*. Judging from references in the Toledo documents especially, it would appear that it was used especially on major feasts of the church calendar – mainly during Mass for items of the mass proper, such as Introits and Alleluia settings, and sometimes during the Offices for the antiphons and psalms. A document describing procedures at mass and Vespers on Holy Saturday, for example, indicates:

Ay Gloria en canto llano y co(n)trapunto sobre el. Dicen la *Alleluia* todos en contrapunto. A las Visperas, el Psalmo, *Laudate*, bajo en canto llano y contrapunto sobre el.⁴²

It was a skill also learned by instrumentalists, and it is interesting to note that the theorist-musician Luys Venegas de Henestrosa, who was based at Toledo in the primate Juan de Tavera's palace in the early 1540s, had as one of his projected tablature books (the fourth of a series of seven) a 'mass book' intended specifically for this purpose in which various mass propers were to be included:

...se ponían introytos, graduales, alleluias, ofertorios ... tres vezes de contrapunto sobre el canto llano fáciles, para que se tañessen y cantassen de improuisso en la missa, diziendo la letra por el canto llano una buena voz.⁴³

Bermudo had singled out the chapel of the primate's palace as one of two places where *contrapunto* (or *contrapunto concertado*) was well performed, saying that he thought that if these practices were written down, they would be good works.⁴⁴ It was a skill to be obtained by both singers and organists.

As may be gauged from the structure of Tapia's settings, performing sequences of items in *contrapunto* consisted of alternating polyphony and plainchant. Contrary to what we would normally expect in

del año 1487", in *Anuario Musical*, 22 (1967), pp. 89-95 (at pp. 91-92). Teaching *contrapunto* to the choirboys clearly formed part of most chapelmasters' duties throughout the sixteenth century. Chapter acts at Seville Cathedral record that Francisco Guerrero was expected to teach this on a daily basis, for example, as also was the chapelmaster at Palencia Cathedral. For documentation, see STEVENSON, Robert: *La música en la Catedral de Sevilla, 1478-1606: Documentos para su estudio*. Madrid, Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1985, p. 67 (doc. 551: 1580), and LÓPEZ-CALO, José: *La música en la Catedral de Palencia*. Palencia, CSIC & Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses, 1980, p. 520, n. 73 (document of 1588).

42 NOONE, Michael: "An early seventeenth-century source", p. 165, also, REYNAUD, François: *La polyphonie tolédane*, p. 320. (Various other references to *contrapunto* are found in the documentary sources describing practices at Toledo in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries reproduced by Noone and Reynaud). The term 'de concierto' may also be used. For example, on the feast of the Circumcision, '...los quatro Psalmos de primeras visperas con contrapunto, y lo mismo el Yntroito de la Missa, la qual es a canto de organo, Alleluia de concierto...' (NOONE, Michael: "An early seventeenth-century source", p. 157; REYNAUD, François: *La polyphonie tolédane*, p. 310).

43 VENEGAS DE HENESTROSA, Luys: *Libro de cifra nueva para tecla, harpa y vihuela*. Alcalá de Henares, Juan Brocar, 1557, *Prologo*, f. 3-3v: quoted in ANGLÉS, Higinio, ed.: *La música en la corte de Carlos v*. Barcelona, CSIC, "Monumentos de la Música Española, 2-3", 1944 (R/1965), p. 152. Pieces in *contrapunto* style can be found in the various instrumental tablatures printed in sixteenth-century Spain and Portugal.

44 Bermudo was also praising this skill as it was practiced in Granada Cathedral during the time of the choirmaster Bernardino de Figueroa. There were various categories of *contrapunto*, many of which are described by Bermudo in his *Declaración* and by Venegas de Henestrosa (see note below). See BERMUDO, Juan: *Comiença el libro llamado Declaración de instrumentos musicales*. Osuna, Juan de León, 1555, f. 128 (col. 2). Facsimile edition by KASTNER, Macario Santiago, ed.: *Fray Juan Bermudo. Declaración de instrumentos musicales, 1555*. Kassel and Basel, Bärenreiter, "Documenta Musicologica, xi", 1957.

polyphonic settings of plainchant items, however, the sections set in *contrapunto* are the intonations and sections normally assigned to a soloist, or small group of leading singers. Thus, in the two *Alleluia* settings, the first *contrapunto* section represents the first ‘Alleluia’, and the second *contrapunto* section the beginning of the verse. Likewise, the Introit for All Saints begins with *contrapunto*, as does the first half of the ensuing psalm verse ‘Exsultate iusti’. The voice parts given in *Bim 1* for these settings vary between second superius (in C1 clefs) and altus (C3). The performing structures are shown on Table 2.

Table 2. Performing structures of the *contrapunto* mass proper settings by Francisco de Tapia in *Bim 1*

No.	TEXTS*	TYPE
20	Alleluia. Alleluia. <i>Vs. Ego vos elegi</i> ... (Chant). Gloria patri et filio Sicut erat... ⁴⁵	ALLELUIA
21	Alleluia. Alleluia. <i>Vs. Pascha nostrum immolatus est.</i> Christus. Alleluia.	ALLELUIA
22	Gaudeamus omnes in domino. diem festum celebrantes... (to end of antiphon). Ps. Exultate iusti in domino: rectos decet collaudatio.	INTROIT

* Sections in *contrapunto* are given in **bold** type.

Judging from the shape and style of these simple examples, the chant here was performed as a steady cantus firmus in long notes set in breves, and heard beneath the *contrapunto*. Ex. 7 shows a reconstruction of the opening of the Introit *Gaudeamus*.

Altus

Gau-de-a - - - mus, Gau - de - a - - - mus, Gau - de - a - - - mus, om -

Tenor (editorial)

Gau - - de - - a - - - - - mus

Ex. 7. Tapia, *Gaudeamus* (*E-Bim 1*, no. 22): surviving part and reconstruction of lower voice with cantus firmus (opening bars)

⁴⁵ It has not been possible to identify the first *Alleluia* setting precisely. The first few words of the text of the verse ‘Ego vos elegi’ correspond with the *Alleluia* for Mass on the feast of St Barnabas (June 11); but neither the continuation of the text of this verse, nor the inclusion of a succeeding doxology is consistent with it.

From the point of view of style, these examples may be typical of improvised *contrapunto* performance during this period. They are characterized by particular melodic-rhythmic patterns shaped from repeated dotted rhythm motifs and melodic contours moving to a large extent in conjunct motion, but with the occasional leap of a 3rd or a 4th, or sometimes a 6th. In all events, the key was to maintain consonant intervallic relationships (perfect and imperfect) between the contrapuntal part and the chant (and other contrapuntal parts) according to standard rules of contrapuntal composition.⁴⁶ These examples also indicate how a change of cantus firmus note may be articulated through the use of suspension and resolution in an upper part (thereby involving temporary dissonance).

There were various types and styles of *contrapunto*, of course, both as the theorists explain,⁴⁷ and as may be gauged by the evident emphasis placed on testing a candidate's ability and skills in juggling all types of *contrapunto* on a cantus firmus—in writing and in vocal improvisation—when tested in the rigorous *oposiciones* for the post of chapelmaster in many cathedrals at this time, including those at Toledo and Zaragoza, for example.⁴⁸ These were clearly often extremely demanding and complex, and may have included such techniques as proportion, diminution, and sesquialtera rhythms. The importance afforded to this skill demonstrates without doubt that it formed a regular part of musicians' commitment to vocal performance in liturgical context. From the point of view of context also, it is interesting to note that one of the tests at Zaragoza in 1587 was precisely to write a *contrapunto* on a given Alleluia chant.⁴⁹

JORGE DE SANTA MARÍA: CALENDAS (NOS. 16-19)

Santa María's four *calendas* are copied together immediately before the group of *contrapunto* settings by Tapia. In manuscript order, these were composed for the feasts of St James (25 July), St John the Baptist (24 June), St John the Evangelist *ante portam* (6 May) and Christmas. Coincidentally, perhaps, three of these occur on feasts *ante diem viii kalendas* (see below).⁵⁰ It is likely that again we are looking

46 Venegas de Henestrosa describes the processes of *contrapunto*, and *contrapunto concertado*, in his *Libro de cifra nueva*, f. 5-5v. See ANGLÉS, Higinio: *La música en la corte de Carlos v*, *op. cit.* pp. 155-56.

47 In addition to Bermudo and Venegas de Henestrosa in the mid sixteenth century, parts of Mateus de Aranda's *Tractado de canto mensurable* (Lisbon, German Galharde, 1535) provides explanations of *contrapunto* techniques and procedures. For a discussion of facets of Aranda's teaching on *contrapunto* especially, see RICE, Stephen: "Aspects of Counterpoint Theory in the *Tractado de canto mensurable* (1535) of Matheo de Aranda", in BLOXAM, FILOCAMO and HOLFORD-STREVEVS, ed.: *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio*, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-73.

48 Instructions for *oposiciones* at these two cathedrals dating from the first third of the seventeenth century list an important set of criteria for exhibiting skills in polyphonic writing and improvisation – in particular *contrapunto*. Comparison of these documents indicates that they are clearly related. For those at Toledo written in Alonso Lobo's time, see REYNAUD, François: *La polyphonie tolédane*, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-36, and PRECIADO, Dionisio: *Alonso de Tejada, ca.1556-1628: Polifonista español*. Madrid, Alpuerto, 1974, vol. 1., p. 78 (n. 13). For those at Zaragoza in 1636, see CALAHORRA MARTÍNEZ, Pedro: *La Música en Zaragoza, siglos XVI-XVII 2. Polifonistas y ministriles*. Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Católico, 1977, pp. 358-60. For a reference to examination in *contrapunto* at Granada Cathedral in 1592, see LÓPEZ CALO, José: *La música en la catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI*. Granada, Fundación Rodríguez Acosta, 1963, vol.1, p. 298.

49 See CALAHORRA MARTÍNEZ, Pedro: *La Música en Zaragoza*, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

50 These days occur eight days (a week) before the first of the succeeding month. That for St John the Evangelist is the exception.

at a particular type of polyphonic work which, by its very nature, was only occasionally performed as part of liturgical observations on important feasts. In this sense, like several other ‘occasional’ repertoires that include settings of music for specific festal occasions —mass propers, villancicos and chançonetas, and also items such as responses, short antiphons and lessons— these would only rarely appear in more formal polyphonic choirbooks and manuscripts which more often comprised items suitable for a wider liturgical function. Nevertheless, one inventory entry for books that were used in the royal chapel in Granada records a book of *calendas*.⁵¹

It is of some interest therefore to find a directive in chapter acts of Seville Cathedral dating from 1551 stating that Guerrero, newly appointed as apprentice to the *maestro de capilla* Pedro Fernández, had to teach a number of these more unusual musico-liturgical items —that included *calendas*— to the choirboys.⁵² *Calendas* were certainly sung in other leading cathedrals by the mid- to later sixteenth century, including at Segovia and Salamanca, forming part of musico-liturgical procedures at Prime on important feasts such as particular Saints’ days and Christmas.⁵³ The texts were narrative, and were largely taken from Roman Martyrology.⁵⁴

A reference to the *calenda* (or kalend) at Christmas in Toledo occurs in the early seventeenth-century *Cerimonial* compiled by Juan Chaves Arcayos, where it is described how a chapter act of 1563 directed certain procedures involving clergy and musicians for this item.⁵⁵ According to this description, it appears that it was customary for the *canonigo semanero* to begin the Kalend, presumably in chant. A rare *a5* setting of a kalend for Christmas Prime surviving in the Zaragoza archives of the cathedral, but thought to have been composed in Segovia by the chapelmaster Cristóbal Téllez in 1587, shows a sequence of music consisting of chant alternating with polyphony. The opening is marked by a long passage sung in chant beginning with the words. ‘Octavo Kalendas Januarii...’. The chant is recited on one note (*c*), and the end of each textual phrase is punctuated by a fall of a fifth, much in the manner of the recitations during the Passion in Spain. This is followed by a polyphonic setting beginning with the text: ‘Jesus Christus, eternus Deus’. In his edition of this kalend, Pedro Calahorra Martínez reproduces a fascinating document from Zaragoza describing the circumstances of its composition in 1587 which at the same time gives

51 A catalogue of books compiled in 1591 from the collection in the Granada royal chapel records ‘[un libro] muy viejo; contiene las Calendas que se canten en el choro’. This book apparently originated in the time of Queen Isabella. See ROS FÁBREGAS, Emilio: “Libros de música en bibliotecas españolas”, en *Pliegos de Bibliofilia*, vol. 17 (2002), p. 40.

52 [...] primeramente que el dicho francisco guerrero les enseñe a los dichos niños cantorçicos a leer y escriuir y cantar los responsos versetes y antifonas y leçiones y calendas y todas las otras cosas que tocan a el seruiçio de el coro de esta santa iglesia?: STEVENSON, Robert: *La Música en la catedral de Sevilla*, op. cit., p. 38 (doc. 255). See also, RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, Juan: “From Mozos de Coro towards Seises: Boys in the musical life of Seville Cathedral in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries”, in BOYNTON, Susan, and RICE, Eric, ed.: *Young Choristers, 650-1700*. Woodbridge, Boydell, 2008, pp. 91 and 93. The author also gives other important literature concerning the history of the *seises* at Seville Cathedral.

53 It seems that in seventeenth-century Salamanca, they were replaced by villancicos sung in Castilian: for example, a *Villancico para la Kalenda en el día de Navidad*. See GARCÍA FRAILE, Dámaso, ed.: *Catálogo Archivo de Música de la Catedral de Salamanca*. Cuenca, Instituto de Música Religiosa de la Diputación Provincial, 1981. Settings of *Calendas* also survive in later manuscripts in Portugal.

54 The Roman Martyrology was first published by Pope Gregory XIII in 1583.

55 See citation in REYNAUD, François: *La polyphonie tolédane*, op. cit., p. 307. He does not however reproduce the whole of the entry concerning Prime and the performance of the Kalend. In this late document *Calenda* is spelt with a ‘K’ – *Kalenda*.

contextual information about the former tradition of the reading of the kalend at Prime by a young boy in the cathedral. They decided to revise this tradition to adopt the one found in Castile of singing the text solemnly in polyphony: '[...] usándose en Castilla decirse en esta vigilia muy solemnemente a canto de órgano'.⁵⁶

The four settings by Santa Maria in *Bim 1* are clearly of the same ilk, and are written in a comparable style (all incidentally in F mode) consisting of a substantial amount of syllabic writing (realized chordally to a large extent in the Zaragoza setting), but also including melodic diversity. The *Bim 1* part-book gives the lines of the polyphonic sections only. The *Bim 1* Christmas kalend also begins with the text 'Jesus Christus'. One interesting feature of this group by Santa María concerns the inclusion of an identical textual verse, or 'refrain', at the end of each of the four settings: 'Et alibi aliorum plurimorum sanctorum martirum et confessorum, atque sanctarum virginum'. (This refrain is also included in the setting for Christmas.)⁵⁷ The sequence would have concluded with 'Deo gratias'.

The original scoring of these settings is not certain; the contrapuntal parts in C1 clefs, however, would appear to be written for second superius, which is probably indicative of a high scoring, in keeping with other music in this part-book. It is interesting to speculate whether there may even be a connection with the traditions of teaching *calendas* to the choirboys in Seville, or even with the interesting tradition formerly found in Zaragoza of the recitation of the text at Christmas by a young boy. (The Christmas kalend from Zaragoza is scored for SSATB). Moreover, if we take into account that music for the *seises* was also eminently suitable for performance by a choir of nuns' voices, it is intriguing to see that the singing of *calendas* or *kalendas* featured highly in the Convent of Santa Isabel de los Reyes in Toledo during the first decades of the seventeenth century, notably (according to available documentation) on the feasts of St John the Evangelist and St John the Baptist – two of the feasts included in this set of *calendas* by Santa María.⁵⁸

THE OFICIO DE LA MISA DEL GALLO

Finally, about a quarter of the surviving manuscript —Section B— gives the appearance of having been copied at a slightly later date by the same hand as Section A. It consists in the main of a sequence of music for midnight Mass at Christmas (*misa del gallo*) comprising a setting of the mass ordinary, three polyphonic propers, and a series of motets. Analysis of the texts and tones of the remaining items in Section

⁵⁶ See CALAHORRA MARTÍNEZ, Pedro: *Obras de los maestros de las capillas de música de Zaragoza en los siglos xv, xvi y xvii*. Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Católico, "Polifonía Aragonesa, 1", 1988, pp. 10-11. The Christmas kalend is included as no. 9 (pp. 67-71).

⁵⁷ It does not appear in the Zaragoza setting.

⁵⁸ My sincere thanks to Colleen Baade for providing me with details from documents from this convent concerning the singing of *calendas*, including in a set of constitutions from 1639. See also, VILLEGAS DÍAZ, Luis Rafael: "Santa Isabel de los Reyes (Toledo) en el siglo xvii. Datos para su historia", en *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 54 (1994), pp. 511-44.

B—a series of psalms, canticles, a hymn and an antiphon— reveals that this music too was undoubtedly intended for performance during the Offices at Christmas. There is no composer attribution.

The mass sequence begins with the Introit *Dominus dixit ad me* (no. 29) after which follows the mass ordinary setting, the Alleluia and Communion, and a series of six motets. Judging from the style and the shapes of the melodic lines, there is good reason to believe that a single composer wrote this sequence of music. The inclusion of three polyphonic mass propers indicates that this extremely important festal occasion called upon a skilled group of singers accustomed to performing music specially composed at the season. Mass proper settings are only rarely found in surviving polyphonic sources, excepting those in the standard sequence for a requiem mass.⁵⁹ The settings in this mass sequence are presented complete with plainchant intonations given to the same voice part notated with a C1 clef: see Fig. 2. They are indicative of a tradition of chant paraphrase in which at least the opening notes of the counterpoint reproduce the notes and melodic intervals of the respective antiphons. (They are not in the *contrapunto* style apparently traditionally used for mass propers – especially in improvisation: see above.) It is possible also that the mass ordinary setting corresponded with a plainchant mass cycle as the movements of this sequence vary in mode. The Kyrie, for example, is in mode 1 (transposed dorian on G), the central Gloria, Credo and Sanctus sections seemingly in Lydian or Ionian on F, and the Agnus Dei in mode 8. (This single Agnus is set to ‘miserere nobis’.) However, no clear correspondences between plainchant masses and at least the opening themes of the voice parts of each section is particularly evident; but neither is there any thematic unity. There is no Pleni, Hosanna or Benedictus – a pattern seen also in the copy of Morales’s mass in *Bim I* (which may be indicative of practices at a particular institution).

The series of six fairly short motets (nos. 34-39: each called *motete*) were clearly intended for integration in this mass. The texts are familiar from the Christmas liturgical season, and are taken from Christmas Matins responsories. The texts of first two motets, *Hodie nobis de caelo* and *Hodie illuxit dies*, are from the same responsory; the motet *O magnum mysterium* is likewise followed by the setting of a text with which it is associated, *Domine audi*.⁶⁰ Intriguing are the two further designated Christmas motets texted *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, which use the chant intonation of the Gloria for Mass IV as structuring *ostinati* notated on pitches a 5th apart. (Although these are different settings, the *ostinati* are identical in both motets.) This text is from the *Benedictus* antiphon at Christmas Lauds, which succeeds midnight Mass, and it is interesting that they are copied on the folio preceding the canticle itself.

The sequence of music for the Offices that follows the mass can be placed within the context of both Christmas Matins and Lauds owing to the psalms chosen, the tones of the two canticles—both in the 8th tone, the standard tones for these canticles at Christmas— and, more obviously, the choice of hymn and

⁵⁹ A few early examples are found in the Segovia (*E-SE*) and Colombina (*E-Sc* 7-1-28) manuscripts, and Barcelona 454 (*E-Bbc* 454). Extant settings from a later period include an anonymous *Alleluia. Ego vos elegi* in Baeza Cathedral, choirbook no. 4 (*BaezaC* 4), and a series by Miguel da Fonseca in *P-Bc* 967 dating from c. 1550. For the latter, see d’ALVARENGA, João Pedro, and FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro: “The *Liber introitus* of Miguel da Fonseca, and a possible improvisatory model”, in BURN, David J., and GASCH, Stefan, ed.: *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony for the Proper of the Mass in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Turnhout, Brepols (forthcoming).

⁶⁰ Clemens non Papa’s *O magnum mysterium* incorporates this text as *pars ii* of his motet.

Matins Invitatory antiphon. In the later sixteenth century, and certainly succeeding the Tridentine reforms, cycles of psalms for Vespers became fairly standardized, with the series of five for each category of feast reflecting a choice from eleven or so different psalms. The four copied in sequence here, psalms 109, 129, 112, and 147 (nos. 41-44), were among those often sung together as Christmas Vespers.⁶¹ Judging from the single voice parts, all the psalms and canticles in this section of the manuscript are in fully developed forms written in a fairly lively contrapuntal style. It is interesting to note that the Magnificat (no. 48) is not dissimilar in contrapuntal style to the setting by Alonso Lobo copied earlier in the manuscript (no. 23). There is apparently very little recourse to plain or paraphrased statements of the particular psalm tones in this later group such as we might find in settings more closely allied to traditional *fabordón* practice (as, for example, the psalms by Morales copied earlier into this source). The two other items for Matins in this sequence of Christmas music are a setting of the first verse of the hymn *Christe redemptor* (no. 45) and, following the set of psalm-tone *fabordones*, a setting of the Invitatory antiphon *Christus natus es*, with its response *Venite adoremus* (no. 47). The notated voice of the Invitatory begins with a chant paraphrase.

The first line of music for the hymn *Christe redemptor* is underlaid with the first two lines of the first verse of this hymn. Curiously, it is additionally texted with the phrase ‘Procul recedant somnia, et noctium’, which is the first line and a half of verse 2 of the Compline hymn *Te lucis*.⁶²

Given the relative coherence of this sequence of music for Christmas in the part-book, there is little doubt that the whole of this section was entered quite rapidly at a particular time: it may therefore reflect the tradition in many cathedrals and other important choral institutions of composing and copying new music for this feast on an annual basis. Numbers of documents attest particularly to the copying of villancicos and other occasional music for particular festal occasions such as Christmas, Epiphany, Corpus Christi and several of the Marian feasts. Such music was frequently copied in small handy part-books, or loose sheets, and only rarely were items then entered into the larger choir books as time went by. One such example of music specially copied for the Offices of Christmas by the main scribe at Toledo Cathedral in 1555 during the time of chapelmaster Bartolomé de Quevedo was a set of four part-books for the singers in which were entered several items of music for Matins (*Te Deum* and *Juizio fuerte será dado*, the response of the Song of Sybil), Lauds (*Benedictus*), and the Masses at midnight and dawn. Christmas at Toledo involved particularly lengthy celebrations involving music,⁶³ and it is probable that that the two masses mentioned here had been composed especially for Christmas that year:

61 For information concerning sequences of Vesper psalms on Sundays and double feasts at this time, see HARPER, John: *The forms and orders of western liturgy from the tenth to the eighteenth Century: A historical introduction and guide for students and musicians*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991, pp. 159-61. This sequence is classified with the group designated for First and Second Vespers of Dedication (i.e. a feast). It seems that psalm 129, *De profundis*, was a variant for Christmas day. The missing psalm in *Bim 1* would probably have been either *Confitebor* (110) or *Beatus vir* (111), and was possibly sung in simple *fabordón*, using one of the tone settings on fols 61-61v (no. 46).

62 The voice part given not appear to paraphrase a hymn melody.

63 See REYNAUD, François: *La polyphonie toledane, op. cit.*, pp. 306-08.

[...] quatro libros de quadro cada hoja de marca mayor para los cantores escrito y puntado de canto de organo en cada una el hino [...] te deum laudamus y el benedictus y el iuizio y las dos mysas del gallo y del alva en que ay ochenta y un hojas [...].⁶⁴

It is extremely rare, however, to find such focused compilations surviving today, as countless books and repertories have been lost.

To conclude, investigation into this source has highlighted a number of interesting facts concerning both the composers represented and the repertories included; but it has also drawn attention to questions relating to scoring and performance intention. While the part-book appears to contain a number of miscellaneous items, there are some sections, especially the *misa del gallo* sequence, strongly suggestive of function at a particular occasion. I have also tentatively suggested that parts of Section A contain sequences of music that might reflect their origin in a musico-liturgical context. But despite these coincidences, there are several unanswered questions remaining regarding the origin and purpose of this musical source. For example, there is the apparent anomaly of Morales's 'earlier' essays being copied about fifty years after they reached publication in revised versions. In fact, some of this music (the *Misa Valençiana*, and perhaps two of the Magnificat settings) was probably composed in the earlier 1530s (that is, some sixty or seventy years before *Bim I*) although there are indications that other music dates from his time in Toledo in 1545-47 (see above). On the other hand, the part-book as it stands contains none of his printed music. Until new documentation is unearthed that gives us a clearer history of Morales's 'Valencian' mass, only hypotheses can be made: (a) that the manuscript exemplar from which this mass and perhaps other compositions were copied was brought to Toledo by Morales himself by 1545; (b) that a later composer or scribe had possession of an autograph manuscript of Morales's music, or perhaps a further copy of it.

On the other hand, there are some very interesting connections that can be made between the composers from the later period, all of whom were directly connected with the cathedral and the teaching activities at the Colegio de los Infantes. Moreover, two of these composers —Tapia and Santa María— were both educated as *seises* in Toledo: Tapia from c. 1548 to c. 1552,⁶⁵ and Santa María from 1564 to

64 From payment record made on 15 Dec. 1555 (*E-Tc* Archivo de obra y fábrica MS 850, f. 141). Documentation largely in the form of payment records testifies to this practice of copying at particular times of the year by official scribes, singers or chapelmasters, for which they were paid agreed sums commensurate with the size of the assignment. Michael Noone has undertaken extensive work in deciphering the various documentary records in the Toledo Cathedral archives, and I would like to thank him for making available to me this reference. For further information on the type of work undertaken by the scribes at Toledo, see NOONE, Michael, and SKINNER, Graeme: "Toledo Cathedral's manuscript polyphonic choirbooks ToleBC 18, ToleBC 25, and ToleBC 34 and their origins", in d'ALVARENGA, João Pedro, and FERREIRA, Manuel, ed.: *New Music 1400-1600: Papers from an international colloquium on the theory, authorship and transmission of music in the age of the renaissance*. Lisboa and Evora, Casa do Sol, 2009, pp. 129-70; and NOONE, Michael and SKINNER, Graeme: "The *Nuevo rezado*", in REES and NELSON, ed.: *Cristóbal de Morales, op. cit.*, pp. 4-20: See also, REYNAUD, François: *La polyphonie tolédane, op. cit.*, pp. 347-53.

65 See n. 67 below.

1568.⁶⁶ Santa María's time as *seise* coincided with the time when Tapia was music master at the Colegio: Tapia was elected master in 1562 when he was singer-chaplain at the cathedral under the *maestro de capilla* Bernardino de Ribeira. The fact that Tapia was trained and involved in music making at both the Colegio and the cathedral for about half a century before his death in 1599, and the fact that Santa María had a similar involvement beginning some sixteen years after Tapia, entering as a *seise* in 1564, makes it extremely likely that both would have enjoyed comparable experiences of learning music at the cathedral choir school where, we learn, a great deal of the polyphony used for teaching had been composed by Morales. Further, given that Tapia had already served as a *seise* for four years in 1552 (during Torrentes's second term as *maestro de capilla*), it is just possible that he coincided with Morales who left Toledo in August 1547.⁶⁷

It is of no small significance to learn that both Tapia and Santa María in fact owned books of Morales's music, and that Morales's music evidently featured highly on the agenda for teaching boys at the Colegio de los Infantes. In an Inventory he made in 1563, for example, the then *maestro de capilla* Bernardino de Ribeira mentions that he had given a book of Morales's masses to Juan Gómez to teach the *seises*.⁶⁸ (Interestingly, Gómez was often recruited as a teacher of the *seises* from at least the late 1540s: he would no doubt have taught both Tapia and Santa María, and would already certainly have had close encounter with Morales's music.)⁶⁹ In 1567 the Colegio bought a book of masses by Morales from Tapia 'para que tengan en que cantar y enseñar a los Infantes', and in 1568 Tapia bought further books expressly for use at the Colegio.⁷⁰ Eleven years later, in 1579, he requested the purchase of another book of Morales's masses printed in Rome, for 680 *mrs*.⁷¹ (The two purchases of Morales's mass books may have been copies of the two *Liber missarum* volumes published by Dorico in Rome in 1544). Santa María frequently acted as replacement *maestro de capilla*: for example in the 1570s and early 1580s (during Torrentes's third term: 1570-1580). He also owned books of music by Morales, offering two books to the Cathedral Chapter in April 1581.⁷² Santa María took charge of the *seises* at other times: for example in 1593, in the absence of

66 See REYNAUD, François: *La polyphonie tolédane*, *op. cit.*, p. 125. Reynaud makes copious references to documents preserved in the Toledo Cathedral archives concerning the various musicians, their terms of employment and activities, in both this book and in his *Les clerizones*.

67 The precise date of entry of Tapia as one of the *seises* is not documented. Chapter Acts dating August 1552 indicate that he had been there four years. See REYNAUD, François: *Les clerizones*, *op. cit.*, p. 83 and n. 405.

68 'Mas otros dos libros de las missas de Morales en molde, viejos y deshojados, de los cuales el uno esta en casa de Gomez, que yo le di para exercicio de los seyses': *Carto de pago de Bernardino de Ribera, Maestro de Capilla, de los libros que tiene a su cargo año 1563*, Baribieri papers MSS 14.041¹⁵³⁻⁵, items 24-25. See CASARES: *Francisco Asenjo Barbieri. Biografías y documentos*, *op. cit.*, p. 401 ('Ribeira').

69 Gómez is listed as one of the *tañedores de choros* (1549-1565). See REYNAUD, François: *La polyphonie tolédane*, *op. cit.*, p. 28, and p. 113 where he gives information that Gómez taught the *seises* in the absence of a master of music as early as July 1545.

70 REYNAUD, François: *Les clerizones*, *op. cit.*, p. 88. According to the terms of request for the book of Morales masses, the price to be paid was not to exceed 50 *reales*. For information about music books used for teaching, see the section 'Les leçons de musique sur le livre' in REYNAUD, François: *Les clerizones*, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-90.

71 REYNAUD, François: *Les clerizones*..., p. 88.

72 See REYNAUD, François: *La polyphonie tolédane*, *op. cit.*, p. 126, where he states that this gift was made on Santa María's retirement as master of the *seises*. See also *ibid.*, pp. 358 and 370, and NOONE, Michael: "Printed polyphony acquired by Toledo Cathedral, 1532-1669", in FENLON, Iain, and KNIGHTON, Tess, ed.: *Early music printing and publishing in the Iberian world*. Kassel, Reichenberger, 2006, p. 251. See also KNIGHTON, Tess: "Morales in print: Distribution and ownership in renaissance Spain", in REES and NELSON, ed.: *Cristóbal de Morales*, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-73. For further information about Santa María's career at Toledo, see REYNAUD, François: *La polyphonie tolédane*..., pp. 125-27, and REYNAUD, François: *Les clerizones*..., p. pp. 80, 82, and 87.

the then chapelmaster Boluda, and coinciding with the year that Alonso Lobo was appointed Boluda's successor (1593-1604).⁷³ There is little more to gauge from documents describing the ownership or purchase of books or manuscripts containing Morales's music at Toledo, and again we can only assume that some of his manuscript copies remained to be used for learning contrapuntal composition and singing.

It seems likely that this part-book was compiled sometime when all three of these composers —Tapia, Santa María and Lobo— were active at Toledo in one capacity or another. The inclusion of Lobo's music possibly provides a *terminus post quem* of 1593 for its compilation. The fact that the hand appears to be the same throughout the bulk of the volume (despite its slightly different appearance in Section B) may indicate that the scribe was closely associated with these composers. The rest is pure speculation. However, we can but hope that musicians', composers' or even scribes' signatures will surface to provide comparison with the script in this part-book. We may also widen the search to include those of other musicians who we know have been actively involved in music making and teaching at the cathedral and the Colegio.⁷⁴

Much of this discussion has been placed absolutely within the context of musico-liturgical practices at Toledo Cathedral. Whilst there is no absolute proof of intimate connection, this contextualization is supported by the fact that, all in all, the named composers were active at the cathedral and the choir school during the course of at least half a century, and that much of the music originated in practices there. The reasons for an apparent mix of repertory remains unclear, as likewise the fact that despite the interest in the music of Morales at the time, none of that which is included in what remains of *Bim I* was copied from his published output. Paradoxically, this could suggest that the part-book originated in an institution where Morales's printed music was for the most part unavailable; or alternatively, that there was no need to copy music accessible in printed form. On the other hand, we may also bear in mind that this part-book appears to have a focus on repertories that were particularly suitable for performance by high voices, and consider a link between music appropriate for choirboys, or *seises* (in parts),⁷⁵ and music appropriate for female singers. This offers us a further hypothesis: that the part-book was largely copied from cathedral-Colegio repertories in the early 1600s for a convent of nuns in Toledo associated with the ladies named in the inscription on the front cover.⁷⁶ However, whether such a book was actually suitable for direct performance is another consideration.⁷⁷

⁷³ See REYNAUD, François: *La polyphonie tolédane...*, p. 132.

⁷⁴ These would include Miguel Sánchez who had a long experience at the cathedral as singer (*tiplé*), from 1561 to 1574, who sometimes taught the *seises*, and who was still at the Colegio teaching music in 1596, the year he retired. See REYNAUD, François: *La polyphonie tolédane...*, p. 29, and REYNAUD, François: *Les clerizones...*, p. 85.

⁷⁵ For example, the part-book includes a few pieces written by Morales for cathedral choirboys including *Monstra esse* and *O magnum mysterium* (see discussion above); the *Salve regina* by Guerrero is also scored for sssa, and many other items appear to be the second superius part. Part-books were also prepared especially for the choirboys: an Inventory made in 1580, for example, lists '[...] un libro de Resposos y prossas e all(elui)as, donde cantan los muchachos[...]': See Barbieri Papers, *E-Mn* MS 14045¹⁰⁷, *Inventario de los libros de canto llano y canto de organo para el choro: Offiçerios sanctorales de la missa*, item 18.

⁷⁶ As indicated above, nuns at the royal convent of Santa Isabel de los Reyes in Toledo, for example, may be associated with traditions of music making during at least the first decades of the seventeenth century, which certainly included some of the types of repertory in this part-book.

⁷⁷ There are certain places in the part-book that show uncertainties and errors of judgement in the copying process. See above, and Fig. 1.

Appendix. INVENTORY of E-Bim 1

No.	Fols.	Inscription	Incipit (standardized)	Clef	Composer	Notes/ concordances
1	34			C 1		Incomplete (last line of a doxology)
2	34	<i>Ruys a 4 verbum caro</i>	Verbum caro	C 3	Ruys	Verse 4 of Corpus Christi hymn <i>Pange lingua</i>
3	34v		Quoniam confortavit	C 1		Psalms 147: <i>Lauda Jerusalem</i> (alternatim <i>fabordón</i> setting in Tone 8: uneven numbered verses)
4	35		Beatus vir	C 1		Incomplete psalm: it does not match the text of Psalm 111 begun by the scribe (alternatim <i>fabordón</i> setting in Tone 6)
5	35		(no text)	C 1		Unidentified psalm setting in <i>fabordón</i> , Tone 6
6	35v-36		Vita dulcedo	C 1	[Francisco Guerrero]	<i>Salve regina</i> setting (alternatim). Concordance: <i>E-Sc 1</i> , f. 25v-29
7	36	<i>güeRero a3 deo grācijas a3</i>	Deo gratias	C 1	Guerrero	Concordance: f. 37
8	36-36v	<i>morales primer tono</i>	Labores manum tuarum	C 1	Morales	Psalms 127: <i>Beati omnes</i> (alternatim <i>fabordón</i> setting in tone 1: uneven numbered verses)
9	36v-37	<i>morales 4</i>	(no text)	C 3	Morales	Unidentified psalm setting in <i>fabordón</i> , Tone 8

10	37	<i>De gueRero a3</i>	Deo gratias	C 1	Guerrero	Concordance: f. 36
11	37v	<i>fran^{co} De tapia a 4</i>	Ego sum panis vivus	C 1	Francisco de Tapia	Motet (Corpus Christi)
12	38	<i>fran^{co} De tapia a 4</i>	Tenebrae factae sunt	C 1	Tapia	Holy Week Responsory
13	38v	<i>morales A 4</i>	O magnum mysterium	G 2	Morales	Motet (Circumcision or Christmas) Concordances: <i>E-PAbm</i> 6832, <i>E-V s.s.</i> , <i>E-Vp s.s.</i> , <i>P-Pm</i> 40
14	39	<i>fran^{co} De tapia a 4</i>	Da mihi in disco	C 1	Tapia	Motet (St John Baptist)
15	39	<i>fran^{co} de tapia a 4</i>	Te ergo quaesumus	C 1	Tapia	Verse of Te Deum
16	39v-40	<i>calenDa de nrõ p^e s.tiago a 4 de s.m^e</i>	Sancti Jacobi Apostoli	C 1	[Jorge de] Santa Maria	Kalend for St James the Apostle
17	40-40v	<i>calenDa Del uautista a 4 De santa maria</i>	Nativitas Sancti Joanis	C 1	Santa Maria	Kalend for St John the Baptist
18	40v-41	<i>calenDa De san juan eban/gelista De santa maria</i>	Rome Sancti Joanis ante portam	C 1	Santa Maria	Kalend for St John the Evangelist
19	41v	<i>calenda de navidad De santa m^e</i>	Jesus Christus eternus Deus	C 1	Santa Maria	Kalend for Christmas night
20	42	<i>fran^{co} De Tapia a 4 contrapunto</i>	Alleluia. Ego vos elegi	C 2	Tapia	Mass proper: Alleluia (mass for St Barnabus?)
21	42v-43	<i>fran^{co} De tapia a3 contrapunto</i>	Alleluia. Pascha nostrum	C 2	Tapia	Mass proper: Alleluia (mass at Easter)
22	43-43v	<i>De tapia gaudeamus contrapunto</i>	Gaudeamus omnes	C 3	Tapia	Mass proper: Gradual (mass for All Saints)
23	44-45	<i>Alonso Lovo a 4</i>	Anima mea dominum	C 1	Alonso Lobo	Magnificat in Tone 4 (alternatim setting: uneven numbered verses)

24	45v-49	<i>misa valenciana de morales</i>	Kyrie eleison Et in terra Patrem Sanctus Agnus Dei	C 1 C 1 C 3 C 1 C 1	Morales	Version of <i>Missae Benedicta es</i> (Rome: Dorico, 1544 = M3582) (No Osanna or Benedictus; one Agnus Dei 'miserere nobis') See NELSON: "Was Morales in Valencia?", <i>op. cit.</i>
25	49v	<i>morales a 4 / Deo gracias a vajo desta / oja</i>	Monstra te essem	C 1	Morales	Verse 4 of hymn <i>Ave maris stella</i> , sung during procession Concordance: <i>E-Tc</i> 25, f. 80v-81
26	49v	<i>morales</i>	Deo gratias	G 2	Morales	Response at end of procession
27	50-50v	<i>morales</i>	Anima mea dominum	C 1	Morales	Magnificat in Tone 8 (alternatim setting: uneven numbered verses)
28	51		Tantum ergo	C 3	(Morales)	Verse 5 of Corpus Christi hymn, <i>Pange lingua</i> . Concordance: f. 52
29	51v	<i>oficio de la misa del gallo</i>	Dominus, Dixit ad me	C 1		Beginning of sequence for Christmas night mass and Offices. Mass proper: Introit (midnight mass)
30	52	<i>morales a 4 tantun ergo</i>	Tantum ergo	C 3	Morales	Verse 5 of Corpus Christi hymn, <i>Pange lingua</i> . Concordance: f. 51

31	52v-55v			Kyrie eleison Et in terra Patrem Sanctus Agnus Dei	G 2 G 2 C 1 G 2 G 2	Mass ordinary setting (no Osanna or Benedictus; one Agnus Dei 'miserere nobis')
32	56	<i>aleluya de la misa del gallo</i>		Alleluya. Dominus dixit ad me	C 1	Mass proper: Alleluya (midnight mass)
33	56	<i>comunicanda / de la misma misa</i>		In splendoribus	C 1	Mass proper: Communion (midnight mass)
34	56v	<i>motete de la nabadad</i>		Hodie nobis de caelo	G 2	Motet (midnight mass)
35	56v	<i>otro motete de / la misma fiesta</i>		Hodie illuxit dies	G 2	Motet (midnight mass)
36	57	<i>motete de la misma fiesta</i>		O magnum mysterium	C 1	Motet (midnight mass)
37	57-57v	<i>otro motete de la misma fiesta</i>		Domine audiui	C 1	Motet (midnight mass)
38	57v	<i>otro motete / de lo mismo</i>		Gloria in excelsis Deo (i)	C 1	Motet (midnight mass)
39	57v	<i>otro mo/tete</i>		Gloria in excelsis Deo (ii)	C 1	Motet (midnight mass)
40	58-58v	<i>Veradictus</i>		Et erexit	C 1	Benedictus: canticle for Lauds at Christmas (alternatim setting in Tone 8: even numbered verses)
41	58v-59	<i>primero tono / altus</i>		Donec ponam inimicos	G 2	Psalm 109: <i>Dixit dominus</i> (alternatim setting in Tone 1: even numbered verses)
42	59	<i>de profundis / cuarto tono</i>		Fiant aures tue	G 2	Psalm 129: <i>De profundis</i> (alternatim setting in Tone 4: even numbered verses)
43	59v-60	<i>Laudate pueri sexto tono</i>		Sit nomen nomini	C 1	Psalm 112: <i>Laudate pueri</i> (alternatim setting in Tone 6: even numbered verses)

44	60-60v	<i>Otabo tono lauda Jerusalen</i>	Quoniam confortavit	C 1	Psalm 147: <i>Lauda Jerusalem</i> (alternatim setting in Tone 8: even numbered verses)
45	60v	<i>yno de nabilidad</i>	Christe redemptor	G 2	Verse 1 of <i>Christe redemptor</i> , hymn for Christmas Matins
46 (a- i)	61 61v	<i>primer tono segundo tono terçer tono cuarto tono quinto tono sesto tono setimo tono otabo tono segudo tono</i>	donec ponam inimicos donec ponam inimicos donec ponam inimicos donec ponam inimicos donec ponam inimicos donec ponam inimicos donec ponam inimicos donec ponam inimicos donec ponam inimicos (no text)	C 1 C 1 C 1 C 1 C 1 C 1 G 2 G 2 C 1 C 2	Set of psalm-tone <i>fabordón</i> formulae in each of the 8 tones, set to the 2nd verse of psalm 109, <i>Dixit dominus</i> . Followed by an untexted setting in tone 2
47	61v		Christus natus es nobis	G 2	Invitatory Antiphon, Christmas Matins
48	62v-63v	<i>Altus</i>	Et exultavit	C 1	Magnificat in Tone 8 (alternatim setting: even numbered verses)
49	64v-65v		Incipit lamentatione... Aleph. Quomodo sedet	C 4	Lamentations. Concordance (from 'Aleph. Quomodo'): <i>E- PAbm</i> 6829, f. 85v-88
50	66v-67		Veni sancte spiritus	C 1	Mass proper: Sequence for Pentecost (same music as no. 51)
51	67v-68		Lauda Sion	C 1	Mass proper: Sequence for Corpus Christi (same music as no. 50)

52	68v-69v, (72)	<i>magnifica de morales sexto tono</i>	Et exultavit	C 1	Morales	Magnificat in Tone 6 (alternatim setting: even numbered verses)
53	70-71	<i>magnificat de morales primer tono</i>	Anima mea dominum	C 3	Morales	Magnificat in Tone 1 (alternatim setting: uneven numbered verses)
54	71v		Ne recorderis. Kyrie eleison	C 2	[Francisco de la Torre]	Responsory from Office <i>Pro defunctis</i> (incomplete). Numerous concordances in Iberian manuscripts: attributions to Torre in <i>E-Ic 21</i> (f. 121v-122) and <i>E-TZ 2</i> (f. 123v-124); attribution to Morales in <i>US-NYIsa</i> 861 (f. 44v-45); the rest all anonymous. Earliest source: <i>E-Bc</i> 454 (f. 68 & 73). See REES and NELSON ed.: <i>Cristóbal de Morales, op. cit.</i> , p. 314 (and Worklist no. 174); and KREITNER, Kenneth: <i>The Church Music of Fifteenth-Century Spain</i> . Woodbridge, Boydell, 2004, pp. 145-46.

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