CHAPTER V

The Manuscript Toledo 21

T21 is a manuscript of 125 numbered parchment folios, two parchment guard-sheets and one unnumbered folio, which are bound between their original brown leather-covered wooden boards. The folios, which were trimmed before binding to the extent that many of the attributions at the tops of folios are lost, measure 695 mm X 480 mm. The manuscript's modern siglum ('21') appears in a metal label on the front cover and the number "7" is written on the spine. The covers have markings which show that they originally bore metal clasps and a bronze emblem adorns the back cover of the manuscript. A blank parchment folio is pasted onto the inside front cover and the first folio of the manuscript, upon which the index is written, has no folio number. The black inked Arabic numeral foliation begins on the next folio, fol.1, and continues correctly and without interruption until fol.125, the last numbered folio. Folio 1r is ruled with the same rastrum which Pérez used in all the Torrentes sources, but contains no music. A large number "140" is written at the top of this folio. The first piece of the manuscript, a Kyrie by Boluda, begins at the opening of ff.1v-2. The piece lacks a second Kyrie and it was probably intended that this movement be copied onto the next opening (ff.2v-3) which contains no music. At the end of the manuscript a blank parchment folio is pasted to the inside back cover. There are seventeen gatherings in the manuscript, ten of which contain eight folios; they are distributed as follows: ff.1-2 (a single parchment sheet), ff.3-11 (originally twelve folios, two of which were stuck together to reinforce the heavy illumination of fol.3v, and two of which were removed from between ff.4 and 5 before binding), ff.12-17 (six folios), ff.18-24 (originally seven folios, the one between ff.18 and 19 having been removed at the time of binding), ff.25-32, ff.33-40,
The original index, which is written within a ruled rectangular border on the verso and recto of the unnumbered folio which immediately precedes fol. 1, is entitled "Tabla. Libro de Obras Extravagantes", and lists the manuscript's contents in the order in which they appear in the manuscript, under the headings Hymno, Motetes, and Responsos. There are three curiously similar scribe errors in the folio references of the index: Morales' Circumdederunt me, Peñalosa's O Domina Sanctissima, and Pastrana's Domine momento are listed at folios 39, 69 and 89 respectively; in the manuscript, however, they appear at folios 35, 65 and 85 respectively. The index, like the manuscript itself, follows a loose arrangement in which the pieces of a) Boluda, b) Morales, c) Torrentes, d) Franco-Flemish composers, e) Peñalosa and f) Francisco de la Torre, are grouped together. It was written by the same scribe who supplied the index of T12 and, similarly, employs Arabic numerals for its foliation.

The manuscript's repertory is a rather mixed collection of Latin sacred polyphony by, predominantly, peninsular composers. The most frequently represented composers are Peñalosa (eleven pieces), Morales (nine pieces, one of which is the only secular and vernacular setting of the manuscript), and Torrentes (five pieces). The remaining peninsular composers are Pastrana, Escobar (one piece each), Ginés de Boluda and Francisco de la Torre (two pieces each). The fact that Peñalosa, Escobar, Francisco de la Torre and Morales are all known to have worked at Seville during the period 1503 to 1528 suggests
that the manuscript may have been copied from a single manuscript or a group of fascicle manuscripts\textsuperscript{11} of Sevillian provenance. A document of November 29, 1545,\textsuperscript{12} tells us that Morales sold two polyphonic choirbooks to Toledo Cathedral for 3,000 maravedís, one of which was a book of magnificats. Perhaps the other contained music which Morales had originally obtained from Seville?

The three non-peninsular composers represented in T21 are Willaert,\textsuperscript{13} Compère\textsuperscript{14} (one piece each) and Josquin\textsuperscript{15} (two pieces). The sacred pieces of T21 comprise twenty motets, three Mass movements, two Masses, two hymns, one lamentation, one fabordón, a set of eight fabordones - one for each of the eight tones - and five other liturgical pieces. Both the set of fabordones (ff.90v-94) and the musically interesting Kyrie de tineblas (ff.47v-53) remain unattributed.

The manuscript is illuminated throughout in Buitrago's unmistakeable hand. The arms of Cardinal Juan Martínez Siliceo, the arithmetician who taught Philip II and whose Toledan archeopiscopacy extended from 1546 to 1558, appear on fol.3v. Buitrago also inscribed the date 1549 in no less than fifteen initials and labels throughout the manuscript.\textsuperscript{16} There exist two documents of 1549 which undoubtedly refer to the illumination of T21. The first, dated February 12,\textsuperscript{17} identifies T21 as "the polyphonic book of the misas de feria" - a clear reference to Boluda's work at the head of the manuscript.\textsuperscript{18} This first document records a part payment of 6,000 maravedis to Buitrago, without itemising the account. It is the document of June 4, 1549,\textsuperscript{19} which details the illuminations. Its reference is to the "new book of polyphony of a misa de feria, of motets, and of sundry other things", and records the payment of 14,176 maravedis. It also tells us that "the said book has thirteen gatherings and more". In the following table the items specified in this account are listed on the left and the surviving illuminations of T21 are listed on the right:
Obviously this does not account for all of the illuminations of T21. Those illuminations which are unaccounted for here are no doubt included in one of the other documents which are less specific than this - possibly that of February 12, mentioned above, which specifies neither the type nor the number of illuminations it covers.

The present writer's observation that the manuscript is written throughout by the one scribe, and that this scribe was Pérez, is confirmed by another previously unknown document of June 12, 1549\(^\text{21}\) that refers to "the writing and pointing in the book of polyphony which is newly made for the choir and which contains a misa de feria, and motets and other things". It even specifies the number of folios copied by Pérez: 117. Included in this payment of 11,250 maravedis are a number of other copying jobs. A document of August 14, 1559,\(^\text{22}\) records the copying of one page of the "quyrios [kyries] for las tineblas" by the scribe Alonso de Morata. Although this probably refers to a part of the anonymous Kyries de tineblas of T21, in all likelihood it indicates copying from T21, rather than the copying of T21 itself.

T21, then, was copied in the Toledo scriptorium in 1549, during Torrentes second term as maestro de capilla and it is more than likely that he was responsible for its compilation and correction.
NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Except that the number on fol. 7 has been cut out.

2. A partly illegible inscription below the "14O" reads "Juan Padrino [ ] ante año 1771".


4. Stevenson, TMPC, p. 102 incorrectly states that Peñalosa's Precor te is not listed in the index of T21.

5. Three of the Morales pieces are unicae: Juicio fuerte será dado, Circumdederunt me, and Salva nos stella.

6. The Israel es tu attributed to Torrentes in T21 concords with a piece of the same title in the undated manuscript T22, ff. 81v-84, where it is attributed to Morales. Since T22 contains four works attributed to Alonso Lobo (Stevenson, in both SCM p. 260 and his article "Alonso Lobo" in Grove VI, Vol. 11, p. 102 gives Lobo's date of birth as "ca. 1555") T22 most likely postdates T21.

7. Escobar's Clamabat autem (T21, ff. 56v-58) is attributed to Peñalosa in other manuscript sources. This is the same piece which Anglés, following the index of T21, listed as "Domine Jesu Christe" in MME, I, p. 130.

8. Boluda succeeded Torrentes as Toledan chapelmaster, a post which he held from March 14, 1581 to September 22, 1593. See Stevenson, SCM pp. 301-302.

9. It is not known whether this composer was the Francisco Tores who was appointed organist to Juan Tavera's chapel on May 1, 1536, and who held this post until at least 1545. See Jaime Moll Roqueta, "Músicos de la Corte del Cardenal Juan Tavera (1523-1545)" Anuario Musical VI (1951) pp. 161-162.


13. The Pater noster (ff. 53v-56) is attributed to "Villar" in both the index and at the opening of T21. Similarly, Stevenson, TMPC, p. 107 and Anglés, MME, I, p. 130 give the composer as "Villar".

14. The Ave Maria... virgo serena at ff. 58v-62 is attributed to "Lysset" in T21. Ludwig Finscher's transcription, Opera Omnia, Vol. IV (1961) takes no account of this source.
15. The bitextual funeral motet Absolve quaesumus Domine/ Requiem aeternam a 6 (T21, ff.118v-121) is a unicum.

16. The date 1549 appears in the following initials and labels: fol.19v, tiple; fol.23v, tiple and tenor; fol.35, bassus; fol.42, altus; fol.54, bassus; fol.56v, tiple; fol.71v, tenor; fol.79, bassus; fol.105, bassus; fol.110v, tiple and tenor; fol.111, altus; fol.116, altus II and fol.124v, tiple.

17. See appendix III, document 15.

18. The only other Missa de feria of the Toledo collection is found in T24 (ff.44v-49). Since this manuscript contains works by Miguel de Ambiela (elected Toledo chapelmaster on March 22, 1710) and Pedro de Ardanaz (elected Toledo chapelmaster on June 15, 1674), the manuscript was clearly copied later than T21.


20. Probably a reference to the twenty small initials which begin each strophe of the verses of Torrentes Veni Creator in T21, ff.42v-43.


22. See appendix III, document 18.
CHAPTER VI

The Manuscript Toledo 12

The largest single repository of the works of Torrentes which has come down to us is the manuscript T12. It is a manuscript choirbook of 118 numbered parchment folios, one unnumbered parchment folio and three blank parchment guard-sheets. One of the guard-sheets is pasted to the inside front cover, another is pasted to the inside back cover, and the third is found immediately following fol.118. The folios, which were trimmed at the side before binding, are of uniform size (695 mm X 480 mm), except for the index folio, which is cut shorter than the rest. A large number "16°" is written on fol.1 which is otherwise blank. The first piece begins on fol.1v. The manuscript is bound between its original brown leather-covered wooden boards, whose edges are protected by metal guards. The covers bear marks which show that the manuscript originally bore two metal clasps. The front cover is adorned by a metal badge in the centre, which is symmetrically surrounded by four metal studs. The number "1" is written on the spine, and the cover measures 725 mm X 505 mm. The foliation is written in black Arabic numerals, and runs correctly and continuously from fol.1 to fol.118. Except for its folio number, the opening ff.110v-111 is blank. The folio numbers were entered by the same hand as that which wrote the original index and the folio numbers of T21. Some faint traces of what appears to be an old Roman numeral foliation are barely discernible on the tops of some folios, though there is no reason to believe they ever pertained to this manuscript.

T12 is made up of fifteen gatherings, all but one of eight folios, distributed thus: ff.1-8, ff.9-16, ff.17-24, ff.25-32, ff.33-40, ff.41-48, ff.49-56, ff.57-64, ff.65-72, ff.73-80, ff.81-88, ff.89-96, ff.97-104,
ff.105-110 (six folios), and ff.111-118. The gatherings, with one exception, were constructed in the same way as were the gatherings of T10. The exception is the eighth gathering (ff.57-64) and its construction is of possible significance to the dating of the manuscript.

The manuscript's original index, which occupies both verso and recto of the folio which immediately precedes fol.1, is headed by a small number '6'. The index is written by the same hand which added the titles to each composition throughout the manuscript and, indeed, underlaid the texts of most pieces - the hand of Martín Pérez. The index, like the manuscript itself, is neatly organised. Under the general heading "Torrentes", it lists in numerical order according to tone, the six settings of Psalm 112 under the sub-heading "Laudate Pueri".

It then lists, again according to tone, the six settings of Psalm 147 and the setting of Psalm 113 under the sub-heading "Lauda Hierusalem". Then, under the sub-heading "Hymni", nine hymn settings together with the liturgical feast for which they are designated, are listed. Although the hymn Veni Creator (indexed under the first line of the second quatrain, Qui paraclitus) is attributed to Bernal González, Torrentes' name is restated for the following entry. There then follow the eight six-verse magnificat settings, one for each of the eight tones and arranged according to the number of the tone, without sub-heading. A new sub-heading, "Nunc Dimittis", announces the two settings of the Canticle of Simeon. The placement of these pieces, given their text ("Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace") provides an appropriate and no doubt intentional conclusion to the manuscript as it was originally conceived. Following the Nunc Dimittis entries, there are two redundant entries: "Deus tuorum militū - 53", and "Iste Confessor Dñī - 58" (scribal error
for 57) which simply give the first lines of these two hymns, which were previously indexed by the first lines of their second quatrains.

There are also a number of later additions to the index. On the recto there are three. "Veni Creator - 59" and "Pater superni - 50" are written in neat small letters by the same hand which added the small-letter texts to the Iste Confessor (ff.57v-58). It is probably the same hand as that which wrote the index. The first entry, by way of clarification and correction, gives the first line of the hymn Veni Creator which was initially indexed under the first line of its second quatrain (Qui paraclitus) and gives the correct folio number, 59, it having been initially given as "58". The second entry, also by way of clarification, specifies the initial words of the verse set polyphonically at fol.50, Pater superni, and originally indexed under the first line of the second quatrain "Maria soror lazari". The original and the later entries both give folio 50. The third addition to the index on the recto appears at the end of the list of hymns, once again in small letters, but in a less expert hand. It simply says "Decora lux" and refers to the first line of the hymn which was originally indexed by the first line of its second quatrain, "Janitor celii".

At the end of the original index, on the verso, another three additions are found in a very crude hand. They are: "Aurea luce - 62
Jesu corona Virginum - 55
Plurimorum Martirum Sanctorum Meritis - 57"

These three entries simply give the first line of the hymns at the respective folio numbers which were originally indexed under the first lines of their second quatrains. It is significant, however, that the first entry, at least, is written by the same hand which added a text to the hymn
which it indexes, and that all three pieces referred to by these additions belong to the part of T12 written by scribe 2.

The last two pieces of the manuscript, which belong to the manuscript's final gathering, are not indexed at all. The first, a *Victimae paschali* is attributed to Quevedo at fol. 112 and the second, an *Ave verum* of which only the *tiple* and *tenor* voices of one folio remain, is not attributed at all. Stevenson, however, presumably on the basis of the manuscript's attribution of the *Victimae paschali*, gives the *Ave verum* fragment to Quevedo. The presence of a sequence and a prose by Quevedo at the end of a manuscript devoted entirely to Vespers polyphony, the great majority of which was composed by Torrentes, suggests that they were added to the manuscript after its completion. Since both pieces are copied in the hand of Pérez, this suggestion is confirmed by a document dated June 1, 1555, which records the payment of two reales (-68 maravedis) to Pérez for "the writing on parchment and pointing in polyphony...of the prose *Victime pascali*". It is significant that the addition was made during Quevedo's term as Toledan chapelmaster (December 5, 1553 to April 15, 1563).

The attribution of one other piece in T12 is problematic. The hymn *Jesu corona virginum*, which is indexed as *Qui pasces inter lilia*, the first line of the second quatrain, is attributed in the index to Torrentes and at the opening of the piece (ff. 54v-56r) to "Boluda". A possible clue to the authorship of this work is found in a document, dated November 20, 1545, which records the payment of 340 maravedis to the scribe Pérez "for ten leaves of parchment for the guards of the books unbound in order to correct the hymns". Although there are a number of hymns in what remains of the first section of T18, these show no signs of having been corrected. In fact the only collection of hymns surviving in the Toledo
polyphonic codices which have obviously undergone correction, alteration and addition, are those of T12 and there are, indeed, ten hymns in T12 (the scribe obviously regarded Pater superni and Maria soror as separate hymns). Significantly, five of these hymns belong to the eighth gathering (ff.57-64), whose first four folios were cut out of the manuscript and were replaced by four new folios. This is possibly the correction referred to in the document of November 20, 1545, and explains the use of new parchment folios for the purpose of correction. If this evidence is sufficient to link the document of November 20, 1545, to T12, we may conclude that the copying of the first fourteen gatherings of the manuscript was completed before that date. Given this possibility, it is unlikely that Jesu corona virginum was composed by Boluda, whose birthdate Stevenson gives as "c. 1550".  

The evidence we have concerning the dating of T12 is similarly inconclusive. Although the illuminations of T12 are the work of Buitrago, there are no dates to be found inscribed within the manuscript. Neither are there any documents which unquestionably refer to the illumination of T12. It is possible, however, that a document of February 9, 1544, which gives a cumulative listing of the illuminations entered by Buitrago in the "third and fourth books of polyphony" refers to T12. As for the scribal work, a document of November 16, 1542, refers to the copying of "the third book of polyphony which is composed by Torrentes" by Pérez, in whose hand almost all of the manuscript is executed. With 31 of its 35 compositions attributed to Torrentes, there is no other manuscript which could better deserve the description "composed by Torrentes", and no other OF document which refers thus to a choirbook has been found. Nevertheless, a definitive dating of T12 must await the systematic comparison of every OF document concerning the production of polyphonic choirbooks with each sixteenth-century manuscript polyphonic choirbook of Toledan provenance.
NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. See Critical Notes on transcription 34, *Pater superni luminis*, for the reasons in favour of considering the index's entries *Pater superni luminis* and *Maria soror lazari* as referring to two verses of the one hymn.

2. See Critical Notes on transcription 34.


4. See appendix III, document 19. The only other *Victimae paschali* setting which survives in the Toledo numbered *Libros de facistol* series is that found in T10, ff.60v-71 attributed to Josquin. The piece has been attributed to "Jo. Brunet" in Edgar H. Sparks, "Problems of authenticity in Josquin's Motets" p.221, and pp.347-349 in E.E. Lowinsky (ed.), *Josquin des Prez* (New York: 1971). It is unlikely that document 19 in appendix III refers to this setting, however, because i) there is no physical evidence in T10 (which has already been dated 1544/1545) that its *Victimae paschali* was added to the manuscript after the manuscript's completion, ii) neither is there evidence that the title was added later to the index of T10. Moreover, it is unlikely that Pérez, who usually received 3 reales (= 102 maravedis) per page for the copying of polyphony onto parchment, would have been paid a mere 68 maravedis for the eleven pages of the *Victimae paschali* of T10. There is no evidence that any polyphonic *Victimae paschali* setting, other than these two, was copied or in use at Toledo during the sixteenth century.

5. See Gumpel, "Der Toledaner Kapellmeister Bartolomé de Quevedo und sein Kommentar zu der Extravagante 'Docta sanctorum' Johannes XXII"


8. See appendix III, document 27.

CHAPTER VII

The Manuscript Toledo 18

The manuscript T18 is made up of 96 numbered parchment folios and four guard-sheets which are bound between brown leather-covered wooden boards. The folios, which were trimmed at the top before binding, measure 700 mm X 500 mm and the covers, which are original, measure 765 mm X 530 mm. The covers bear marks which show that they once supported two metal clasps. The manuscript's current siglum ('18') appears in a metal badge on the front cover. A folio of the liturgical parchment manuscript whose pages were used as guard-sheets in many of the Toledo choirbooks is pasted to the inside front cover. Another two folios of the same manuscript follow: they bear their original folio numbers, "cxiii" and "cxcvii", respectively. The remnants of a folio of the same manuscript, which at some time was ripped out of T18, remain between these two folios. A further folio of this same parchment manuscript, bearing its original folio number "cxv" is pasted, upside-down, to the inside back cover.

The manuscript now bound as T18 consists of the first sections of what were originally two separate manuscripts, each with its own system of foliation, index, illuminated first page complete with coat of arms and, significantly, dates inscribed within its initials. For this reason, the two now incomplete manuscripts will be discussed in turn, and will be referred to as T18A (first foliation) and T18B (second foliation: ff.1-25 and ff. 32-40).

The Manuscript Toledo 18A:

Of T18A, but 62 folios remain. It still bears its original red inked Roman numeral foliation which runs correctly from fol.1 to fol.62. Because the manuscript
has been systematically despoiled of some of its beautifully illuminated initials, the numbers on folios 7, 30 and 39 are missing. T18A is made up of seven gatherings of eight folios, of which only five folios remain. The gatherings are distributed thus: ff.1-8, ff.9-16, ff.17-24, ff.25-32, ff.33-40, ff.41-48, ff.49-56 and ff.57-62 (five folios only).

The manuscript's original index, which is written in red and black inks by the same hand which added the foliation, is found on fol.1. A large black number "66" is written at the top of this folio and the index is headed "Tabla de las obras que se contienen en este libro primeramente". The contents of the manuscript are listed under sub-headings according to composition type (i.e. fabordones, hymnus, magnificas, benedicanus, motetes and lamentaciones), and within these sections the works of each composer are grouped together. Thanks to this index we know what the contents of the complete manuscript were, how they were arranged within the manuscript, and the approximate number of folios of the complete manuscript. The following twenty pieces are all listed in the index, but are no longer to be found in T18. They are all attributed to Morales, and are listed here according to their folio numbers:

- fol. 64 Asperges me
- fol. 68 Qui posuit viii tonus
- fol. 70 Non det in commotionem vi tonus
- fol. 72 Deo dicamus i tonus
- fol. 73 Acuerunt linguas i tonus
- fol. 76 Nova veniens
- fol. 78 Beata quoque
- fol. 80 Tunc dicanent inter gentes viii tonus
- fol. 81 Docte alumnus Gretiae
- fol. 83 Deo dicamus i tonus
- fol. 84 Te deum laudamus
- fol. 91 Tu lumen splendor
- fol. 93 Deo dicamus i tonus
- fol. 94 Tu lumen splendor
- fol. 96 Ave Maris Stella
- fol. 103 Nunc Dimittis
- fol. 105 Anima mea i tono
- fol. 110 Anima mea ii tono
- fol. 115 Et exsultavit iii tono
- fol. 121 Et exsultavit iv tono
Until now, it has been assumed that all twenty pieces of the missing folios of T18A had been lost. A search through the Toledan choirbooks by the present writer, however, has revealed that ff.104-126 of what was originally T18A are now preserved as the first section of the group of incomplete manuscripts now bound as T34. These folios preserve the four Morales magnificat settings listed in the index to T18A. The evidence is conclusive: i) the index's specification of two odd-numbered verse magnificat settings, one in Tone 1 at fol.105 and the other in Tone 2 at fol.110, and its specification of two even-numbered magnificat settings, one in Tone 3 at fol.115 and the other in Tone 4 at fol.121, corresponds in every detail to the four magnificat settings at ff.104-126 (first foliation) of T34; ii) the first section of T34 is copied throughout by the scribe Pérez who also copied T18A and is illuminated throughout by Buitrago who likewise was responsible for the illumination of T18A; iii) the discovery of a hitherto unrecorded Morales autograph on fol.126v of T34 confirms that the first section of T34 was originally part of a larger complete manuscript, and that it was completed by Monday, May 3, 1546. This is consistent with the appearance of the date 1545, which is twice inscribed in T18A. The partly faded Morales autograph, which tells us that Morales himself corrected what was originally T18A, is transcribed below:

digo yo zoval de morales racionero y
maestro de capilla del sancta yglesia
de toledo que corregio este libro y
porques. verdad lo firme de nôbre fizo
en toledo cy lunes tres dias del mes
de mayo de[s]te pr[esente] [año]
C quarenta y seis años.

zoval de morales

Having identified the first section of T34 as originally belonging to T18A, we may with confidence identify the altus and bassus fragments of T34 fol.104 (first foliation) as belonging to the doxology of the Morales Nunc Dimittis listed in the index of T18A as
beginning at fol.103. Moreover, any suggestion that the pieces listed in the index of T18A, but no longer to be found in the manuscript, were never written must be rejected.

If further confirmation is required, one need only refer to the memorial of 1604 which under the heading "Pascua. Navidad de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo" states that at first Vespers of Christmas the organ accompanies the stanzas which begin Veni redemptor gentium which is at the end of the book of the Ave maris stella and other hymns of Morales. Since Veni redemptor gentium is the first verse of the hymn whose second verse begins Tu lumen splendor, both settings of which precede the entry for the Ave maris stella in the index to T18A, there can be no doubt i) that the pieces listed in the index were copied, ii) that they were indeed by Morales and iii) that the missing section of T18A had not disappeared before 1604.

The following table lists the repertory of T18A, according to composition type, in three columns. The first column lists only those pieces which are known to survive, the second lists only those which are lost, and the final column gives a cumulative total:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Survive</th>
<th>Lost</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Magnificat</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamentation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hymn</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabordon</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motet</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nunc Dimittis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asperges me</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deo dicamus</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Deum</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The repertory of T18A, then, was as mixed as that of T21. Only four composers, however, are represented in T18A: Torrentes (thirteen pieces), Morales (twenty pieces - of these only four survive intact and only a fragment of another survives), Josquin (three pieces, one of which is
incomplete) and Costanzo Festa (two pieces). It is the presence of works by Festa, conspicuously and honorifically placed at the head of the manuscript, which is unexpected in such a Toledan repertory as this. Alexander Main's suggestion that the Festa magnificats were copied into the manuscript at Morales' instigation is eminently plausible. Festa, who had been a senior colleague of Morales in the papal choir died (April 10, 1545) shortly before Morales left Rome (May 1, 1545) to take up the Toledan chapelmastership (September 1, 1545). In all probability, Morales, who is now known to have corrected T18A, arranged to have the Festa works copied at the head of this manuscript as a musical tribute to his recently-deceased colleague. It is even possible that Morales brought the exemplar from which the Festa pieces were copied directly from Rome. A further observation concerns the presence, in the original T18A, of parallel settings of identical texts by Morales and Torrentes. Although, unfortunately, the possibility of musical comparison is denied us, Morales can hardly have been unaware of the opportunity to invite comparison between himself and Torrentes by providing five of his own settings (excluding, of course, magnificats) of the same texts which Torrentes had already set, for inclusion in the same manuscript.

As for dates of composition, we may safely say that Torrentes' thirteen pieces were composed during his first term as maestro de capilla at Toledo. Of the Morales pieces, we may suggest that, with the exception of the magnificats, they were composed at, or at least for, Toledo Cathedral. If so, Stevenson's assumption that "Morales' creative urge slackened at Toledo" must be revised.

Because the OF documents are more precise than usual in identifying T18A, we are able to follow in detail the process of its compilation. The earliest document which refers unmistakeably to our manuscript is dated
February 9, 1544.\textsuperscript{13} It records an approved sum of 11,250 maravedis to be paid to the scribe Pérez for "the writing and pointing in polyphony of the two books which remain, one of motets [T10] and the other of hymns and lamentations". The next notice is dated February 9, 1545,\textsuperscript{14} although it is principally concerned with Pérez's completion of the copying of T10. It does, however, refer to "the writing and pointing of the last two books of polyphony, one of motets [T10], and the other of hymns and lamentations [T18A]". The second entry of the same folio of OF 839,\textsuperscript{15} and also dated February 9, 1545, records a progress payment of 11,250 maravedis to Pérez for "the purchase of parchment and the writing and pointing in polyphony in the last book of hymns and lamentations". A further document, dated May 11, 1546,\textsuperscript{16} records the payment to Pérez of 1,806 maravedis which comprised six reales (=204 maravedis) for "writing and pointing in polyphony two incarnatus in the book of Masses [T33]\textsuperscript{17} plus that amount owing (11,250 maravedis having already been paid and recorded in the preceding year)\textsuperscript{18} for the "126 pages\textsuperscript{19} which he wrote and pointed in polyphony, including the parchment,\textsuperscript{20} at three reales (=102 maravedis)\textsuperscript{21} per page which totals 12,852 maravedis, which was the book of fabordones and lamentations". The copying of T18A, then, was completed some time before May 11, 1546, some eight days after Morales, then maestro de capilla, corrected and signed the book. The manuscript was, however, planned and probably begun during the last months of Torrentes' tenure as maestro de capilla.

The only document referring to the illumination of T18A is dated March 19, 1546,\textsuperscript{22} less than two weeks before the date of Morales' inscription. It records the payment of 20,432 maravedis to Buitrago "for the illumination which he did in the newly written and pointed book of polyphony, which is the book of motets, fabordones, lamentations, and hymns". The table below lists the
illumination work itemised by this account on the left and the cumulative total of the illuminations which still exist in T18A and T34 ff.104-126 (first foliation):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 letters and arms on the first page</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 large letters of gold</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 small letters of gold</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>412 letters of ink</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 voice-designation labels</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 illuminated titles</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those letters, labels and titles which are unaccounted for must, of course, belong to the forty-one missing folios of the manuscript. It is interesting to note that the sum paid for the illumination of T18A is just a little less than half of Morales' annual salary of 43,500 maravedis.

Whilst there is no shortage of dated references to the binding of choirbooks in the OF documents, the references are usually so unspecific that it is not possible to determine the identity of the book to which they refer. In the case of T18A, though, this is not the case. A document of August 1, 1546, records the payment of 19,905 maravedis to Diego López for the binding of a number of books, amongst which there is "a polyphonic book of motets and fabordones".

T18A, then, was planned while Torrentes was still maestro de capilla of Toledo, was copied by Pérez, illuminated by Buitrago, corrected in 1546 by Morales, and was bound before August of the same year.

The Manuscript Toledo 18B:

Only thirty-four folios remain of the manuscript T18B, at least within the binding of T18. The original red Roman numeral foliation runs continuously and correctly from fol.1 to fol.25 inclusive, and from fol.32 to fol.40 inclusive. The manuscript, as it now stands between the covers of T18, is made up of only five gatherings, four
of which contain eight folios each. The gatherings are distributed thus: ff.1-8, ff.9-16, ff.17-24, ff.25-32 (only the outside folios of what was originally a gathering of eight folios remain).

The manuscript's original index, which is written in red and black inks, is found on fol.1, immediately following the last remaining folio of T18A. It is written by the same scribe, Pérez, who wrote the index of T18A. The index is headed "Libro de magnificas" and is the only source of information we have concerning the contents of the original manuscript. The entire index is transcribed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Tono</th>
<th>Folio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Torrentes</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>fol.i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torrentes</td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>fol.viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torrentes</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>fol.xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basurto</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>fol.xx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torrentes</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>fol.xxxii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morales</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>fol.xxxviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Rabaneda</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>fol.xlix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Gascon</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>fol.liii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Torrentes</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>fol.lxiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Morales</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>fol.lxvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Joanes litier</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>fol.lxxv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Peñalosa</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>fol.lxxxviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Peñalosa</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>fol.lxxvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peñalosa</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>fol.cxxvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morales</td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>fol.cii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morales</td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>fol.cviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torrentes</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>fol.cxv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only four works of T18B survive complete excepting, for the moment, those musical fragments whose absence is explained by the systematic vandalising of the manuscript's finer illuminations. The following works are incomplete:

1) Torrentes' Magnificat Primi Toni (ff. 19v-25v): all verses survive except for the final Sicut erat, of which only the tiple voice remains; 2) Basurto's Magnificat Primi Toni (ff.26v[?] - 32): the altus and bassus voices of the final Gloria Patri are all that remain; 3) Morales' Magnificat Primi Toni (ff.38v-40): only the Anima mea, Quia respexit, and the tenor voice of the Et misericordia remain. This
third fragment is particularly important, since it is a unique vocal source of this Morales work. Until now, all the other works listed in the index have been presumed lost. It can be proved, however, that the four last items listed in the index survive, two of them incomplete, in the manuscript which is now bound as the third section (ff.102-114, third foliation) of T34.

The magnificat which appears at T34, ff.102v-108 (third foliation) concords with the Magnificat Septimi Toni (odd-numbered verses only) which was published in Anglés' edition of Morales' magnificats as No.XIII, and the magnificat which appears at T34, ff.108v-114 (third foliation) concords with the Magnificat Septimi Toni (even-numbered verses only) which was published in Anglés edition as No.XIV. In all details (text, composer, tone and foliation) these pieces correspond to the antepenultimate and penultimate entries of the index of T18B. Moreover, the final entry lists a Torrentes Magnificat Tertii Toni at fol.115 which corresponds with musical fragments found at T34, fol.114v (third foliation). Although only the tiple I, tiple II and tenor voices of the first movement (an Et exultavit) remain, the red band heading fol.114v states "Torrentes Tertii Toni" which, once again, corresponds in all details to the entry in the index to T18B. It is to be expected, then, that the one voice remaining of the Sicut erat duo at T34, fol.102 (third foliation) is the only remaining fragment of the Peñalosa Magnificat Sexti Toni (probably even-numbered verses only) listed in the index to T18B as appearing at fol.96. Indeed the final verse of a magnificat which began on fol.96, and in which each verse began at a new opening, would be expected to conclude on fol.102.

Further evidence which convincingly links the third section of T34 and T18B is at hand. Firstly, the calligraphy, including that of the foliation, of the two manuscripts is uniform throughout; it is the work of
Pérez. Second, each manuscript is illuminated in the same style by the hand which we know to be that of Buitrago. Finally, the date 1543 is inscribed within initials in both manuscripts.

Those pieces listed in the T18B index, but of which not a trace survives, are marked with asterisks in the table above. Since the final pieces of the manuscripts were copied, there is no reason to assume that those now missing were never copied.

The manuscript's repertory, if the index may be trusted, originally consisted of eighteen magnificat settings attributed to seven composers in the following distribution: Torrentes (seven), Morales (four), Peñalosa (three), Basurto (one), Rabaneda (one), Gascón (one), and Jean L'Héritier (one). The presence of works by Torrentes, Morales and Peñalosa is not surprising. Neither is that of Juan García de Basurto who we know was maestro de capilla to Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros (archbishop of Toledo from 1495 to 1517) and who also served as maestro de capilla to Cardinal Juan Tavera (archbishop of Toledo from 1534 to 1545). Of Francisco de Rabaneda, we know only that in 1554 he presented himself for a competition at Málaga Cathedral to decide a successor to Guerrero who had resigned from his post there. The name Gascón probably refers to the Flemish composer Johannes Gascongne although the possibility that it refers to the Toledan instrumentalist Alonso Gascón cannot be ruled out in the absence of musical evidence. It is possible that the Magnificat Quarti Toni by L'Héritier is the same work which was published in Attaignant's Liber sextus (1534).

There exists but one OF document which can be confidently linked to the copying of T18B. It is dated April 24, 1543, and records the payment of 11,250 maravedis to Pérez for the "commencement of the fourth
book of polyphonic magnificats which is corrected and signed by Torrentes, maestro de capilla". Of the five Toledan manuscripts which we know were copied before 1544, this is the only one which contains a magnificat. For this reason, the document can hardly be taken as referring to either of the two manuscripts (T16 and T33) which still preserve Torrentes' signature, even though they are dated 1542 and 1543 respectively.

It is possible that a document dated February 9, 1544, which records the payment of 34,915 maravedis to Buitrago for "the illumination which he did in the third and fourth books of polyphony" refers to T18B. Three factors deny us the opportunity to be certain, however. Firstly, the document gives a combined list of the illuminations in both the books to which it refers rendering it impossible to determine the distribution of initials throughout these two books. Second, there is no way of knowing what illuminations were entered into the missing folios of T18B. Third, the document cannot be definitely linked to any manuscript until the illuminations in T32, which was also copied in 1543, can be tabulated. 

T18B, then, was copied in 1543 by Pérez, illuminated in the same year by Buitrago, and was corrected and signed by Andrés de Torrentes in his first term as maestro de capilla at Toledo.
NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. Namely, T9, T13, T16, T17, T19, T27, T28 and T34.

2. See Rubio Piquerias, CPT, pp.35f for a transcription of the index.

3. In his edition of Morales' magnificats (MME, XVII, p.52, item 21) Anglés correctly identified ff.114v-115 of T34 as the work of Morales. He did not, however, link it with the index of T18A, nor did he identify the other Morales works in the first section of T34.

4. Since these four pieces concord with four settings published in Magnificat Ispani cum quatuor vocibus Liber primus (Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1545), all speculation that the index of T18A heralded four otherwise unknown Morales magnificat settings may be silenced. The four settings concord with No.I, p.1; No.II, p.17; No.VI, p.41; and No.VIII, p.57 of Anglés' edition (MME, XVII, 1956).

5. The date 1545 appears at fol.16v (tenor initial) and fol.18 (bassus initial).


7. Alexander Main provides convincing evidence in support of the claim that all of Festa's magnificat settings are of twelve continuous verses (Festa Opera Omnia, CMM 25, 1968, II, pp.xiv-xv). It is clear, however, that for the scribe of T18A, the odd-numbered verses and even-numbered verses constituted two separate works. No magnificat settings of the Toledo choirbooks, in fact, set all twelve verses consecutively. Even Morales' magnificats, many of which were presented as continuous twelve-verse settings in the published anthologies of Scotto (1542) and Rhaw (1544) appear as six-verse settings in Toledan manuscripts. There is little doubt that this scribal practice reflects an alternatim tradition in Toledan magnificat performances.

8. No other works by Festa are known to have been copied for the Toledan choir.


10. According to its index, the following texts were set twice in T18A, once by Morales and again by Torrentes: Non det in commotionem, Acuerunt lingus, Nova veniens, Beata quoque, and Tunc dicent inter gentes.

11. Stevenson, SCM, p.32.
12. The description of the manuscript's contents as "hímos y lamentaciones" (appendix III, documents 3 and 4), "favorones y lamentaciones" (appendix III, 13), "motetes y fabordones y lementaciones y hinos" (appendix III, document 23), and "motetes y favorones" (appendix III, document 24), immediately identifies T18A since it is known that T21, the only other manuscript of the Toledo set whose repertory might correctly be described in similar terms, was copied in 1549. See Chapter V.


15. See appendix III, document 22.


17. See Chapter IV, p. 53.


19. The Morales autograph is written on fol. 126v, the last folio of the manuscript.

20. Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Segovia monopolised the Spanish parchment market. That the Toledo scriptorium purchased its parchment in Segovia is attested to by documents such as OF 824, fol. 79v. The Montes de Toledo, on the other hand, provided a ready and plentiful supply of deer-hide ("venado") for the binding of books. For further details, see Ramón González, "El arte del Libro en el Renacimiento: El Libro de los Prefacios" in Toledo Renacentista III (Madrid: 1980) pp. 68-69.

21. A survey of the OF documents shows that 3 reales (=102 maravedis) was the standard price paid, at least to Pérez, for a double-sided folio of polyphony with text underlay.

22. See appendix III, document 23.

23. See OF 840, fol. 28.

24. OF 837, for example, records the binding of two books of polyphony in 1543.


26. The numbers on folios 1 and 7 are missing because vandals have removed the illuminations which once adorned the verso of these folios.
27. The folio number given for the Basurto magnificat cannot be read clearly because the parchment has been punctured at this point, possibly even deliberately since only the altus and bassus voices of its Gloria Patri remain. In any case, Rubio Piqueras' reading "xxx" (CPT, p.37) must be rejected because it would mean that Basurto's work occupied a mere three openings, and that Torrentes' magnificat extended for at least three opening beyond its final verse, the tiple voice of which remains at fol.25v. There is no reason to assume either that Torrentes' setting extended beyond its last verse, or that the missing fol. 26 did not contain the lost voices of this last verse on it recto. On the other hand, it is perfectly plausible that the lost sections of the Basurto Magnificat began on fol.26v and extended over six openings, one opening for each verse, terminating with its last verse, as it does, at fol.32. A further misunderstanding concerning this part of the index of T18B is found in Stevenson's statement that "according to the Index (T18*, fol.1), this Tone I Magnificat [T18B, ff.19v-25], is by Basurto" (TMPC, p.105). Stevenson here, has simply misread the index and failed to recognise that T18B, fol.32 contains the only music, albeit a fragment, of Basurto which survives in the entire Toledo polyphonic choirbook set.

28. This is the only magnificat setting of Torrentes which is known to set more than six verses of the canticle's text.

29. It is the magnificat upon which Enríquez de Valderrábano based his Fantasía VIII (Silva de sirenas, 1547), see MME, XXII (1965) pp.82-84 for a transcription. See also Anglés' comment in MME, XVII (1956) p.52, item 20.

30. See Stevenson, TMPC, p.100, especially his comments on the erroneous information offered by Anglés in MME, XVII (1956), p.52.

31. MME, XVII (1956), pp.100-108. T34 is not mentioned in Anglés' list of sources. Both Morales' Tone 7 magnificats were first published in Magnificat cum quatuor vocibus Moralis Hispani aliorumque authorum (Venice: Scotto, 1542).

32. MME, XVII (1956), pp.109-118. T34 is not mentioned in Anglés' list of sources. These concordances were first noted by Stevenson, TMPC, p.100. He did not, however, link them with the index entries of T18B.

33. The date 1543 appears in T18B at fol.3v (tenor initial) and fol.15v (tiple initial) and in the third foliation of T34, fol.111 (altus and tenor initials).
34. Stevenson's statement (TMPC, p.100) that "the Index in T 18*, fol.1, mentions 16 Magnificats - five by Torrentes (three survive)..." is wrong on three counts: eighteen magnificats, seven of which are by Torrentes (five survive more or less intact), are mentioned in the index. Stevenson also omits mention of the Basurto magnificat.


36. Stevenson, SCM, P.304, note 5.

37. Our only notice concerning Alonso Gascón is dated September 24, 1590, and refers to his copying instrumental and vocal music. See Stevenson, SCM, p.302.


40. That is, T16, T18B, T19, T32 and T33.


42. T32 is currently undergoing restoration in Madrid and is unavailable for consultation.
The choirbook T34 is a manuscript of 101 parchment folios and two parchment guard-sheets which are bound between two original, brown, leather-covered wooden boards. The folios, which were trimmed before binding, measure 700 mm X 490 mm and the covers, which bear two metal clasps, measure 720 mm X 525 mm. The two guard-sheets, which are pasted to the inside of each cover, belong to the same liturgical parchment manuscript as do the guard-sheets of many other Toledan polyphonic choirbooks.

Although the calligraphy and illumination of this manuscript are uniform throughout - they are the work of Pérez and Buitrago respectively - there can be no doubt that the folios now bound together as T34 are sections of what were originally three independent manuscripts. As it now stands, T34 consists of thirteen gatherings, the distribution of which clearly reveals the sectional nature of the manuscript. They are distributed as follows:

| First foliation: | ff.104-112 (10 folios) |
|                 | ff.113-120 (8 folios) |
|                 | ff.121-126 (8 folios) |
| Second foliation: | ff.1-8 (8 folios) |
|                 | ff.9-16 (8 folios) |
|                 | ff.17-24 (8 folios) |
|                 | ff.25-32 (8 folios) |
|                 | ff.33-40 (8 folios) |
|                 | ff.41-48 (8 folios) |
| Third foliation: | ff.49-105 (6 folios) |
|                 | ff.106-111 (6 folios) |
| Fourth foliation: | ff.112-56 (8 folios) |
|                 | ff.57-63 (8 folios) |

It has already been shown that the first section of T34 originally belonged to T18A and that the third section of T34 originally belonged to T18B. Since these two sections
have been discussed separately above, the present discussion will be confined to the remaining two sections of T34. The first of these sections begins with the folio which immediately follows fol.126 (first foliation) and ends with fol.51 (second foliation). The second section begins at fol.52 (fourth foliation) and ends with fol.64 (fourth foliation). That these are consecutive sections of the one manuscript is attested to by i) the fact that the original Roman numeral foliation runs correctly from fol.2 to fol.64 inclusive, ii) the appearance of the date 1549 in initials of both sections, and iii) the fact that the repertory of each section consists of magnificat settings by Morales which, moreover, are ordered consecutively, according to the number of their tone, from 1 to 8.

The following inventory of the manuscript has been constructed in order to clarify the contents and arrangement of the two sections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Verses</th>
<th>Concordance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1v-7</td>
<td>Magnificat Primi Toni</td>
<td>Et exsultavit</td>
<td>p.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7v-14</td>
<td>Magnificat Secundi Toni</td>
<td>Et exsultavit</td>
<td>p.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14v-20</td>
<td>Magnificat Tertii Toni</td>
<td>Anima mea</td>
<td>p.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20v-26</td>
<td>Magnificat Quartii Toni</td>
<td>Anima mea</td>
<td>p.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26v-31</td>
<td>Magnificat Quinti Toni</td>
<td>Anima mea</td>
<td>p.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31v-39</td>
<td>Magnificat Quinti Toni</td>
<td>Et exsultavit</td>
<td>p.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39v-45</td>
<td>Magnificat Sexti Toni</td>
<td>Anima mea</td>
<td>p.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45v-52</td>
<td>Magnificat Sexti Toni</td>
<td>Et exsultavit</td>
<td>p.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SECOND SECTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Verses</th>
<th>Concordance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52v-57</td>
<td>Magnificat Octavi Toni</td>
<td>Anima mea</td>
<td>p.119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57v-64</td>
<td>Magnificat Octavi Toni</td>
<td>Et exsultavit</td>
<td>p.126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A short incomplete index, headed Extravagantes, is written on the first folio of this manuscript and possibly pertains to a lost section of the manuscript. It is transcribed, in its entirety, below:

Morales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mostrate esse matrem el viejo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monstrate esse matrem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In die assumptionis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Gloriosa dña</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since none of these works are extant in the Toledo choirbooks, we are unable to determine what the index refers to. It is not unreasonable to suggest, however, that a missing part of this manuscript of Morales' magnificats may have contained three settings of Marian texts, two of which are attributed to the same composer. At the foot of the index folio there is a signed inscription, dated 1579, and also the signature of one "Alonso Fernandez". Neither is relevant to the dating of the manuscript, however.

Folio 1v is an elaborately illuminated page with a full border of the type found elsewhere in the Toledo polyphonic choirbooks, but always at the beginning of a manuscript. The arms of Cardinal Juan Martínez Siliceo are illuminated at the foot of the folio, and the date 1549 is inscribed within the border decoration. One other detail of illumination is worthy of note: the altus initial of fol. 2 contains the two black wolves of the arms of Don Diego López de Ayala.  

There exist two documents which refer to our manuscript. The earlier one is dated December 4, 1549, and records the payment of 20,346½ maravedis to Buitrago for the "illumination which he did in a book of polyphony which is the second and which contains magnificats, antiphons, and motets, the writing and pointing of which was recently ordered". The only other book to which this document might be taken to refer is T21, also copied in 1549. T21, though, contains no magnificat settings and, in any case, its illumination is covered by two documents dated February 12, 1549, and June 4, 1549 respectively.

The account of December 4, 1549, is useful not only because it gives an even more precise date to the manuscript, but also because it tells us that the manuscript originally contained antiphons and motets (probably the
three titles listed on fol. 1) as well as magnificat settings. Moreover, the number of illuminations specified in the account is one of the two clues we have concerning the original number of folios of the manuscript. The following table lists the items of the account on the left, the surviving illuminations in the centre, and the difference between the two on the right:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Surviving Illuminations</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 illuminated page at the beginning</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 large illuminated letters of gold</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58 small illuminated letters of gold</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>245 letters of ink</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 titles</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 voice designation labels</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other document concerned with this manuscript is dated May 31, 1550, and records, among other things, the payment of 9,180 maravedis to Pérez for his copying of a book of "magnificats, antiphons, and motets". Insofar as the sum of 9,180 maravedis is easily divisible by 102 maravedis (=3 reales, the standard fee per folio paid to Pérez for the copying of polyphony) we may suggest that the manuscript originally comprised 90 folios. If this is the case, only 26 folios are missing and it is perfectly feasible that these 26 folios could accommodate the 165 illuminations unaccounted for, in addition to the "antiphons and motets" referred to in both documents.

The manuscript which is now bound as sections two and four of T34 was copied, then, in 1549 at the Toledo Cathedral scriptorium by Pérez, and was illuminated by Buitrago. Since 1549 was the second year of Torrentes' second term as maestro de capilla at Toledo, it is almost certain that he supervised its copying and compilation.

Since all the magnificat settings of this manuscript were first published in the Magnificat Moralis Ispani Cum quatuor vocibus Liber primus (Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1545) it is possible that this publication
provided the exemplar from which sections two and four of T34 were copied. It has been known since 1953, that before September 25, 1545, Morales offered some books of polyphony for sale to the Toledo chapter. With the present writer's discovery of a record of payment for these books, dated November 29, 1545, we now know i) that the number of these books was two, ii) that one of them was a book of magnificats and iii) that Morales was paid a total of 3,000 maravedis for both books.

Only six of the magnificat settings of the 1545 Venice publication do not appear in the two sections of T34 with which this chapter is concerned. These six settings are listed below:

- Magnificat Primi Toni (Animamea)
- Magnificat Secundi Toni (Animamea)
- Magnificat Terti Toni (Et exsultavit)
- Magnificat Quart Toni (Et Exsultavit)
- Magnificat Septimi Toni (Et Exsultavit)
- Magnificat Septimi Toni (Anima mea)

The last two settings of this list were copied into what was then T18B, in 1543, most probably from Morales' first publication, the Magnificat cum quatuor vocibus Moralis Hispani (Venice: G. Scotto, 1542), and there was obviously no need for them to be copied again in 1549. Given that the first four items listed above concord precisely, as we have seen, with the original index of T18B, and that these pieces are now known to exist at ff.104-126 (first foliation) of T34 (copied in 1546), one is in a strong position to suggest i) that one of the two books Morales sold to the Toledo chapter late in 1545 was his Magnificat Moralis Ispani cum quatuor vocibus (Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1545), ii) that in the following year four of these works were copied into T18A, a book which we know Morales corrected, and iii) that in 1549 those works of Morales 1545 publication which did not already exist in the Toledo manuscript choirbooks were copied into what is now
T34, ff.1v-64 (second and fourth foliations). A systematic comparison of the readings to be found in the Toledo manuscripts and those of the 1545 publication has yet to be undertaken.

One final question concerning T34 must be addressed: At what stage in the manuscript's history was it re-bound, together with five gatherings which originally belonged to T18A and T18B? An inventory of the Toledo choirbooks which was completed on August 13, 1580, less than one month before Torrentes' death, refers to "three large books, two of which contain only magnificats and the other: magnificats, hymns, fabordones, lamentations, motets and benedicamus settings". Undoubtedly this entry refers to the original T18B and T34, the two magnificat collections, and T18A which lists magnificats, hymns, fabordones, lamentations, motets and benedicamus settings in its index. The rebinding, then, was certainly not done before 1580.
NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. Namely, T9, T13, T16, T17, T18, T19, T27 and T28.

2. The folio number of fol.1 was removed when vandals cut out the illumination on the verso.

3. The date 1549 is inscribed in the following initials of i) the first section: fol.8v, tenor; fol.22, altus and bassus; fol.32v, tiple; fol.39v, tiple; fol.40v, tenor; fol.47, altus; and fol.47v, tenor and ii) the second section: fol.54, bassus initial.

4. In Morales' first publication, Magnificat cum quatuor vocibus Moralis Hispani aliorumque authorum (Venice: C. Scotto, 1542), all twelve verses of each magnificat are set polyphonically. In a later publication, the Magnificat omnitonum cum quatuor vocibus (Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1562) the odd and even-numbered verses were separated. This is how the settings appear in the Toledo manuscript sources, so that the term 'magnificat' is used here to refer to a setting of either odd-numbered or even-numbered verses, never both. See also, Chapter VII, note 7.

5. This column locates each piece in Anglés' edition, MME, XVII, (1956). T34 was not used as a source by Anglés.

6. The two Tone 8 magnificats are not reported in Stevenson's inventory, TMPC, p.100.

7. A Mostrata te esse a 3 by Morales is extant in the manuscript Guad M (1), ff.81-83, a manuscript which shares a number of concordances with T6, T12, T16, T24 T25 and T27. See Crawford, "Two choirbooks of Renaissance Polyphony at the Monasterio de nuestra Señora of Guadalupe", pp. 153-154.

8. The inscription reads: "En este dia por seyse alonso bravo año de myll quinientos y setenta y nueve años. Alons o bravo."


10. See appendix III, document 27.

11. See Chapter V.


14. This figure suggests that the lost part of the manuscript might have originally contained approximately ten pieces.
15. Because the folios were trimmed at the top at the time of binding many of these are probably lost.


19. At this price the books are unlikely to have been manuscripts. The sum hardly seems generous when compared with i) either the 200 reales (=6,800 maravedis) which Ginés de Boluda recommended as payment for Victoria's Missarum libri duo (Rome: 1583) on September 29, 1585 (see Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional MS 14047); ii) the 30 ducats (=11,250 maravedis) which Boluda was directed to forward to Philippe Rogier for a volume of Masses in 1590 (see Paul Becquart, Musiciens Néerlandais à la Cour de Madrid: Philippe Rogier et son école (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des beaux-arts, Memoirs, XIII/7, 1967) p. 238; iii) the 200 reales signed for by Alonso Lobo and passed on to Guerrero for his Motecta liber secundus (Venice: 1589) and Canciones y villanescas espirituales (Venice: 1589) on September 3, 1594 (see SCM, p. 262), or iv) the 400 reales (=13,600 maravedis) paid to Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia for his Canticum Beatissimae Virginus (Saragossa: 1608) in 1619 (see appendix I, document 52). As for manuscripts, we know that in 1570, Bernardino de Ribera was paid no less than 200 ducats (double his annual salary as Toledan maestro de capilla), for a choirbook of his own composition which could only be T6 (see appendix III, document 29).

20. Now to be found in T34, ff. 108v-114 (third foliation) and T34, ff. 102v-108 (third foliation) respectively.


22. See Chapter VII, p. 75.

23. No copies of any of Morales' publications are to be found today in the Toledo Cathedral archive. Neither are any listed in the inventory of the Toledan music books which was completed on August 13, 1580. See following note.

CONCLUSION

The first major contribution of the present study is the transcription and edition of the complete works of Andrés de Torrentes. This *Opera Omnia* makes available to scholars and performers some sixty previously unknown works, which include examples of all the important sacred musical genres of the sixteenth century, from one of the most productive of the Spanish Renaissance polyphonists.

The second major contribution is the biography of Torrentes which is based upon newly-discovered documents, many of which are transcribed and presented in Appendix I. In addition, it throws new light upon the activities of the sixteenth-century maestro de capilla and the musical life of one of the most active musical centres of Renaissance Spain.

The final contribution is the study of the manuscript sources of Torrentes' music. As a major repository of the works of Josquin, Morales, Torrentes and over sixty other peninsular, Franco-Flemish and Italian composers, the manuscript choirbooks of Toledo Cathedral must be classified among the most important extant sources of Renaissance music in Spain. For Stevenson, whose research brought the number of Josquin Masses preserved in the Toledo manuscripts to eleven, "the Toledo choirbooks also rank highest among surviving Spanish manuscript sources for Josquin's motets".¹ And in 1957, Lenaerts observed that "among seven Spanish archives still holding Netherlandish musical treasure, the Toledo Cathedral chapter library takes first rank".²
In addition to "Netherlandish musical treasure", the choirbooks also preserve the works, often in unique readings, of such Spanish masters as Ginés de Boluda, Rodrigo de Ceballos, Pedro de Escobar, Bartolomé de Escobedo, Francisco Guerrero, Pedro Guerrero, Alonso Lobo, Cristóbal de Morales, Juan Navarro, Pedro de Pastrana, Francisco de Peñalosa, Bartolomé de Quevedo, Bernardino de Ribera, Jorge de Sancta María, Andrés de Torrentes and Tomás Luis de Victoria. Clearly the importance of this manuscript collection to the knowledge of Spanish Renaissance polyphony can hardly be overestimated.

By concentrating upon the sources of the music of Andrés de Torrentes, who himself was involved in the production of at least four of the Toledan choirbooks, and through the thorough application of the techniques of manuscript studies and archival research, the present study has identified those seven (originally eight) choirbooks as part of a more extensive complex of manuscripts which were copied at Toledo Cathedral in the mid-sixteenth century.

In addition, the major scribe and illuminator of this complex have been identified, the process of the compilation of the choirbooks has been traced, previously undated manuscripts have been dated, hitherto unidentified works have been attributed, and information concerning the contents and composition of sections of manuscripts which are no longer extant has been brought to light. Moreover, a large number of previously unknown archival documents which record in minute detail the activities of the Toledo Cathedral scriptorium have been transcribed and presented. The way is now open for a detailed examination of the remaining manuscript choirbooks of Toledo Cathedral.
NOTES TO CONCLUSION
