

MUSICO-LITURGICAL SOURCES IN TOLEDO CATHEDRAL'S
INVENTARIO CISNEROS (1503) IN CONTEXT:
AN ANNOTATED TRANSCRIPTION*

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*In memoriam Ramón González Ruiz (1928-2019)
and Carmelo Sánchez Sánchez (1938-2020)*

The archive of Toledo Cathedral preserves a large and varied collection of inventories that list musico-liturgical sources copied at the cathedral for its own use or acquired, in a variety of ways, from sources beyond its walls. Compiled over the centuries, these inventories range from indexes made by and for the cathedral's own musicians to more widely focused lists of the cathedral's treasures that inevitably, though incidentally, include items of musical interest. With a few exceptions, scholarship concerned with the rich musical and cultural life of the Spanish primatial cathedral has ignored the large corpus of inventories preserved in the cathedral archive and they thus remain, to a large extent, unstudied.¹ The

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one group of inventories that has been the subject of sustained interrogation is the group made up of the book inventories from the Middle Ages, some of which list items of considerable musico-liturgical interest, and most of which have been studied in depth by Ramón González.²

Few categories of archival sources are as irresistible to the scholar of early modern material culture as are inventories. Yet despite their astonishing variety, we can be sure of one thing: they were never compiled to offer ready answers to the research questions of modern scholarship. Inventories are lists, but they are rarely *only* lists. They are descriptive, and the organizing principles employed in their descriptions tell us something about the people who made the inventories and the institutions for whom they were made. At Toledo Cathedral, the people who made the inventories belonged to interlocking networks at the very highest echelons of Spanish ecclesiastical and political life. The inventories they made, like all early modern inventories, were inevitably contingent. While the making of an inventory may be triggered by the regulatory framework of an institution,

¹ See, for example, Luis Pérez de Guzmán, “Un inventario del siglo xiv de la Catedral de Toledo (La Biblia de San Luis)”, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 89 (1926): 373-419; Emilio García Rodríguez, *Las joyas del Cardenal Mendoza y el tesoro de la Catedral de Toledo* (Toledo: Excelentísima Diputación Provincial de Toledo, 1944); Ramón González Ruiz, *Hombres y libros de Toledo (1086-1300)* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 1997); Carlos Martínez Gil, “El legado musical de Pedro de Ardanaz y Miguel de Ambiela. Dos inventarios con papeles de música en latín de la catedral de Toledo (1713 y 1737)”, *Anuario Musical* 73 (2018): 135-52; Michael Noone, “Printed Polyphony acquired by Toledo Cathedral, 1532-1669”, in *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World*, Iain Fenlon & Tess Knighton (eds.). (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2006), 241-74; and Ignacio José García Zapata, “La importancia de los inventarios en el estudio de la platería catedralicia: los inventarios del Sagrario, de 1588 y 1619, de la Santa Iglesia Catedral Primada de Toledo. Oro, plata y piedras preciosas”, in *El Greco en su IV Centenario – patrimonio hispánico y diálogo intercultural*, María Esther Almarcha Núñez-Herrador, Palma Martínez-Burgos García & María Elena Sainz Magaña (eds.). (Toledo: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2016), 1025-39. Transcriptions of a small number of extracts relevant to music from Toledo Cathedral inventories have been published in Ramón Perales de la Cal, *Papeles Barbieri* (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, 1985) and Emilio Casares, ed., *Francisco Asenjo Barbieri. Biografías y documentos sobre música y músicos españoles (Legado Barbieri)* (Madrid: Fundación Banco Exterior, 1986).

² See Ramón González Ruiz, “El arte del libro en el Renacimiento: el Libro de los Prefacios” in *V Simposio Toledo Renacentista, Toledo 24-26 de abril 1975* (Toledo: Centro Universitario de Toledo, 1980), 3:57-110; Ramón González Ruiz, *Hombres y libros de Toledo*; Ramón González Ruiz, “Evolución histórica de la Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo”, *Coleccionismo y Bibliotecas (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, El Libro Antiguo Español, IV, María Luisa López-Vidriero & Pedro M. Cátedra (dirs.). (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1998), 235-56; and Ramón González Ruiz, “Las artes del libro” in *La Catedral Primada de Toledo: Dieciocho siglos de historia*, Ramón González Ruiz, ed. ([Burgos]: Pro-mecal, 2010), 410-23. Ramón González, the cathedral’s most distinguished book historian, served the cathedral archive for almost three decades, first as assistant archivist (1974-1976) and then as archivist (1976-2003). *Hombres y libros de Toledo* remains the single most important study of the subject.

the precise way in which the inventory is made will, however, depend on many variables ranging from individual agency to a broader cultural context.

The subject of this chapter, the *Inventario del Sagrario* of 1503 (hereinafter *Inventario Cisneros*), belongs to a class of inventories whose origins are deeply rooted in the cathedral's foundation statutes. Although it lists items of great interest to historians of the cathedral's music and liturgy, the inventory was neither compiled by nor accessible to the cathedral's musicians. The inventories of the *sagrario* are a product of the management and maintenance of the cathedral's considerable wealth – wealth that, in the first instance, derives from the huge tracts of land under the archdiocese's dominion. The 1503 inventory can, however, give a snapshot of the music books kept in the *sagrario* in Cisneros's time.

Although Cisneros did not live to see it, a papal bull dated 21 July 1518 revoked Charles V's threatened division of the archdiocese of Toledo's vast territories into three parts, clearing the last obstacle to its retention of an extensive and enduring geographical reach.³ At the end of the fifteenth century, the archdiocese embraced Old Castile, much of New Castile, and the northern part of Andalusia. Income from these territories ensured an immense concentration of wealth in the cathedral, making it the principal economic engine of the city and its hinterland. The ways in which this wealth was harnessed in the cathedral's self-fashioning narratives were often subtle, nuanced and sophisticated. Sometimes, though, it was enough to evoke awe in the beholder. The German traveller Hieronymus Münzer, for instance, described the cathedral as the richest in Spain. In the course of his visit in the winter of 1495 he exclaimed that the cathedral was “fabulosamente rica” before quoting a popular saying that placed Toledo first among Spanish cathedrals for its riches.⁴ In 1549, Cardinal Juan Martínez Silíceo (1545–57) declared: “It is a well-known and verified fact that the Cathedral of Toledo is the most illustrious, the richest, the most splendid, the best staffed, and the most completely staffed, of any in all the Spanish dominions. Except for St. Peter's in Rome, in fact, there is no cathedral in Christendom to surpass it.”⁵ A graphic representation of the annu-

³ See Juan Pedro Sánchez Gamero, “Geografía diocesana de Toledo en tiempos del Cardenal Ximénez de Cisneros”, in *Cisneros 1517-2017. Arquetipo de virtudes Espejo de prelados*, catálogo de la exposición (Toledo: Cabildo Primado Catedral de Toledo, 2017): 99–111.

⁴ “Toledo en riqueza, Sevilla en grandeza, Santiago en fortaleza, y León en sutileza.” See Jerónimo Münzer, *Viaje por España y Portugal en los años 1494 y 1495. Versión del latín [por] Jerónimo Münzer. Noticia preliminar y notas por Julio Puyol* (Madrid: Tip. de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1924), 156–57.

⁵ Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), 29.

al income of most of Spain's 46 odd cathedrals based on the seventeenth-century travel writings of François Bertaut (1621-1701) reveals Toledo Cathedral, with an approximate annual income of some 300,000 ducados, eclipsing its nearest rival the cathedral of Seville, with only 90,000 *ducados*, by a significant margin.⁶

At the end of his *Summi Templi Toletani per quam graphica descriptio* (1549), the cathedral canon Blas Ortiz enumerates the clergy and officials employed by the cathedral for the information of Prince Philip, heir to the throne. Significantly for our present purposes, he mentions at the head of his long list the *visitadores*, two of whom were responsible for supervising the compilation of inventories.⁷ Ortiz's exhaustive tally then offers a verse that begins: "Our church retains some six hundred officials and ministers, listen if you wish to know their names".⁸ Little wonder, then, that Münzer ends his account of his visit to Toledo by expressing astonishment at the sheer number of clerics in the city.⁹

The financial management of such an enterprise – easily analogous to that of a medium sized company in our own century – required a highly disciplined and carefully regulated system of book-keeping. Until very recently, the cathedral's accounting system was poorly understood. The pioneering research of Susana Villaluenga, however, has demystified the precise mechanisms of a complex system that ensured a high level of accountability throughout the cathedral's financial operations.¹⁰ Villaluenga reveals the inventory as an indispensable instrument in the foundational underpinning of financial and accounting probity, especially, but by no means exclusively, in ecclesiastical contexts. Its praxis was consolidated in the thirteenth-century *Siete Partidas* and its theoretical framework was elaborated as

⁶ Álvaro Torrente, "Música de plata en un siglo de oro", in *La Música en el siglo XVII*, Historia de la música en España e Hispanoamérica, 3, Álvaro Torrente (ed.). (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica de España, 2016), 29-83 [50]. See Juan Ruiz Jiménez's essay in this volume.

⁷ "Entre los quales tienen el primer lugar dos visitadores de los beneficiados de la yglesia porque están diputados para reformar y componer las costumbres; o porque especialmente está a su cargo el confesar y cuidar de las almas de los enfermos. Ay también otros dos, a quien toca la obligación de visitar cada año el sagrario." See Ramón González Ruiz & Felipe Pereda, *La Catedral de Toledo 1549 según el Dr. Blas Ortiz* (Madrid: Antonio Pareja, 1999), 280.

⁸ "Seiscientos oficiales, y ministros / Contiene nuestra yglesia. Si saberlos / Quieres, escucha, que estos son sus nombres" (González & Pereda, *La Catedral de Toledo*, 280).

⁹ "La gente de Toledo es por extremo cortesana, y hay en la ciudad tal número de clérigos, que causa asombro, en verdad..." (Münzer, *Viaje por España y Portugal*, 160).

¹⁰ See Susana Villaluenga de Gracia, *Administración y gestión contable de un patrimonio eclesiástico en el siglo XVI: el cabildo catedralicio de Toledo* (Castellón: Sar Alejandria Ediciones, 2018), esp. 87-114.

the discipline of accountancy became more sophisticated and systematic.¹¹ In the highly bureaucratized environment of early modern Spain, the inventory became an essential tool in the increasingly complex task of controlling the management, custody, and exchange of assets. At Toledo Cathedral, the practice of making inventories became more tightly prescribed in such regulatory instruments as statutes and constitutions. As a general rule, inventories were to be compiled by the treasurer (*tesorero*) whenever that office passed from one holder of the office to another, and inventories were to be conducted under the oversight of two *visitadores*, elected and paid for this specific task, when a new archbishop was elected. In practice, however, it seems that inventories of the *sagrario* were made less frequently. It also seems that on more than one occasion an easy expedient was adopted, and an old inventory would be hastily annotated and updated in preference to the more onerous task of compiling a new inventory from scratch. The nature of the document with which the scholar is faced, then, is one of some complexity.¹²

As both symbol and space, the *sagrario* was intimately bound up with the cathedral's moveable assets, its corporate identity and the legitimacy of its claim to the status of primacy in Spain, second only to the Vatican in the universal church. In his dictionary of 1599, Minsheu defines *sagrario* as "a sanctuarie, a hallowed place", while Covarrubias tells us that the *sagrario* was the site within the sacristy reserved for the safekeeping of relics.¹³ It also housed the chest with two keys (*arca con dos llaves*) containing the cash that was regularly distributed to the cathedral's canons, prebendaries (*racioneros*) and chaplains.¹⁴ From at least 1192, the *sagrario* was placed under the authority of the treasurer whose responsibility was the secure custody of the keys to the cathedral, the *sagrario* and the

¹¹ Samuel Parsons Scott, trans. & Robert I. Burns, S. J., ed., *Las Siete Partidas, Volume 3: The Medieval World of Law: Lawyers and Their Work (Partida III)* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 692-758: "Title XVIII: Documentary Evidence".

¹² When considering the inventories of the *sagrario*, Ramón González offers words of caution that no serious engagement with these sources can afford to ignore: "Esta praxis administrativa da lugar a que los inventarios presenten una tipología documental característica y sumamente compleja, en cuyo estudio crítico hay que poner los cinco sentidos —y aún me quedo corto—, para no cometer errores de bulto" (González, "Evolución histórica de la Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo", 235-56 [248]).

¹³ John Minsheu, *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English (London 1599)* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2000), 215. Facsimile edition with a preliminary study by Gloria Guerrero Ramos & Fernando Pérez Lagos; and Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española. Edición Integral e Ilustrada de Ignacio Arellano y Rafael Zafra* (Madrid: Vervuert, 2006), 1421: "Sacristía, el lugar donde se guardan los ornamentos y plata de la iglesia, dentro de la qual suele estar la peça que llaman sagrario, donde se guardan las reliquias, *latine sacrarium, sacrarii...*".

¹⁴ This chest itself is, together with many others, listed in the *Inventario Cisneros*, ff. 135r-135v.

treasures contained therein. Access to the *sagrario* was permitted only to a select few, under strict rules and supervision, and only with three keys: one held by the archbishop, another by the chapter, and a third by the treasurer or one of his assistants.¹⁵ One of those granted access was Münzer whose tour of the *sagrario* was guided by Alfonso Ortiz († 1507), cathedral canon, poet and jurisconsult.¹⁶ Münzer was suitably impressed, comparing the *sagrario* to the Sistine Chapel in Rome. While Münzer's description is less detailed than we might wish, it is certainly detailed enough to be mapped onto the itinerary apparently followed by the compilers of the *Inventario Cisneros*.¹⁷ Blas Ortiz offers a more detailed, though later (1549), description of the *sagrario*. He describes it as a labyrinth, access to which was designed to be difficult and that required nothing less than Ariadne's thread for successful orientation.¹⁸ Although Blas Ortiz gives a precise location for the liturgical books that are our concern here, there is no guarantee that they occupied the same place in 1549 that they did when, 50 years earlier, the *Inventario Cisneros* was compiled.¹⁹

The *Inventario Cisneros* as it comes down to us today comprises 223 pages plus an additional eight unbound pages.²⁰ We know from a book-keeping entry

¹⁵ “Está religiosamente cerrado con dos puertas: una de madera y otra con rejas de hierro, con tres llaves; de las quales la una guarda, por constitución de la yglesia el arzobispo; la otra el cavildo; y la tercera el thesorero, o sus thenientes; porque no se permite a ninguno entrar en el atrio o rexistrar su magestad y opulencia, sin que baya acompañado de copia de próceres de la Yglesia” (González & Pereda, *La Catedral de Toledo*, 196).

¹⁶ See María José Lop Otín, *El Cabildo Catedralicio de Toledo en el siglo XV: aspectos institucionales y sociológicos* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 2003), 447.

¹⁷ Münzer, *Viaje por España y Portugal*, 153-57.

¹⁸ “Sacrum deinde aerarium quis non admirabitur? Magnificum opus, immortalique memoria dignum, quae, obsecro, tam irremeabilis labyrinthus non perterre faciet? Aut quis rerum, quae in hoc sacrario continentur, varietatem absque Ariadnes (quod aiunt) filo audeat adoriri? Cui explicandae non Ciceronis exuberantissima eloquentiae, non Demosthenis facundia sufficeret [*sic*].” (González & Pereda, *La Catedral de Toledo*, 194).

¹⁹ “Continuo ad sinistram archivum duabus seris munitum, in quo omnia chirographa, privilegia, ac monumenta ecclesiae, suis scriniis inclusa custodiuntur. Tum occurrit aula contra dictam cisternam, servans suis pluteis ac repositoriis omnes libros cantus, quae simplicem vocant, in celebritatibus ac feriis totius anni officiis divinis deservientes” (González & Pereda, *La Catedral de Toledo*, 195).

²⁰ The volume is catalogued under the title *Inventario realizado en tiempos de fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, arzobispo de Toledo, a raíz de la visita del Sagrario de la catedral de Toledo que el cabildo ordenó realizar a los canónigos Bartolomé de Medina y Juan Álvarez, arcediano de Écija, junto con Juan García y Alonso Pérez, sacristanes del Sagrario*. It is dated 20 December 1503 and is identified by two shelfmarks: “Inventarios 25” and “OF 1326”. A small label affixed to the volume with string, probably late in the twentieth century, bears the classmark “O.F. 1326” indicating that the volume once belonged to the cathedral's Archivo de Obra y Fábrica.

of 12 December 1503 that the scribe responsible for copying it was Lope Pardo.²¹ Pardo selected a heavy paper stock and chose black and red inks for his text. He reserved his single decorated initial in red ink for the opening folio (see Fig. 7.1). Pardo preceded the inventory with an alphabetical index and began his system of black-inked foliation in Roman numerals immediately following the index. The volume is bound between wooden boards covered with untooled tan calfskin measuring approximately 415 × 280 mm. Five iron bosses and two iron clasps are affixed to both the front and back covers. The volume was probably bound by the cathedral's bookbinder Gonzalo Rodríguez, “él que tiene cargo de enquadrarnar los libros de la dicha santa yglesia”.²²



Fig. 7.1. *Inventario Cisneros*, f. 11 © Archivo de la Catedral de Toledo

²¹ Toledo Cathedral Archive (hereinafter ACT), Archivo de Obra y Fábrica (hereinafter OF) 798 (1502-3), f. 61v: “en xii d[e] diz[iembr]e d[e]l dicho año [1503] pago el dicho s[en]or R[ec]epto[r] o a lope pardo q[ue] uinientos mrs por un libro inventario q[ue] escrivio d[e] las cosas q[ue] estan en el sagrario d[e] la santa igl[esi]a. d”. A payment dated 2 March 1503 from the same document records the payment of 2 ducados (= 750 maravedís) to the *maestrescuela* for a listing of the Sagrario’s more recent acquisitions. See OF 798, f. 121v: “libro para ynvent[ari]o – en dos dias de marzo del d[ic]ho año [1503] pago el d[ic]ho s[en]or R[ec]epto[r] o al maestrescuela de Toledo dos ducados para pagar un libro de ynvent[ari]o q[ue] los señores dean e cabildo mandaro[n] hazer d[e] las cosas modernas q[ue] tenian en el d[ic]ho sagrario. dcll”.

²² Accounting documents beginning in 1503 record regular retainer payments to Rodríguez without ever specifying the nature of the individual jobs he completed. See, for example, ACT OF 798 (1502-3) f. 31v.

Occupying 21 pages, the inventory's preliminary index lists more than 120 categories of precious objects ranging from liturgical vestments to church plate. The terms used in the index are sometimes very specific and at other times frustratingly vague: "briuiu rica", for example, refers unequivocally to the non-pareil *Biblia de San Luis*, while the term "libros", in contrast, is less than precise.²³ The objects listed in the inventory share four characteristics: they are precious; they are more or less portable; they are owned by the cathedral; and they were stored in or near the *sagrario*. The inventory itself begins on f.1r, preceded by a concise paragraph that offers precise information about the inventory and its compilers.²⁴ Its confident assertion of the dean and chapter's statutory right to appoint *visitadores* belies the years of acrimonious dispute and undisguised mistrust that characterised the reforming Cisneros's relationship with the cathedral, much of which became focused on the archbishop's desire for a thorough stocktake of every aspect of the cathedral's possessions, its operations and the behaviour of its clergy.²⁵ The two canons elected and appointed as *visitadores* were Juan Álvarez de Toledo and Bartolomé de Medina; they were directed to inspect and register,

²³ Sometimes called the "Biblia Rica de Toledo". See Ramón González Ruiz & Klaus Reinhardt, *Catálogo de códices bíblicos de la catedral de Toledo* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 1990), 423-24; *Biblia de San Luis* (Barcelona: M. Moleiro, [2000-4]), 3 vols., facsimile edition, see especially vol. II: *Estudios*; John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralised*, 2 vols. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Ramón González Ruiz, "Biblia de san Luis o Biblia Rica de Toledo", in *Ysabel, la Reina Católica: una mirada desde la catedral primada* ([Toledo]: Arzobispado de Toledo, 2005), 149-53; and Ángel Fernández Collado, Alfredo Rodríguez González & Isidoro Castañeda Tordera, *Los manuscritos e impresos bíblicos de la Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo* (Toledo: Cabildo Primado, 2012), 10-11.

²⁴ *Inventario Cisneros*, f.1r: "In dei nomjne ame[n] En veynte dias del mes de disienbre anno del nascimje[n]to de n[uest]ro saluador Jh[es]uchristo de mjll e quinientos e tres annos los revere[n]dos señores el dean e cabildo desta Sancta iglesia de toledo eligiero[n] e no[n]braron por visitadores pa[ra] visitar el Sagrario desta dicha sancta Yglesia e a los venerables señores canonigos Jua[n] aluares arçediano de ecija e bartholome de medina, para q[ue] amos a dos viesen e visitasen las reliquias cruses mitras cosas de oro e plata e ornamentos e las otras Joyas e cosas q[ue] ay en el dicho sagrario e pa[ra] que fecha de la dicha visitacion feziesen trasladar e sacar en linpio por Inue[n]tario todas las cosas q[ue] ansi se fallasen en el dicho Sagrario e Los quales feziero[n] la dicha visitaçion Juntamente con Juan garçia e alo[n]so P[er]es sacristanes q[ue] a la Sazon eran del dicho sagrario. la qual dicha visitacio[n] se hizo seyendo arçob[is]po desta yglesia el r[everendisi]mo e muy magnífico señor do[n] fray fra[n]çisco ximenez de çisneros primado de las españas e lo q[ue] fallaro[n] en el dicho Sagrario son las Cosas adelante contenidas".

²⁵ See Francisco De Borja de San Román y Fernández, "Cisneros y el cabildo primado, al finalizar el año 1503", *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo* 3 (1919): 65-96; and Juan Meseguer Fernández, "Relaciones del cardenal Cisneros con su cabildo catedral", in *V Simposio Toledo Renacentista*, I-1: 25-148.

with the assistance of the sacristans Juan García and Alonso Pérez, “the relics, crosses, mitres, objects of gold and silver, and ornaments and other jewels and things in the *sagrario*”.

One of these *visitadores*, Juan Álvarez de Toledo, was a member of the prominent converso Zapata clan and, like his colleague Bartolomé de Medina, a nephew of the cathedral canon and chancellor (*maestrescuela*) D. Francisco Álvarez de Toledo y Zapata (c. 1450 – 1523).²⁶ Medina had already supervised one major inventory project and decades later would find himself at the head of another.²⁷ As treasurer to Pedro González de Mendoza, he compiled and, on 26 June 1499, signed an inventory listing the jewels and treasures that the cardinal would bequeath to the cathedral.²⁸ In 1539 Medina would find himself nominated to the commission supervising the *Inventario del Sagrario de la Catedral de Toledo ... de don Juan Pardo Tavera* (hereinafter *Inventario Tavera*).²⁹

The ordering of items in the inventory seems to have been determined by their location in the *sagrario*, and in this sense the inventory can be read as a guide to its physical layout. The *sagrario* is a place and the inventory is a list; they

²⁶ Juan Álvarez de Toledo (1478-1546) was the third son of Fernán Álvarez de Toledo Zapata (c. 1444 – 1504), secretary of the Catholic Monarchs and Señor de Cedillo, and doña Aldonza de Alcaraz. A portrait of Juan Álvarez de Toledo adorns the walls of the chapel of Santa Catalina in the Toledan church of San Salvador, founded by his father. See María del Carmen Vaquero Serrano, *El libro de los maestrescuelas. Cancelarios y patronos de la Universidad de Toledo en el siglo XVI* (Toledo: Serrano, 2006), 460, for a photograph of the portrait. The interpretation of the many archival documents relating to Juan Álvarez de Toledo is complicated by the appearance of a number of homonymous individuals, especially the step-brother of his father, whose lives and careers overlapped with his. Vaquero Serrano's heroic efforts in untangling the documentary trail remain unrivalled. In 1489, at the age of eleven and long before he was ordained, Juan Álvarez de Toledo was appointed to a cathedral canonry. By 1499 he had been elected to the cathedral dignity of Archdeacon of Écija and in 1530 he was raised to the dignity of *maestrescuela*. See Lop, *El Cabildo Catedralicio de Toledo en el siglo XVI*, 444; María del Carmen Vaquero Serrano, *Fernán Álvarez de Toledo, Secretario de los Reyes Católicos: genealogía de la toledana familia Zapata* (Toledo: Serrano, 2005), 347-48, 387-91, and Vaquero, *El libro de los maestrescuelas*, 127-39.

²⁷ Bartolomé de Medina was a nephew of the cathedral canon and *maestrescuela* D. Francisco Álvarez de Toledo y Zapata (c. 1450 – 1523). (Francisco Álvarez was the brother of Fernán Álvarez de Toledo Zapata.) Medina was appointed to a cathedral canonry in 1491 and in 1520 he was appointed to a committee charged with commissioning the renowned goldsmith Enrique Arfe (1475-1545) with the fashioning of what became one of the cathedral's most celebrated possessions: the monstrance that to this day is ceremoniously carried through the narrow streets of Toledo in the annual procession for Corpus Christi. See Vaquero Serrano, *Fernán Álvarez de Toledo*, 347; Vaquero Serrano, *El libro de los maestrescuelas*, 127-39; and González & Pereda, *La Catedral de Toledo*, 47-8.

²⁸ García Rodríguez, *Las joyas del Cardenal Mendoza*.

²⁹ ACT, Secretaría Capitular I, 26. *Olim* BCT 27-30: “Inventario del Sagrario de la Catedral de Toledo realizado por mandato de don Juan Pardo Tavera...”

are mutually enhancing in the sense that they can be read together, the one illuminating the other. Rather than imposing order upon the objects that they found in the *sagrario*, the compilers of the inventory seem to have allowed the order in which objects are placed to determine the ordering of items in the inventory. Nevertheless, the extent to which the ordering of items in the *Inventario Cisneros* was influenced by the ordering of items in any of the previous inventories of the *sagrario* is a question that remains unexplored.³⁰

In their indexing of both music and liturgical books, the compilers of the inventory appear to have adopted four descriptive criteria: *a*) a book's physical attributes; *b*) its content; *c*) its use; and *d*) its location, in the case of books that were not stored in or near the sacristy or *sagrario*. Typically, the physical attributes will include the classification of a book's size, with terms such as "large" (*grande*), "small" (*pequeño* or even *librito chiquito*), "thick" (*grueso*) and the more precise "marca mayor", a term used by paper merchants and printers. In addition, the following characteristics are recorded when present: musical notation, large elaborately historiated initial letters, especially at the beginnings of books, illuminated coats of arms, and such binding materials as clasps, bosses and chains. The support material is less frequently mentioned, presumably because the majority of the books were copied onto vellum. As for content, the liturgical category into which a book would fall was often recorded. This would include whether the book fell into the sanctoral or the dominical cycle and whether it was for the mass, the office, or some other liturgical occasion. Frequently, textual incipits of the chants with which the book opens or closes would be noted. Comments about a book's age seem to be bound up with its utility. Some books are described as "new" (*nuevo*), while others are described as "old" (*viejo*) or "very old" (*antiguo*).³¹ For those books that had them, nicknames were given.³² And sometimes, we are informed about the ways in which the books were used: in

³⁰ Approximately 15 inventories of the *sagrario*, the earliest of which is dated c. 1257, are preserved in the cathedral archive. See Ángel Fernández Collado, *Guía del Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares de la Catedral de Toledo* (Toledo: Cabildo Primado, 2007), 64-66.

³¹ At the conclusion of his study of Sancho Martínez's 1281 inventory of the Biblioteca Capitular, González notes that this inventory makes a clear distinction between books that are described as "antiguo" and books that are described as "viejo". González shows that the former term was used for books that were regarded as obsolete whereas the latter indicated a book that may still be in use but which had suffered some deterioration. The former was to be stored away, whereas the latter would be ear-marked for eventual restoration or substitution. See González, *Hombres y libros de Toledo*, 703-76, especially at 752.

³² For example, "los Aguiluchos" and "La preciosa".

processions outside the cathedral (*para las procesiones que se fazen de fuera de la iglesia*), for the instruction of the boys (*en que aprenden los clerizones*), or at the choir lectern (*para los facistores del coro*). In the case of books that were not stored in the *sagrario*, the compilers note, in one case, that the book was attached with a chain to the eagle lectern (*asido con una cadena al aguila*) and, in another, that the book was in the custody of the *claustrero*. In the single case of a book having been donated, the name of the donor is duly recorded (*que dio Bernardino de Alcaraz canonigo*). And sets of books, especially the matching pairs that were used for each side of the choir, are frequently listed in a single entry.

Once completed, the *Inventario Cisneros* enjoyed a full life. It was a living document to which corrections, additions, and amendments were freely made by a number of unidentified and undated hands (see, for example, Fig. 7.2). It seems clear from some markings – “ojo” for example, and the oblique lines that functioned in the left margin as check marks and, when drawn through an entire entry, indicated the absence of an item – that the inventory was used as a template for subsequent inventories. Indeed, the tables below, offering transcriptions of the entries for the same items from a number of inventories, reveal the heavy reliance of some inventories on their predecessors.

In the discussion that follows, diplomatic transcriptions of all entries from the *Inventario Cisneros* that are relevant to music and musico-liturgical practices are given in their original order and are presented in a series of tables. In those cases in which the *Inventario Tavera* (1539) and/or the *Inventario Quiroga* (1580) list/s a corresponding item, a transcription of that item is given alongside the entry from the *Inventario Cisneros*.³³ The item number given to each entry within square brackets refers in order to the inventory from which it is taken, the relevant folio in that inventory, and then to the sequence in which it appears on that folio.

³³ In framing his Constitutions, Juan Pardo Tavera (archbishop from 1534-45) devoted the following paragraph to the preparation and compilation of the 1539 inventory: “Iten por quanto nos auemos comenzado a requerir y enmendar el libro d[e] ynventario de las cosas del sagrario q[ue]remos que se acabe, y el libro se haga de nueuo de buena letra y se ponga todo por su orden, y siempre que se compraren Joyas de oro o plata o piedras o perlas o otros hornamentos se pongan y asienten en el dicho libro, de mas de escreuirse en el libro de la fabrica como se suele hazer, para que aya muy buena cuenta, y para que en ello aya la guarda qual conuiene, mandamos a los sacristanes que duerman en el sagrario so pena de vna semana irremisible, y porque no tengan achaque que dizie[n]do que por falta de aposento no duerme[n] en el, encargamos al obrero que les haga reparar el aposento que hasta aqui han tenido de manera que puedan en el [h]abitar y dormir sin perjuizio de la salud de sus personas” (*Constituciones del Sr. D. Juan Tavera [1539]*, article 35, ACT 9).

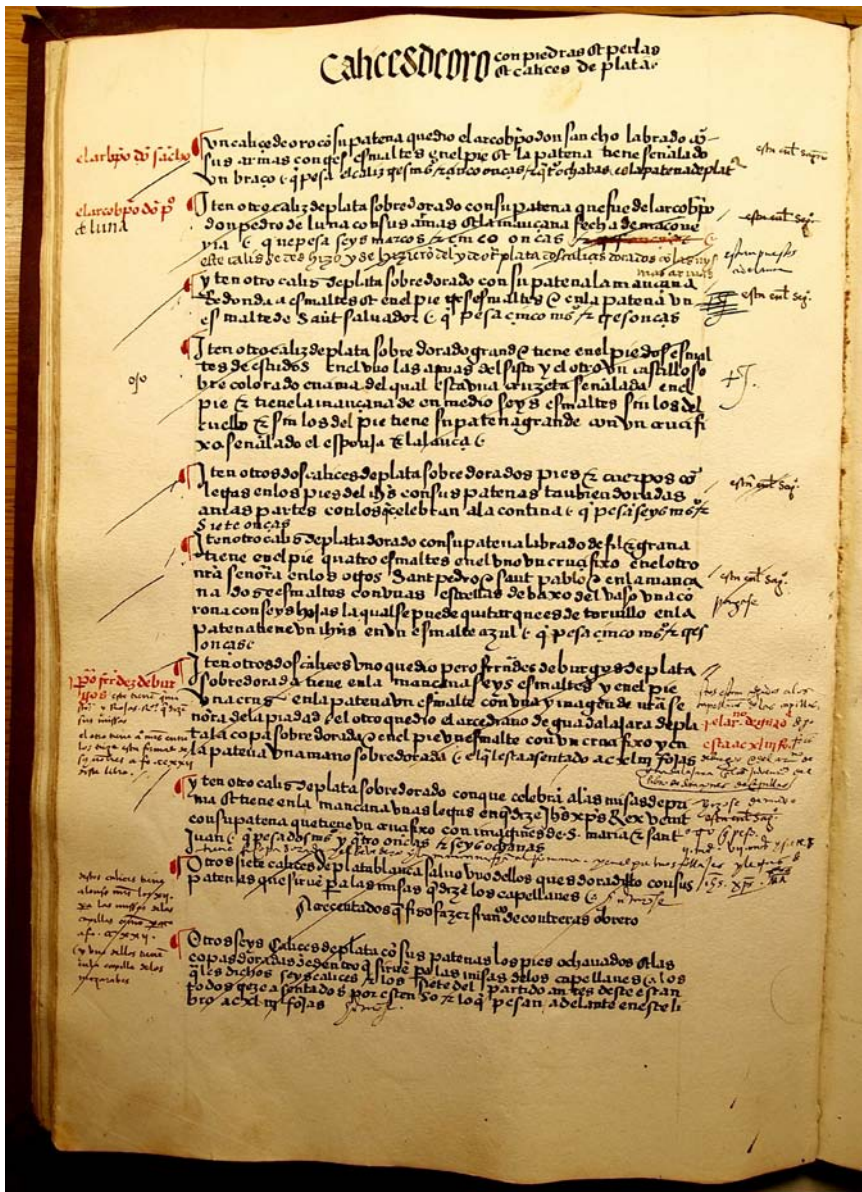


Fig. 7.2. Inventario Cisneros, f. 13v © Archivo de la Catedral de Toledo

Table 7.1. *Inventario Cisneros*: four passionaries³⁴

| <i>Inventario Cisneros</i> (1503) [f.]cix ¶ misales eva[n]gelisteros e ep[isto]le[ri]os | <i>Inventario Tavera</i> (1539) [f.]clxxxix MISALES E OTROS libros. [f.]cxc [recto] | <i>Inventario Quiroga</i> (1580) [f.]141r Missales breuiarios y otros libros |
|--|---|--|
| [1503/f.109r/5] ¶ Iten otro libro grande en q[ue] estan puntadas las pasiones con sus letras grandes de oro e tambie[n] la bendiçion del çirio pascual e lamentaçiones e evangelios de navjdad e epifanja. | [1539/f.190r/4] ¶ yten otro libro grande en que estan puntadas las pasiones con sus letras grandes de oro estan ansy mesmo la bendiçion del çirio e lamentaçiones e los evangelios de la nauidad Epiphania todo puntado. | [1580/f.141r/21] ¶ yten, otro libro grande en que estan puntadas las passiones con sus letras grandes de oro. estan assimismo la bendicion del çirio y lamentaçiones y los evangelios de la nauidad y epiphania todo puntado, Mostro este libro y esta enquadrado en tablas. Con cubiertas de terçiope- lo negro con 10 ombligos de plata |
| [1503/f.109r/6] ¶ Iten otro libro mas peq[ue]ño de puntado tambie[n] de pasiones e tiene la bendiçio[n] del çirio e los evangelios puntados | [1539/f.190r/5] ¶ yten otro libro mas pequeño a donde estan tambie[n] puntados las pasiones e la vendiçion del çirio e la vendiçion de nauidad e de los Reyes estan todos estos dos libros guarnesçidos de terçiope- lo negro con cada diez vol- lones de plata tienen pren- dederos de plata donde se asien las manezuelas que les faltan | [1580/f.141r/22] ¶ yten, otro libro mas pe- queño adonde estan tam- bien puntadas las passiones y la bendicion del çirio y la bendicion de Nauidad y de los Reyes esta enquader- nado y guarnesçido como el de arriba |

³⁴ The principle guiding the transcription of the documents in this and all other tables is the provision of a diplomatic transcription that preserves original orthography, spelling, and punctuation. Abbreviations are realized within square brackets. All transcriptions from the *Inventario Quiroga*, of which there are three extant copies, are taken from the copy with the shelfmark 'Inventarios, 29 (ACT, V.2.B.2.5.)

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| <p>¶ Raecentados q[ue] hizo fazer fran[cis]co de co[n]treras obrero</p> <p>[1503/f.109r/12]</p> <p>¶ Dos libros en dos volúmenes de canto q[ue] tiene[n] las pasiones e lame[n]taçiones e liber generationis e el de la epifanja de maytines e la bendiçion del cirio pascual ficos con letras de oro cubiertos de terçiopelo negro co[n] sus cerraduras de plata e diez clausos de plata cada uno.</p> | <p>[1539/f.190r/6]</p> <p>¶ yten otros dos libros que hizo hazer françisco de contreras obrero desta sancta yglesia en que estan puntadas las pasiones e lamentaçiones e los eua[n]gelios de nauidad e de los Reyes e la vendiçion del çirio tienen estos sus cubiertas de terçio-pelo negro e con cada diez bollones e sus manezuelas de plata saluo vno que le falta vna manezuela estos y los de arriba tienen sus letras grandes ylluminadas de oro.</p> | <p>[1580/f.141r/23]</p> <p>¶ yten, otros dos libros que hizo hazer fran[cis]co de contreras obrero desta sancta iglesia. en que estan puntadas las passiones y lamentaçiones y los evangelios de Nauidad y de los Reyes y la bendicion del cirio. tienen estos sus cubiertas de terçiopelo negro y con cada diez bollones y sus manezuelas de plata saluo uno. [f.141v] que le falta una manezuela, estos y los de arriba. tienen sus letras ylluminadas grandes de oro. Mostro uno sin manezuelas y el otro dixo que no le ha visto.</p> |
|---|--|---|

Table 7.1 gives three entries from the *Inventario Cisneros* that, as a group, list four passionaries containing the lamentations for Holy Week, the blessing of the paschal candle and the Exultet for Holy Saturday, the genealogy gospels of Christmas and Epiphany and the passions of each of the four evangelists. The contents of three extant codices match this description: *E-Tc* mss. Reservado 6,³⁵ Reservado 7,³⁶

³⁵ See José Janini & Ramón González Ruiz, *Catálogo de los manuscritos litúrgicos de la Catedral de Toledo* (Toledo: Diputación provincial, 1977), 263-4, núm. 237; Jesús Domínguez Bordona & Juan Ainaud, *Miniatura, grabado y encuadernación*, *Ars Hispaniae*. Historia Universal del Arte Hispano, 18 (Madrid: Editorial Plus Ultra, 1962), 162, for detail of the historiated initial 'P' (Christ's entry into Jerusalem) from f. 1r reproduced as Fig. 203 and detail of historiated initial 'P' (Crucifixion) from f. 85r reproduced as Fig. 204; Lynette M. F. Bosch, *Art, Liturgy, and Legend in Renaissance Toledo: The Mendoza and the Iglesia Primada* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2000), [5] for an image of f.1r (Christ's entry into Jerusalem) as Fig. 1; Michael Noone & Graeme Skinner, "Toledo Cathedral's collection of manuscript plainsong choirbooks: a preliminary report and checklist" *Notes, Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 63 (2006): 289-328 [298].

³⁶ See Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas: Notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España* (Madrid: Blass – Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1933), II: 193 for an image of f. 36v (Gethsemane) as pl. 586, no. 1820; *Catálogo de la exposición de códices miniados españoles* (Barcelona: Unión Internacional de Editores, 1962), 67, no. 117; Janini

and Reservado 8.³⁷ Since these three manuscripts are slightly smaller (approximately 450 × 320 mm) than the largest in the cathedral's collection of choirbooks, it might be reasonable to conclude that it is the "libro grande", numbered [1503/f.109r/5] in Table 7.1, that is lost. If so, it seems likely that Ms. Res.6, much the earliest of the three to have been copied, would correspond to [1503/f.109r/6].³⁸ The remaining two, Mss. Res. 7 and Res. 8, listed together in the entry [1503/f.109r/12], were copied as a more or less identical pair, at the behest of Francisco de Contreras, apparently in order to form a set of three books which could be

& González, *Catálogo*, 264, no. 238; *Piedras vivas: la Catedral de Toledo. 1492. Mendoza y Cisneros, dos legados artístico y cultural* (Toledo: Cabildo Catedral Primada, 1992), 158-59, no. 68, for a brief description of Ms. Res. 7; 165 for a detail of f. 36v (Gethsemane) in colour; 167 for an image of f. 1v (Christ's entry into Jerusalem) in colour captioned "Pasionario de Semana Santa"; González Ruiz & Pereda, *La Catedral de Toledo 1549 según el Dr. Blas Ortiz*, 59, for an image of 98v (Crucifixion) in colour incorrectly captioned as "Ms. Res. 8"; Bosch, *Art, Liturgy*, between 116-17 for an image of f.98v (Crucifixion) as colour pl. I, and an image of f. 67v (Christ at the column) as colour pl. IX; [118] for an image of f. 1v (Christ's entry into Jerusalem) as Fig. 46 and [184] for an image of f. 36v (Gethsemane) as Fig. 107; Noone & Skinner, "Toledo Cathedral's Plainsong Choirbooks", 298; Fernando Llamazares Rodríguez, "Mecenazgo artístico del Cardenal Mendoza en Toledo", in *Los Mendoza y el mundo renacentista. Actas del I Jornadas Internacionales de Documentación Nobiliaria e Investigación en Archivos y Bibliotecas*, Antonio Casado, Francisco Javier Escudero & Fernando Llamazares (coords.). (Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2012), 133-59 [147-48]; *Cisneros 1517-2017. Arquetipo de virtudes*, 297 for an image of f. 67v (Christ at the column) in colour.

³⁷ See Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Exposición de códices miniados españoles. Catálogo* (Madrid: [Casa Miquel-Rius], 1929), pl. 76 for an image of f. 39r (Christ and Judas) captioned "Pasionario de Mendoza. Siglo xv"; Domínguez, *Manuscritos con pinturas*, II, 193 for an image of f. 68r (Veil of Veronica) as pl. 585, no. 1819; Domínguez & Ainaud, "Miniatura", 204 for an image of f. 3v (Christ's entry into Jerusalem) as Fig. 261 where it is captioned "portada de la pasión según San Mateo"; *Catálogo de la exposición*, 67, no. 118; Janini & González, *Catálogo*, 264-5, no. 239; *Piedras vivas*, 158-59, no. 68 for a brief description of Ms. Res. 8, 164 for an image of f. 39r (Christ and Judas) in colour, 165 for a detail of f. 68r (Veil of Veronica) in colour; 166 for an image of 3v (Christ's entry into Jerusalem) in colour captioned "Pasionario de Semana Santa"; Joaquín Yarla Luaces, *Los Reyes Católicos – Paisaje artístico de una monarquía* (Madrid: Nerea, 1993), 255 for an image of f. 68r (Veil of Veronica) captioned "Pasionario de Mendoza, 1425"; González & Pereda, *La Catedral de Toledo*, 63 for an image of f. 68r (Veil of Veronica) captioned "Pasionario de Semana Santa"; Bosch, *Art, Liturgy*, between 116-17 for an image of f. 98r (Crucifixion) as colour pl. IV, 183 for an image of f. 3v (Christ's entry into Jerusalem) as Fig. 106, [184] for an image of f. 39r (Christ and Judas) as Fig. 108, 185 for an image of f. 68r (Veil of Veronica) as Fig. 109; Fernando Gutiérrez Baños, "Escuela toledana: Pasionarios del cardenal Mendoza (h. 1480-90)" in *Ysabel, la Reina Católica*, 294-96 for discussion and colour images of details of f. 39r (Christ and Judas) and f. 98r (Crucifixion); Noone & Skinner, "Toledo Cathedral's Plainsong Choirbooks", 298; *Cisneros: arquetipo de virtudes*, 297 for an image of f.98r (Crucifixion) in colour.

³⁸ Most scholars follow Janini & González in dating the copying of Ms. Res. 6 to nothing more precise than "Siglo xiv-xv" (Janini & González, *Catálogo*, 263, no. 237).

used, among other liturgical purposes, by the three passion deacons at masses in Holy Week.³⁹

The presence of the arms of Pedro González de Mendoza, archbishop of Toledo from 1482 to 1495, has led art historians to date the copying of Mss. Res. 7 and Res. 8 to this period. Docampo ranks the manuscripts as the most important to have been copied in Toledo during Mendoza's archiepiscopacy.⁴⁰ However attractive it might be, Bosch's repeated suggestion that the books were commissioned for use during Mendoza's formal entry, accompanied by Queen Isabel, into Toledo Cathedral during Holy Week in 1484 remains, at best, unverified.⁴¹ As both Docampo and Gutiérrez have noted, the arms of Mendoza appear to have been added as an afterthought in the opening folios of both Ms. Res. 7 (on f. iv) and Ms. Res. 8 (on f. 3v) where they are placed below the apparently complete lower margin illumination.⁴² And while the arms in other folios of Ms. Res. 7 (ff. 36v, 67v, 98v and 123r) and Ms. Res. 8 (ff. 39r, 68r, 98r and 121r) appear fully integrated into the illuminated borders, it is noteworthy that the compilers of the *Inventario Cisneros* make no mention, as they so often do in analogous cases, of the arms' presence. González has suggested that the apparently later addition of the arms of Mendoza to the first folio of Ms. Res. 7 proves that it was written and decorated prior to 1482.⁴³ He incorrectly states, however, that all of the arms in Ms. Res. 8 are fully incorporated into the surrounding decorative margins.⁴⁴ While a

³⁹ Francisco de Contreras was a cathedral prebendary (*racionero*) until 1477 when he was raised to a canonry that he occupied until his death in 1490 (Lop, *El Cabildo Catedralicio de Toledo en el siglo XV*, 450, 485, and 490). Contreras's name does not appear in Fernández's listing of canons who, in the period 1458-1584, exercised the powerful post of *obrero mayor*; see Ángel Fernández Collado, *La Catedral de Toledo en el siglo XVI: Vida, arte y personas* (Toledo: Diputación Provincial de Toledo, 1999), 32.

⁴⁰ Javier Docampo Capilla, "Los Mendoza y la miniatura: fragmentos de un pasionario en la biblioteca Lázaro Galdiano", *Goya* 269 (1999): 103-111 [105].

⁴¹ Bosch, *Art, Liturgy*, 180-81: "The Easter Sunday entry of 1484 by the queen and archbishop must have served as the impetus for the creation of two choir books for Holy Week, Res. 7 and Res. 8." As Gutiérrez points out, Bosch's designation of the passionaries as "choir books" and her dubbing their miniaturist the "Choirbook Master" obscures the distinction between passionaries, used by solo singers for specific texts during Holy Week, and choirbooks used by all members of the plainsong *schola*.

⁴² Docampo, "Los Mendoza y la miniatura", 105, and Gutiérrez, "Escuela toledana", 295.

⁴³ Ramón González Ruiz, "68. Pasionario de Semana Santa", in *Piedras vivas*, 158-59: "es una prueba de que ha sido escrito y decorado antes de 1482".

⁴⁴ Ramón González Ruiz, "69. Pasionario de Semana Santa", in *Piedras vivas*, 159: "Parece, sin embargo, que la decoración ha sido realizada un poco después, pues lleva incorporadas en las orlas las armas del cardenal Mendoza (1482-1495)".

few performance cues in Ms. Res. 8 offer evidence of use, both of the manuscripts survive in excellent condition and from at least 1929 they have appeared regularly in exhibitions.⁴⁵ As for the bindings, the three extant passionaries are now covered in black velvet with ten bosses: five on the front cover and five on the back. None of the silver clasps or other costly furnishings, however, has survived and the black velvet with which they are now covered is not original.

Table 7.2. *Inventario Cisneros*: a set of six historiated choir mass antiphoners and a volume of mass ordinaries

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| <i>Inventario Cisneros</i> (1503) [f.]cx [recto] ¶ oficerios de canto p[ar]a el coro | <i>Inventario Tavera</i> (1539) [f.]clxxxiiij [recto] Oficerios de canto para el coro. | <i>Inventario Quiroga</i> (1580) f.136r officerios de la missa d[omi]nicales |
| [1503/f.110r/1] ¶ Un cuerpo de los ofiçerios grandes puntado con sus letras gra[n]des tiene la primera q[ue] es comiença ad te leuauj e la a esta [h]istoriada con las armas del señor arçob[is]po e esta en este el ofiçio de la natiuidad. | [1539/f.184r/1] Un cuerpo de los ofiçerios grandes puntado con sus letras grandes tiene la primera que comiença Ad te leuauj e la A esta [h]ystoriada con las armas del señor arçobispo Don alonso carrillo e esta en este el ofiçio de la natiuidad. | [1580/f.136r/1] ¶ Mostro escobedo un cuerpo de libro grande enquadernado en Tablas y bezerro enuessado sin guarniçion alguna escripto en pergamino con su canto llano y letra grande que comiença de la primera dominica del aduiento que dize el introito de la missa ad te leuau animam meam y acaba con un uerso que dize aue maria gratia plena y tiene el off[ici]o hasta la dominica septuagessime exclusiue |

⁴⁵ In the catalogue of a 1929 exhibition, Ms. Res.7 is described thus: “Un pasionario, con broches blasonados, de plata cincelada y dorada, una página con miniatura grande, y en las demás, viñetas y letras miniadas: ambos fueron del cardenal Mendoza.” *El Arte en España: guía del Museo del Palacio Nacional revisada por el Dr. Manuel Gómez Moreno. Exposición internacional de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Imprenta de Eugenio Subirana, 1929), 435 (núm. 1676).

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| <p>[1503/f.110r/2] ¶ Iten otro cuerpo de ofiçerio grand[e] q[ue] comiença de la se[p]tuagesima ofiçio circu[n]dederu[n]t me.</p> | <p>[1539/f.184r/2] ¶ yten otro cuerpo de ofiçerio grande que comiença de la septuagessima offiçio Çircundederunt me.</p> | <p>[1580/f.136r/2] ¶ yten, otro cuerpo de libro grande de la misma enquadernacion letra y punto en pergamino intitulado officium d[omi]nice septuagessime que comiença con el introito que dize circundederunt me gemitus mortis y acaba con un verso beati qui custodiunt Juditium y tiene El off[ici]o hasta la feria quarta de la tercera dominica de la quaresma inclusive,</p> |
| <p>[1503/f.110r/3] ¶ Iten otro cuerpo de ofiçerio grand[e] de la quaresma e comiença salus populi.</p> | <p>[1539/f.184r/3] ¶ yten otro cuerpo de offiçerio grande de la quaresma e comiença salus populi.</p> | <p>[1580/f.136r/3] ¶ yten, otro cuerpo grande de la misma enquadernacion letra y punto en pergamino intitulado offitium ferie quinte post dominicam [tertiam] qudragessime que comiença el introito salus populi ego sum y acaba en un ofertorio que dize D[omi]ne ad adiuuandum me festina y tiene todo el officio hasta el sabbado s[anc]to inclusive.</p> |

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>[1503/f.110r/4] ¶ Iten otro cuerpo de ofiçerio q[ue] es de la Resurreçio[n] Comiença en Resurrexi la primera letra deste muy grande [h]ystoriada de la [h]istoria de la Resurreçion con las armas del dicho señor arçob[is]po.</p> | <p>[1539/f.184r/4] ¶ yten otro cuerpo de ofiçerio que es de la Resurreçion comiença en rresurrexi la primera letra deste muy grande [h]ystoriada de la [h]ystoria de la Resurreçion con las armas del dicho señor arçobispo Don alonso carrillo.</p> | <p>[1580/f.136r/4] ¶ yten, otro cuerpo grande de Tablas y beçerro envesado guarnescido con chapas de hoja de lata y diez bollones y ocho cantoneras y sus manos escripto en pergamino con letra y canto llano de letras grandes [f.136v] Intitulado officium misse a d[omi]nica resurrectionis y comiença el introito Resurrexi et ad huc tecum sum y acaba con una al[e]l[ui]a y verso exivi a patre y tiene el off[ici]o hasta la fiesta de la ascension exclusiue.</p> |
| <p>[1503/f.110r/5] ¶ Iten otro cuerpo de ofiçerio q[ue] es de la asençio[n] Comie[n]ça viri galiley tiene al prinçipio una grand[e] letra de oro [h]ystoriada con la [h]istoria de la ascensio[n].</p> | <p>[1539/f.184r/5] ¶ yten otro cuerpo de offiçerio que es de la asençion comiença viri galilei tiene al prinçipio vna letra grande de oro [h]ystoriada con la [h]ystoria de la asençion.</p> | <p>[1580/f.136v/5] ¶ yten otro libro grande de la misma enquadernaçion guarniçion letra y punto escripto en pergamino intitulado offitium misse in ascensione d[omi]ni que comiença el introito viri galilei y acaba el libro con un ofertorio que dize ascendit deus in Jubilatione y tiene todo el offiçio hasta el dia octauo de la fiesta de corpus christi,</p> |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p>[1503/f.110r/6] ¶ Iten otro Cuerpo de ofiçerio grand[e] q[ue] es dominical e comiença [margin: in D[omi]ne] In tua m[isericord]ia sp[er]auj.</p> | <p>[1539/f.184r/6] ¶ yten otro Cuerpo de offiçerio grande que es dominical e comiença Domine in tua mise[ri]cordia.</p> | <p>[1580/f.136v/6] ¶ yten, otro libro grande con la misma enquadernaçion guarniçion letra y punto escripto en pergamino intitulado offitium misse a d[omi]nica prima post penthecostem que comienca El introito d[omi]ne in tua misericordia y acaba el libro con una post comunicanda que dize qui manducat meam carnem &c y tiene El offiçio hasta la dominica 2^a et 3^a post penthecostem,</p> |
| <p>[1503/f.110r/7] ¶ Iten otro libro seruidor p[ar]a todos ofiçerios q[ue] es comiença asp[er]ges me e tiene una letra grand[e] al comienço [h]istoriada e otra tanbie[n] grande q[ue] comiença vidi aqua[m].</p> | <p>[1539/f.184r/7] ¶ yten otro libro seruidor para todos ofiçerios que comiença Asperges me e tiene vna letra grande al comienço [h]ystoriada e otra tambien grande que comiença vidi aquam.</p> | |

Table 7.2 gives seven entries from the *Inventario Cisneros* that taken together list a set of six large-format historiated choir mass antiphoners for the dominical cycle together with a seventh volume that comprised mass ordinaries.⁴⁶ On the evidence of the description of the historiated first openings of the first and fourth volumes in the *Inventario Tavera*, the set was begun, and possibly completed, during the archbishopate of Alfonso Carrillo (1446 – † 1482), allowing us to date the copying to the third quarter of the fifteenth century.⁴⁷ The contents of the six choir mass antiphoners may be summarized thus:

⁴⁶ Orthographically, the inventories indiscriminately employ either “oficeros” or “oficieros” in specifying these books, and many others. The term appears to derive from a name for the introit chant, which at Toledo before 1573, was often styled the “officium”.

⁴⁷ Noone & Skinner, “Toledo Cathedral’s Plainsong Choirbooks”, 297.

- [1503/f.110r/1]: beginning first Sunday in Advent (*Ad te levavi*)
 [1503/f.110r/2]: beginning Septuagesima Sunday (*Circumdederunt me*)
 [1503/f.110r/3]: beginning Feria 5 in third week of Lent (*Salus populi*)
 [1503/f.110r/4]: beginning Easter Sunday (*Resurrexi*)
 [1503/f.110r/5]: beginning Ascension Day (*Viri galilei*)
 [1503/f.110r/6]: beginning first Sunday after octave of Corpus Christi (*Domine in tua misericordia speravi*)
 [1503/f.110r/7]: *Asperges me, Vidi aquam* and mass ordinaries

Now lost without trace, this set of six antiphoners was last listed in the *Inventario Quiroga*. Not only have the books themselves disappeared, but no evidence has been found of the survival of folios or folio fragments used as binding materials, or otherwise preserved within or beyond the cathedral. By 1580, the volumes had almost certainly been marked up with alterations bringing them into conformity with the *Breviarium Romanum* of 1568, as adopted by the cathedral chapter in 1573.⁴⁸ Since the revisions required for the mass were much less extensive than those required for the office, it is likely that the books remained serviceable into the beginning of the seventeenth century. At that time, the set of six was gradually replaced by a set of eight, newly copied by Alonso de Morata, and which now survives as Mss. Cantorales 6.1-6.8.⁴⁹

Table 7.3. *Inventario Cisneros*: a lesser set of three pairs of choir office antiphoners (*dominicales*)

| <i>Inventario Cisneros</i> (1503) | <i>Inventario Tavera</i> (1539) |
|--|---|
| [1503/f.110r/8] ¶ Iten otros dos libros de punto dominicales p[ar]a los facistores del coro uno para el un coro e otro para el otro e comiençan entramos dominica prima In adue[n]tu d[omi]nj e la primera antifona comiença ecce nome[n] d[omi]nj. | [1539/f.184r/8] ¶ yten otros dos libros de punto dominicales para los façistores del coro vno para el vn coro e otro para el otro e comiençan entramos dominica prima yn aduentu domini e la primera antiphana (sic) comiença Eççe nomen domini: |

⁴⁸ Noone & Skinner, "Toledo Cathedral's Plainsong Choirbooks", 291-92.

⁴⁹ Noone & Skinner, "Toledo Cathedral's Plainsong Choirbooks", 297.

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>[1503/f.110r/9]</p> <p>¶ Iten otros dos cuerpos de libros de punto ansi mesmo domjnicales q[ue] se pone[n] en el coro q[ue] se sigue[n] segund el t[iem]po despues de los suso dichos q[ue] comiençan cada vno en feria quarta in Capite Jejunij e comiença in manu tua d[omi]ne om[n]es fines terre.</p> | <p>[1539/f.184v/1]</p> <p>¶ yten otros dos Cuerpos de libros de punto ansy mesmo dominicales que se ponem (sic) en el coro que se siguen segund el tiempo despues de los suso dichos que comiençan cada vno en feria quarta yn capite jejunij que comiença yn manu tua domine omnes fines terre.</p> |
| <p>[1503/f.110r/10]</p> <p>¶ Iten ansi mesmo dos cuerpos de libros desta mesma suerte p[ar]a el coro de vn thenor q[ue] comiença Chr[istu]m d[ominu]m ascendentem in c[a]elum.</p> | |

Table 7.3 gives three entries from the *Inventario Cisneros* that together list three pairs of choir office antiphoners for the temporal or Sunday cycle. Of the two such sets listed, this is probably the older, smaller, and less elaborately decorated.⁵⁰ As the inventory entry for the first volume explains, the books were read from the lecterns on each side of the choir: one book for the lectern on the archbishop's side and the other identical book for the lectern on the dean's side. By contrast, only one book was provided with proper chants for mass, and it was placed on the central eagle lectern. The first four volumes were last listed in the *Inventario Tavera*; none of the six books is extant. The contents of the three pairs of office antiphoners may be summarized thus:

[1503/f.110r/8]: *Dominicales*, first Sunday in Advent (*Ecce nomen domini*)

[1503/f.110r/9]: *Dominicales*, beginning Ash Wednesday (*In manu tua domine omnes fines terrae*)

[1503/f.110r/10]: *Dominicales*, beginning Ascension Day (*Alleluia Christum dominum ascendentem in caelum*)

⁵⁰ See Table 7.23 for the other set of choir office antiphoners (eighteen books in nine volumes).

Table 7.4. *Inventario Cisneros*: two books of polyphony

| |
|---|
| [1503/f.110r/11] ¶ Iten vn libro de canto de organo puntado en pargamjno grande de lo antiguo. |
| [1503/f.110r/12] ¶ Iten otro libro tambien de canto de organo en pargamjno [f.110v] puntado de la mesma manera del de arriba mas no[n] de tanto volume[n]. |

Table 7.4 gives two entries from the *Inventario Cisneros* documenting the presence of two books of polyphony. The scoring out of the first entry appears to have occurred at the same time as other check marks that were likely made when the *Inventario Cisneros* was used as a template for a subsequent inventory. Each volume was copied on parchment; one was older than the other, and the more recent volume was smaller than the older one. Nothing further is known of these books, their provenance, or their contents.

Table 7.5. *Inventario Cisneros*: choir office lectionaries, calendars, and noted breviaries

| <i>Inventario Cisneros</i> (1503) | <i>Inventario Tavera</i> (1539) | <i>Inventario Quiroga</i> (1580) |
|---|---|----------------------------------|
| [1503/f.110v/1] ¶ Iten otro libro sa[n]toral de le[c]tura q[ue] Comie[n]ça de la fiesta de S[an] esteua[n] ya traydo. [left margin: “estos abaxo” with lines indicating this and next item] | [1539/f.186r/8] ¶ yten otro libro leçonario sanctural que comiença desde santestevan | |
| [1503/f.110v/2] ¶ Iten otro libro sa[n]toral tal como este nuevo. | | |
| [1503/f.110v/3] ¶ Iten otro libro sa[n]toral de letura q[ue] comiença en sancta maria de agosto e tiene al comienço un q[ua]derno postizo de la fiesta de sant françisco q[ue] esta ansi mesmo traydo. | [1539/f.184v/2] ¶ yten otro libro sanctural de letura que comiença en sancta maria de agosto e tiene al comienço vn quadero postizo de la fiesta de sant françisco que esta ansi mismo traydo. | |

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| <p>[1503/f.110v/4] ¶ Iten otro libro de letura santoral q[ue] comiença en la fiesta de marcelinj e petri.</p> | <p>[1539/f.184v/10] ¶ yten otro leçionario sanc- tural que comiença desde sancti marcelini et petra</p> | |
| <p>[1503/f.110v/5] ¶ Iten otro cuerpo de libro santoral desta mesma manera viejo</p> | | |
| <p>[1503/f.110v/6] ¶ Iten otro libro de letura dominjcal que comiença in die Resurrection[is].</p> | <p>[1539/f.186r/6] ¶ yten otro leçionario dominical que comiença desde el domingo de la Resurreçion</p> | |
| <p>[1503/f.110v/7] ¶ Iten otro dominical de letura viejo q[ue] comie[n]ça d[omi]njca primam aduentu d[omi]nj e comiença nemo cum p[ro]phete.</p> | | <p>[1580/f.138r/24] ¶ yten un lectionario me- diano enquadernado en ta- blas y bezerro guarnescido en pergamino qu[e] esta intitulado D[omi]nice pri- mae aduentus usq[ue] ad septuagessimam lectiones que sirue para deçir las lec- tiones deste tiempo porque las demas del [f.138v] Año se dizen Por el breuiario por no estar acabado el lectionario Romano.</p> |
| <p>[1503/f.110v/8] ¶ Iten otro dominical tal como este nuebo.</p> | | |
| <p>[1503/f.110v/9] ¶ Iten otro libro peq[ue]ño en pergamino de letra bie[n] escrita con que dize la preçiosa que se dize calendario</p> | | |

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| [1503/f.110v/10] ¶ Iten otro libro desta mesma suerte e p[ar]a este mesmo uso q[ue] es ansy mesmo calendario. | | |
| [1503/f.110v/11] ¶ Iten dos cuerpos de breuiarios viejos el vno d[omi]nical e el otro san- tural todos puntados e el sanctoral tiene el salterio e hynos e el d[omi]nical no. | | |

Table 7.5 gives eleven entries from the *Inventario Cisneros*. They describe five office lectionaries for the sanctoral cycle and three for the dominical cycle, two choir calendars, and two noted breviaries. Both breviaries, one for the dominical cycle, and the other, including the psalter and hymns, for the sanctoral cycle, are described as “old”. None of the inventory descriptions is precise enough to allow any of the books to be correlated with any extant manuscript.

Table 7.6. *Inventario Cisneros*: two books of the seven penitential psalms

| |
|--|
| [1503/f.110v/12] ¶ Iten otro libro viejo de siete salmos. |
| [1503/f.110v/13] ¶ Iten otro libro de siete salmos nuevo q[ue] esta en el coro. |

Although neither of the two books referred to in Table 7.6 has survived, it does seem possible that one or even both of them might correspond to the one or two books containing the seven penitential psalms and whose binding is recorded in payment documents of 1428.⁵¹

⁵¹ See ACT OF 766 (1428), n. f.: “myrcoles catorce dias del dicho mes de abril del dicho anno de jUcccc° et veynte et ocho annos costaron encuadernar dos libros el uno el epistolero viejo para en que se pusieron los quatro quadernos nuevos que fizo p[er]o sanchez cantor. Et otrosy el otro libro en que estan los siete salmos que tienen [?] los moços del choro en que aprenden con lo desinado. Et los puso sus clavos e çerraduras lo qual fizo por çinquenta mrs. Et compuso cueros al este [?] epistolero sus cueros colorados e a los siete salmos sus cueros blancos, los quales encuaderno maestre

Table 7.7. *Inventario Cisneros*: an historiated choir mass antiphoner from the “águilas” set (sanctorale: feasts of the BVM)

| <i>Inventario Cisneros</i> (1503) | <i>Inventario Quiroga</i> (1580) |
|---|--|
| [1503/f.110v/14] [left margin: los otros tres ofiçerios esta[n] adelante] ¶ Iten otro libro puntado grande del ofiçio de n[uest]ra señora q[ue] comiença rorate çeli la R[es] grand[er] y lluminada [left margin: venite et accendite] tiene dentro las armas del arçob[is]po don a[lfons]o Car[r]illo. | [1580/f.137v/11] ¶ yten, otro libro officerio de la misma manera que los tres arriba intitulado officerium missarum B[eatae] M[aria]e et omnium sanctorum q[ue] comiença el introitu suscipimus deum misericordiam tuam de la purificaçion y acaba el libro con un verso que dize optimam parte[m] &c |

Table 7.7 offers a single entry from the *Inventario Cisneros*; its marginal note makes clear that the book to which it refers was originally one of a luxury set of four large-format mass antiphoners containing mass propers for major feasts. The set later came to be known as “los aguiluchos” or “las águilas” after the eagle lectern in the choir.⁵² One book from this set, Ms. Cantoral 1.3 (*olim* Res. 21), is

Arnao, librero. L. mr.” See also ACT, OF 766 (1428), n. f.: “Lunes veynte dias de dizeiembre del año de jUcccc^oxxviii^o annos encuaderno maestre arnao librero un evangelistero et un misal de la iglesia et un libro de canto de organo et unos siete salmos con dos cuadernos blancos de pergamyno que puso en el dicho libro de canto de organo por los quales le dio e pago do[n] a[lons]o m[artín]ez thesorero et obrero de la iglesia de toledo, por los encuadernar e poner sus coberturas coloradas e clavos e cerraduras por el evangelistero quarenta mrs e por el mysal otros quarenta mrs et por los otros dos a cada uno a veynte e çinco mrs e por dies e seys folios de pergamyno blanco que puso traydos en el dicho libro de canto de organo veynte e ocho mrs [...] que costaron encuadernar los dichos quatro libros con el dicho pergamino çiento et çinquenta et ocho mrs los quales mrs le pago el dicho thesorero al dicho maestro Arnao en este dicho dia. T[estigos] juan fernandez not[ari]o et ferrando gomez espartero v[ezino]s de toledo. clviij.” Other transcriptions in Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Mss. 14.021/87-89 (Papeles Barbieri) and Casares, ed., *Francisco Azenjo Barbieri. Biografias y documentos*, 47 with transcription errors. A small book containing the penitential psalms is listed below in Table 7.18.

⁵² The Moorish latten lectern is listed in the *Inventario Quiroga*, f. 143r: “Una águila de Alaton morisco que esta en el choro del altar de prima y sirue de Facistor”. The manuscript *Inventario de las Reliquias y albas del Sagrario de esta Santa Primada Iglesia... 1790* (f. 314v) refers to the books as “aguiluchos” and confirms that the set comprised four volumes: “... quatro libros Oficeros se entienden con el título de Aguiluchos; porque se ponen sobre el Águila que esta en medio del Coro”. Janini & González, *Catálogo*, 271-272, no. 249 lists the *águilas* as comprising five volumes: Mss. Res. 18 – Res. 22. One of these, Res. 20, is one of the pair of office antiphoners that appears listed in the entry [1503/f.112r/3] in Table 7.23. It was only in recent decades that this volume came to be counted as one of the *águilas*. The three “original” *águilas* are Ms. Cantoral 1.1 (*olim* Res.22),

designated “Aguilucho” in a label affixed to its front cover. That the book listed here, Ms. Cantoral 1.4 (*olim* Res. 19), was copied and decorated during the archiepiscopates of Carrillo and Mendoza is suggested by the presence of the arms of both prelates in the manuscript’s exquisite illumination.⁵³

The contents of the volume originally comprised mass ordinaries for seven feasts of the BMV in calendric order and for All Saints. The original opening folio, as noted in the 1503 inventory, contained the *officium* (introit) *Rorate caeli* for the Annunciation (25 March) within an historiated border bearing the arms of Carrillo. As the alterations to the *Inventario Cisneros* show, however, an extra section with the chants for the ceremonies and mass of the Purification (2 February) was later added at the beginning (ff. 2-21). It is not clear whether these additions were completed before or after the 1503 inventory was taken; on the basis of similarities in the format and decoration, however, earlier seems more likely, perhaps indicating that the wording of the 1503 entry was copied from an earlier inventory, and then later altered after the choirbook was actually examined.

The book is preserved today largely as it was when the alterations were made.⁵⁴ Important exceptions include a fascicle of three folios, containing the introit *Gaudeamus* for All Saints and now bound in at the beginning before the original first folio, f. 2. The fact that these three folios were copied early in 1592 by the scribe Andrés de Morata explains why the compiler of the *Inventario Quiroga* identified the volume not by what is now the book’s opening chant, *Gaudeamus*, but by the *Suscipimus Deus* on ff. 5v-6r, Morata perhaps having removed the opening fascicle with its *Venite et accendite* in order for the post-1568 alterations

listed as [1503/f.111v/10] in Table 7.20 below, Ms. Cantoral 1.2 (*olim* Res.18), listed as [1503/f.111v/11] in Table 7.21 below, and Ms. Cantoral 1.3 (*olim* Res.21), listed as [1503/f.111v/12] in Table 7.22 below. See also Alfredo Rodríguez González, “64/65. Cantorales de las Águilas”, in *Cisneros: arquetipo de virtudes*, 303.

⁵³ Especially remarkable, as noted in Gutiérrez (“Los cantorales”, 240) is the appearance on f.22r of the arms of both Mendoza and Carrillo. In the latter case, it is the arms of the Carrillo de Acuña branch of his family that are represented. Before reconfiguration, what is now f. 22r was the first folio of the manuscript. There is a piquant irony in the juxtaposition of their arms here given the opposing political and personal postures that saw their most extreme expression in Mendoza and Carrillo twice leading armed bands against one another: first in Olmeda (1467) and later in Toro (1476). See José Manuel Nieto Soria, “Dos prelados en la encrucijada de un trono: Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña y Pedro González de Mendoza”, *Torre de los Lujanes: Boletín de la Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País*, 54 (2004): 49-64.

⁵⁴ See Janini & González, *Catálogo*, 272, no. 249; Gutiérrez, “Los cantorales”, 238-46 for a discussion and 240 for an image of f. 5v (Purification) in colour; and Noone & Skinner, “Toledo Cathedral’s Plainsong Choirbooks”, 293-4.

to the Candlemas blessing chants to be made.⁵⁵ In order to accommodate post-1573 liturgical changes, five folios were inserted after this date. Most seriously and egregiously, some of the original musical details were also altered throughout the manuscript in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, mainly through the editorial erasure of neumes and longer melismata in an apparent attempt to simplify the chants.

Table 7.8. *Inventario Cisneros*: a choir mass antiphoner
(sanctorale: for feasts of one martyr)

| <i>Inventario Cisneros (1503)</i> | <i>Inventario Quiroga (1580)</i> <i>Offiçerios sanctorales de la missa</i> |
|--|---|
| [1503/f.110v/15] ¶ Iten otro ofiçerio sanctoral q[ue] co- miença et enim sederu[n]t principes. | [1580/f.136v/2] ¶ yten, otro libro grande de la misma enquadernaçion guarniçion letra y punto escrito en pergamino intitulado offitium misse In commune unius martiris que comiença el introitu de la missa sederunt Principes y acaba el libro en un uerso que dize tota die y tiene El offiçio hasta la fiesta de S[an]t P[edr]o alexandrino inclusiue |

Table 7.8 lists a choir mass antiphoner that is probably the choirbook that now bears the shelfmark Ms. Cantoral 2.2. This book originally began with a beautifully historiated opening containing the *officium* for the feast of St. Stephen (26 December), *Et enim sederunt principes* in the pre-1573 Toledo use. It was later adapted (post-1573), by erasures and the clumsy insertion of a new capital S, to *Sederunt principes* (following the 1568 *Breviarium Romanum*). Some 86 folios of the original book survive, mostly intact, along with some much later additions at the beginning and end.

The 1503 inventory does not list a complete set of large-format mass sanctorales to match the dominical set in Table 7.2 above [1503/f.110r/1-1503/f.110r/6],

⁵⁵ On 12 May 1592, the scribe Andrés de Morata signed a receipt that included the following item: “dos hojas y media escritas y puntadas para el libro grande del águila en que va escrito el introyto de todos sanctos que dice gaudeamos nueve reales menos un quartillo - 298 [maravedís]” (ACT, OF uncatalogued “papeles varios”).

probably because no such set yet existed. A set of five such books, copied at the end of the sixteenth century, does however survive. They consist of propers for feasts of saints grouped according to type: (1) a book of masses for the Apostles; (2) masses for feasts of one martyr; (3) masses for the Virgin, the Holy Cross, the Angels and All Saints; (4) masses for feasts of many martyrs; and (5) masses for feasts of confessors and virgins. They bear the shelfmarks Mss. Cantorales 2.1-3 and 2.5-6 and, in all likelihood, are referred to in the following entry from the *Inventario Tavera*, f. 185v: “Yten seys cuerpos de libros offiçerios el vno que tiene el offiçio de nuestra señora del comum [*sic*] de las misas votiuas y otro de las nueve fiestas de nuestra señora pequeño otro del comum de los apóstoles otro del comum de vnus martyris otro del comum de plurimorum martyrum otro del comum de los co[n]fessores y virgines.”⁵⁶

Table 7.9. *Inventario Cisneros*: a single-volume mass antiphoner for the complete dominical cycle

[1503/f.110v/16]

¶ Iten otro offiçerio d[omi]njal viejo q[ue] comiença asp[er]ges e luego ad te leuauí e es todo entero.

The entry transcribed in Table 7.9 in all likelihood refers to a choir mass antiphoner for the complete dominical cycle beginning with an *Asperges me* followed by the introit *Ad te levavi* for the first Sunday of Advent; it survives today as Ms. Cantoral 3.1. Dating from around the turn of the sixteenth century, Ms. Cantoral 3.1 exhibits many post-1573 alterations, together with substantial insertions at the beginning and end. Nevertheless, an original layer of some 200 folios survives largely in the same state as it would have been when the 1503 inventory was taken.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ See Noone & Skinner, “Toledo Cathedral’s Plainsong Choirbooks”, 297, 318.

⁵⁷ Noone & Skinner, “Toledo Cathedral’s Plainsong Choirbooks”, 298, 319. For a corresponding set of sanctorale mass antiphoners, perhaps in similar format, see Table 7.3.

Table 7.10. *Inventario Cisneros*: two choir office psalters

[1503/f.110v/17]

¶ Iten dos salterios nuevos q[ue] tiene[n] el q[ue] esta en el coro del dea[n] [f.110r] unas letras en las maytinadas e en ellas fechas [h]istorias e en la primera letra una figura de ob[is]po e de la otra p[ar]te del arçob[is]po estan las letras solamente illuminadas saluo las primeras letras que estan doradas con las armas del señor arçob[is]po don a[lfons]o carrillo en la primera e la segunda de beata vir[gine].

The two choir office psalters recorded in Table 7.10, both belonging to the dean's choir, were probably half of a complete set of four books. The missing identical pair would have belonged to the archbishop's choir. One of these richly historiated psalters, copied and illuminated in Carrillo's time, probably pertained to the office of the season, while the second, as indicated in the inventory entry, to the parallel daily office of the BMV. These books were a likely source text for Cisneros's *Psalterium secundum usum sancte ecclesie Toletane* (Alcalá de Henares: Arnao Guillén de Brocar, 1515).⁵⁸ Despite their rich decorations, they do not appear to have survived. They were ultimately replaced in use by a larger and more comprehensive double set of new psalters, consisting of sixteen books in eight volumes, copied and magnificently illuminated in the early 1540s by Martín Pérez and Francisco de Buitrago. Most of these new books survive, though in a much altered state, as Mss. Cantorales 4.1-8 (A) and (B).⁵⁹

Table 7.11. *Inventario Cisneros*: three books of customs and an intonarium

[1503/f.111r/1]

¶ Iten otros tres libros de costumbres en pargamjno el uno es nuevo e los otros dos son traydos.

[1503/f.111r/2]

¶ Iten otro libro peq[ue]ño que esta asido con una cadena al aguilá que es de la entonación de los cantos e esta todo apu[n]tado.

⁵⁸ See Mercedes Castillo Ferreira, "Chant, Liturgy and Reform", in *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs*, Tess Knighton (ed.). (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 282-322; and Esther Burgos Bordonau, Antonio Carpallo Bautista & Juan Carlos Asensio Palacios, "Los post-incunables de Cisneros de la Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla de la Complutense y la música de Antonio de Cabezón", *Pecia Complutense* 8/14 (2011): 1-22 [20-1].

⁵⁹ Noone & Skinner, "Toledo Cathedral's Plainsong Choirbooks", 300-1, 319.

While none of the three books of customs recorded in the first entry of Table 7.11 is extant, a number of payment documents – dated April and July 1418 respectively – record the copying on parchment and the binding of a new book of customs in that year.⁶⁰ Similarly, a number of payment records from the latter part of 1503 attest to the copying, illumination, and binding of a new book of customs to replace one that was destroyed by fire.⁶¹ It seems likely that this was the book of customs referred to as “new” in December 1503, the month in which the inventory was compiled.

In much the same way, it seems that the intonarium attached to the eagle lectern by a chain is no longer extant. Possibly the intonarium referred to here was the same as the one for whose binding we have payment documents dated 8 March 1501.⁶² This intonarium, long since lost, was a likely copy source for Cisneros’s *Intonarium Toletanum* (Alcalá de Henares: Arnao Guillén de Brocar, 1515).⁶³ It was eventually replaced, some 60 years later, by a new, and probably somewhat larger-format choirbook, Ms. Cantoral 5.1, copied by Alonso de Morata, in 1564.⁶⁴

Table 7.12. *Inventario Cisneros*: a dominical/sanctorale pair and a choir office lectionary

| |
|--|
| [1503/f.IIIr/3] ¶ Iten otros dos libros del esmeraldo [<i>sic</i>] el uno es d[omi]njcal e el ot[r]o es santoral. |
| [1503/f.IIIr/4] ¶ Iten otro libro que comiença egidi abbate. |

Nothing is known of the pair of books, a dominical and a sanctorale, listed in the first entry in Table 7.12. The book listed in the second entry, however, probably survives as BCT Ms. 48.2. Though listed as a single volume, this choir

⁶⁰ See María Victoria Herráez Ortega & Santiago Domínguez Sánchez, *La actividad artística en la Catedral de Toledo en 1418. El libro de Obra y Fábrica OF 761* (León: Universidad de León, 2017), 186-87.

⁶¹ See ACT, OF 798, ff. 61r-61v for a series of payments to the scribe Gonzalo de Córdoba for the copying of the text and its illumination, to Alvar Péres for correcting the text, and to Gonzalo de Córdoba for the binding. Some of these documents are transcribed in Anna Muntada Torrellas, *Misal Rico de Cisneros* (Toledo: Real Fundación de Toledo, 1992; rev. ed. Toledo: 2001), 186-87.

⁶² See ACT, OF 796, f. 46r.

⁶³ See Burgos, Carpallo & Asensio, “Los post-incunables de Cisneros”, 10-20.

⁶⁴ Noone & Skinner, “Toledo Cathedral’s Plainsong Choirbooks”, 303-4, 319-20.

lectionary was one of the set of dominical and sanctorale choir office lectionaries that included those listed in Table 7.5 above, and the seven books listed together in Table 7.24 below. These books contained the texts, without music notation, for the lessons of matins and would have been “read” (that is, sung to musical formulae) from the eagle lectern in the centre of the choir. Most of the books listed in the *Inventario Cisneros* have disappeared, some of them replaced during the first half of the sixteenth century by new volumes listed in the *Inventario Tavera*. BCT Ms. 48.2 is one book that appears to have survived. It is a large book whose 195 folios cover feasts of the sanctoral cycle from St. Giles (1 September) to St. Chrysogonus (24 November). An autograph note in the manuscript indicates that it was corrected, on completion, by Francisco Álvarez, the cathedral *corrector* during Carrillo’s archiepiscopacy, on 8 July 1479.⁶⁵

Table 7.13. *Inventario Cisneros*: five processionals

| |
|--|
| [1503/f.111r/5] ¶ Iten otros tres libros procesionarios nuevos p[ar]a dentro de la igl[es]ia. |
| [1503/f.111r/6] ¶ Iten otro libro proçesionario p[ar]a las procesiones q[ue] se faze[n] de fuera de la igl[es]ia. |
| [1503/f.111r/7] ¶ Iten otro proçesionario viejo peq[ue]ño en q[ue] esta agios atanatos. |

None of the five processionals listed in Table 7.13 is known to have survived. Payment documents, however, attest to the copying and binding of two parchment processionals by Pero Sánchez in 1418.⁶⁶ A further document of 12 December 1499 records the payment of 200 maravedies to the bookbinder Gonzalo Rodrigues for the binding of a processional.⁶⁷ And on 2 July 1504, Gonzalo de Córdoba – “maestro de los libros” – was paid 400 maravedies for the “glorias that he added to the responses in the processionals”.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ See Janini & González, *Catálogo*, 188-89, no. 179.

⁶⁶ See ACT, OF 761 (1418), f. 39v (*olim* XIIv), transcribed in Herráez & Domínguez, *La actividad artística en la Catedral de Toledo en 1418*, 186-87.

⁶⁷ See ACT, OF 794 (1498-99), f. 109v.

⁶⁸ See ACT, OF 799 (1503-4), f. 61r, transcribed in Muntada, *Misal Rico de Cisneros*, 186-87.

Table 7.14. *Inventario Cisneros*: a miscellany of liturgical books

| |
|--|
| [1503/f.IIIr/8] ¶ Iten otro libro de canturia en que cantan las all[elua]s responsos e tractos e p[ro]sas. |
| [1503/f.IIIr/9] ¶ Iten dos sanctorales q[ue] es comiença de la vigilia de la natiujdat de n[uest]ra Señora. |
| [1503/f.IIIr/10] ¶ Iten otros dos sanctorales q[ue] comiença[n] tecu[m] principium. |
| [1503/f.IIIr/11] ¶ Iten un breuiario nuevo que esta atado co[n] vna cadena a la p[ar]te del dean. |
| [1503/f.IIIr/12] ¶ Iten un diurnal con su cadena en la p[ar]te del señor arçob[is]po. |
| [1503/f.IIIr/13] ¶ Iten un rational. |
| [1503/f.IIIr/14] ¶ Iten otro libro liçionario q[ue] se llama dominjcal de letura q[ue] comje[n]ça el dia de la Resurretiõ[n]. |
| [1503/f.IIIr/15] ¶ Iten otro libro dominjcal de letura viejo en q[ue] estan las liçiones de tinieblas en q[ue] aprende[n] los cl[er]izon[es]. |

None of the ten books listed in Table 7.14 is known to have survived, and none appears in the *Inventario Tavera*.

Table 7.15. *Inventario Cisneros*: two large books of polyphony

| |
|---|
| [1503/f.IIIr/16] ¶ Iten otro libro de canto de organo grand[e] en q[ue] estan las mjsas es de marca mayor. |
| [1503/f.IIIr/17] ¶ Otro libro de la dicha marca d[e] canto de organo en q[ue] estan manificas e motetes |

Neither of the books of polyphony listed in Table 7.15 seems to have survived; the *Inventario Cisneros* is the latest document in which they are mentioned.

Table 7.16. *Inventario Cisneros*: a book of notated proses (sequences) and alleluias

| <i>Inventario Cisneros</i> (1503) | <i>Inventario Quiroga</i> (1580) |
|--|---|
| [1503/f.IIIV/1] ¶ Iten otro libro de pargamino de marca de pli[e]go pintado de punto peq[ue]ño de prosas de por el año e algunas al[l]eyuyas. | [1580/f.138r/18] ¶ yten un libro de Resposos y prossas y al[e]l[ui]as don[d]e cantan los muchachos enquadernado en bezerro enuessado viejo sin ninguna guarniçion. |

The smaller-format parchment book listed in Table 7.16 contained music for mass sequences for the liturgical year and some alleluias. While the book is not listed in the *Inventario Tavera*, a volume of similar description does appear in the *Inventario Quiroga*. If this latter inventory refers to the same book, then it might be assumed that a book of this kind would have been used in performances such as the one that ends Juan Bravo de Acuña's 1604 description of the Chapel of Our Lady of Mercy:

Chapel of Our Lady of Mercy which is called that of the Treasurer.

Then comes the door that opens into the cloister – which cloister, and everything in it, will be described in due course – and next to it the said chapel called that of the Treasurer, which was founded by don Alfonso Martínez, treasurer, canon and *obrero*, and he founded there a chaplaincy of 150 masses per annum, which on Fridays and Saturdays are to be sung, and the master of the boys has to be present, with four choirboys, to sing certain proses in three voices, and each boy is given two *quartos*; the chaplain is Thomás Pérez.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ “Capilla de nuestra señora de la piedad que llaman del Thesorero. Siguese luego la puerta que se entra al claustro, del qual claustro y de todo lo que ay en el se tratara en su lugar, y junto a ella la dicha capilla, que llaman del Thesorero, la qual fundo don Al[fons]o Martínez thesorero y canonigo y obrero, y fundo en ella una capellania de çiento y çinquenta missas cada año, con que los viernes y sabbados sea cantada, y han la de offiçiar el maestro de cleriçones, y quatro cleriçones y cantar çiertas prosas a tres voçes, y daseles dos quartos a cada cleriçon es capellan Thomás Perez.” (ACT Secretaría Capitular 38; Juan Bravo de Acuña, *Libro de la fundación de la Sancta Yglesia de Toledo* [1604], 49).

Table 7.17. *Inventario Cisneros*: two small parchment books:
one for the sanctorale and one for the Rogation Days

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Inventario Cisneros (1503) | |
| [1503/f.IIIV/2] | Iten otro libryto chiquito de pargamj[n]o puntado santoral. |
| [1503/f.IIIV/3] | Iten otro librito largo de pargamino puntado q[ui]nta regla de las rogaçiones |

Table 7.18. *Inventario Cisneros*: a large book of lamentations and a small book of the seven penitential psalms

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| [1503/f.IIIV/6] | ¶ Iten otro libro grande puntado en q[ue] estan las lamentaçiones. |
| [1503/f.IIIV/7] | ¶ Iten otro libro pequ[eñ]o de siete salmos de letra grossezuelo e de finados |

Table 7.19. *Inventario Cisneros*: a pair of office antiphoners (sanctorales) and a single book for the dean's choir

| | |
|---|---|
| ¶ Acrecentados q[ue] fizo fazer fran[cis]co de co[n]treras [1503/f.IIIV/8] | ¶ Dos cuerpos de libros sanctorales p[ar]a conplm[j]ent[o] de los libros Sanctorales de canto grueso el vno comje[n]ça en la fiesta de sant miguel e el otro en la fiesta de sancta Catalina. |
| [1503/f.IIIV/9] | ¶ Iten un cuerpo de libro del de canto grueso q[ue] se fizo p[ar]a el coro del dean q[ue] no le tenja como el otro coro. |

None of the books listed in Tables 7.17, 7.18, and 7.19 is known to be extant.

Table 7.20. *Inventario Cisneros*: an historiated choir mass antiphoner from the “águilas” set (temporale: Nativity to Pentecost)

| Inventario Cisneros (1503) | Inventario Quiroga (1580) |
|--|--|
| [1503/f.111v/10] ¶ Iten un oficerio grande q[ue] tiene siete [h]istorias q[ue] [e]s la primera puer natus est nobis tiene las primeras letras [h]istoriadas | [1580/f.137v/9] ¶ yten, otro ofiçiero de la misma manera qu[e] el de arriba intitulado officerium missarum inprecipuis festis d[omi]ni que comiença de un introitu de la natiuidad que dize puer natus est nobis y acaba el libro con un uerso que dize paraclitus de la fiesta del [e]sp[irit]u s[anc]to |

Table 7.20 gives the first of the historiated choir mass antiphoners whose presence in the *Inventario Cisneros* is signalled by the marginal note transcribed in Table 7.7: “los otros tres ofiçerios esta[n] adelante”. This volume now bears the shelfmark Ms. Cantoral 1.1 (*olim Res. 22*).⁷⁰ Bosch attributes the illumination of f.

⁷⁰ See Domínguez, *Exposición de códices*, for an image of historiated initial ‘E’ at f. 29v (Adoration of the Magi) as pl. 74 captioned “cantoral toledano. Siglo xv”; Domínguez, *Manuscritos con pinturas*, II, 204 for an image of historiated initial ‘E’ at f. 11v (Martyrdom of St. Stephen), now missing entirely from the manuscript, as pl. 597, no. 1841, 204 for an image of f. 50r (Ascension) as pl. 598, no. 1841, 206 for an image of historiated initial ‘S’ f. 58v (Pentecost) as pl. 600, no. 1841; Domínguez & Ainaud, “Miniatura”, 200 for a detail of historiated initial ‘E’ at f. 11v (Martyrdom of St. Stephen), now missing entirely from the manuscript, as pl. 253, 200 for an image of historiated initial ‘E’ at f. 29v (Adoration of the Magi) as Fig. 254, both captioned “Miniaturas de un libro de coro del Cardenal Carrillo (Catedral de Toledo)”; Domínguez, *Spanish Illumination*, II, for a detail of historiated initial ‘E’ at f. 11v (Martyrdom of St. Stephen), now missing entirely from the manuscript, as pl. 128b; Janini & González, *Catálogo*, 272, no. 249; Bosch, *Art, Liturgy*, reproduces the following images from Ms. Res. 22: f. 1v (Nativity), now missing entirely from the manuscript, as Fig. 94 on p. [171] and a detail of the historiated initial ‘P’ at f. 1v given as Fig. 95 on p. [171]. In each case, the images are incorrectly captioned as “f. 1, Res. 22”. A detail of historiated initial ‘E’ at f. 11v (Martyrdom of St. Stephen), now missing entirely from the manuscript, is reproduced as Fig. 97 on 173. A detail of historiated initial ‘I’ at f. 22v (St John the evangelist preaching) is reproduced as Fig. 98 on 174, incorrectly captioned as “Unknown subject (Saint Eugenius?)”, f. 36v, Res. 21, Choir Book”. An image of f. 29v (Adoration of the Magi) is reproduced as Fig. 45 on 117 and a detail of initial ‘E’ at f. 29v is given as Fig. 96 on [171]. A detail of historiated initial ‘R’ at 39v (Resurrection) is reproduced as Fig. 47 on [118] and, in closer detail, as Fig. 101 on 177. An image of f. 50r (Ascension) as Fig. 85 is given on 163 and a detail of historiated initial ‘V’ at f. 50r appears as Fig. 86 on 163. An image of f. 58v (Pentecost) as Fig. 99 appears on [176]. A detail of historiated initial ‘S’ at f. 58v (Pentecost) is given as Fig. 100 on [176]. Both Figs. 99 and 100 are incorrectly captioned as “fol. 38v, Res. 22”. See Gutiérrez, “Los cantorales”, 242-45 for colour images of f. 2r, f. 22v, f. 29v, f. 39v (on 238 and again on 242), f. 50r (on 241 and again on 245), and 58v; González Ruiz, “Las artes del

50r (Ascension) to a certain “Francisco” and the illumination of f. 58v (Pentecost) and f. 39v (Resurrection) to an artist she christens the “Resurrection master”.⁷¹ Bosch notes the presence of the arms of Isabel of Castile and Fernando of Aragón in the upper sections of the initial “R” and, on this basis alone, concludes that the manuscript “was completed for the 1484 Easter Sunday entry of the archbishop and the queen”.⁷²

Table 7.21. *Inventario Cisneros*: an historiated choir mass antiphoner from the “águilas” set (temporale and sanctorale: Trinity to St. John the Baptist)

| Inventario Cisneros (1503) | Inventario Quiroga (1580) |
|---|---|
| [1503/f. IIIv/II] ¶ Iten otro ofiçerio grande co[n] otras siete hystorias q[ue] es la p[ri]mera b[e]nedicta sit s[an]cta trinitas tiene todas las primeras letras [h]istoriadas. | [1580/f. 137r/8] ¶ yten, otro libro offiçerio maior que los demas de la misma enquadernaçion guar- niçion letra y punto escripto en pergami- no intitulado D[omi]nica de trinitate ad missam maiorem introitus que comiença [f. 137v] benedicta sit sancta trinitas y acaba el libro con una post comunicanda q[ue] dize Tu puer propheta altissimi de la fiesta de s[an] Joan bap[tis]ta. |

Table 7.21 lists another choir mass antiphoner from the “águilas” set; this volume now bears the shelfmark Ms. Cantoral 1.2 (*olim Res.* 18).⁷³ Once again, it is

libro”, 420 for detail of illumination on f. 40r; and Noone & Skinner, “Toledo Cathedral’s Plainsong Choirbooks”, 294, 318.

⁷¹ Bosch, *Art, Liturgy*, 162, 175ff, and 179ff.

⁷² Bosch, *Art, Liturgy*, 175. Bosch amplifies this claim to include the entire “águilas” set even though the arms of the Catholic Monarchs do not appear elsewhere in any of the other “águilas” choirbooks.

⁷³ See Domínguez, *Exposición de códices*, pl. 75 for an image of historiated initial ‘I’ on f. 37v (Virgin bestows chasuble on St. Ildefonsus) captioned “Cantoral toledano. Siglo xv”; Domínguez, *Manuscritos con pinturas*, II, 205 for an image of historiated initial at f. 27v (Saints Sebastian and Fabian) as pl. 599, no. 1841; Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Spanish Illumination* (Florence, 1929; repr. New York, Hacker Art Books, 1969), II, for an image of historiated initial at f. 27v (Saints Sebastian and Fabian) as pl. 128a; Bosch, *Art, Liturgy*, 117 for an image of historiated initial ‘I’ at 19v (Transfiguration) as Fig. 44 incorrectly captioned as “f. 20”, 165 for an image of initial ‘D’ at f. 53v (Birth of St. John the Baptist) as Fig. 87 incorrectly captioned “f. 54”, 166 for an image of initial ‘P’ at f. 44v (St. John *ante portam latinam*) as Fig. 88 incorrectly captioned “f. 45”, 167 for an image of historiated

the book's exquisite illumination that draws the attention of the compiler of the *Inventario Cisneros*. Bosch attributes the miniature depicting the bestowal of the chasuble on St Ildefonsus (f. 37v) to "Francisco".⁷⁴ We know from an entry in an inventory of 1744 that the "águilas" were very much in use at that date.⁷⁵

Table 7.22. *Inventario Cisneros*: an historiated choir mass antiphoner from the "águilas" set (sanctorale: from Sts. Peter and Paul to St. Leocadia)

| <i>Inventario Cisneros</i> (1503) | <i>Inventario Quiroga</i> (1580) |
|--|--|
| [1503/f.IIIV/12] ¶ Iten otro ofiçerio tal como el sobre- dicho q[ue] tiene la primera [h]jstoria q[ue] comie[n]ça nu[n]c scio vere / tiene las [h]istorias primeras illumjnadas. | [1580/f.137v/10] ¶ yten, otro libro offiçerio de la misma manera qu[e] el de arriba intitulado In festo apostolorum petri et pauli ad mis- sam introitus q[ue] comiença nunc scio uere &c y acaba una post comunicanda Diffusa est gratia in labijs tuis de la fiesta de s[anct]a Leocadia. |

Table 7.22 lists another choir mass antiphoner from the "águilas" set; this volume now bears the shelfmark Ms. Cantoral 1.3 (*olim* Res. 21).⁷⁶ As reported by Janini and González, the historiated initial "M" on f. 28v depicting Christ and the

initial at f. 27v (Saints Sebastian and Fabian) as Fig. 89, 168 for an image of historiated initial 'C' at f. 11v (Last supper) as Fig. 90, 180 for an image of historiated initial 'I' at f. 37v (Virgin bestows chasuble on St. Ildefonsus) as Fig. 104; Fernando Gutiérrez Baños, "Los cantorales y la pervivencia del manuscrito" in *Ysabel, la Reina Católica*, 238-46, for discussion and colour images at f. 1v (Trinity), f. 11v (Last supper), f. 19v (Transfiguration), f. 27v (Saints Sebastian and Fabian), f. 37v (Virgin bestows chasuble on St. Ildefonsus), f. 44v (St. John *ante portam latinam*), and f. 53v (Birth of St. John the Baptist); and Noone & Skinner, "Toledo Cathedral's Plainsong Choirbooks", 295, 318.

⁷⁴ Bosch, *Art, Liturgy*, 179.

⁷⁵ ACT *Inbe[n]tarios del Sagrario Que empieza año de 1744*: "Caxòn 10 de Misas que llaman Aguiluchos. Se ponen los Libros en la Aguila del Coro en las Festividades siguientes = San Juan Bautista = san Pedro, y san Pablo = La Transfigurazion del señor = Asumpzion de Nuestra señora = san Yldefonso = Corpus Christi = La santissima trinidad = san Eugenio = santa Leocadia = Santhiago Patron = La Natividad del Señor = san Esteban = san Juan Evangelista = Los santos Reyes = Resurreccion = Ascension = Pascua de Espiritu santo = La Circuncision = Purificazion de Nuestra Señora = Natividad de Nuestra Señora = Anunciazion = La Concepcion = La O = La Paz = todos Santos".

⁷⁶ See Janini & González, *Catálogo*, 272, no. 249; Noone & Skinner, "Toledo Cathedral's Plainsong Choirbooks", 318; and *Cisneros: arquetipo de virtudes*, 303 for a colour image of f. 48v (Miracle of St Leocadia).

Apostles is signed “Godino”.⁷⁷ It seems very likely that this is the signature of the master illuminator Francisco Godino who, on 12 August 1493, was commissioned by the chapter to provide “letras grandes... con las armas del sennor cardenal” in “un domynical d[e] canturia d[e] rica ylluminacio[n]”, and while the archival documents do not offer sufficient detail for us to be sure that they refer to this volume, they do allow us to suggest the last decade of the fifteenth century as an approximate date for the copying and illumination of this magnificent choirbook.⁷⁸

Table 7.23. *Inventario Cisneros*: a double set of choir office antiphoners (18 books in nine volumes, *dominicales*)

| <i>Inventario Cisneros</i> (1503) | <i>Inventario Tavera</i> (1539) |
|---|--|
| [1503/f.IIIV/13] ¶ Iten dos d[omi]ncales de cantoria de vna manera q[ue] comjença[n] d[omi]nica in aduentu d[omi]nj. | |
| [1503/f.IIIV/14] ¶ Ite[n] otros dos libros que sigue[n] a estos q[ue] comiença[n] in natiuitate d[omi]nj. | [1539/f.184v/3] ¶ yten otros dos cuerpos dominicales cada vno para su coro que comiençan desde la natiuidad de n[uest]ro señor. |
| [1503/f.IIIV/15] ¶ Iten otros dos libros q[ue] sigue[n] a estos q[ue] comiençan d[omi]njca post ep[i]ph[ani]am | [1539/f.184v/4] ¶ yten otros dos cuerpos de libros dominicales cada vno para su coro que encomiençan in dominica prima post octauas Epiphania |

⁷⁷ It seems likely that this is the same Godino who in March 1497 was paid four ducados to illuminate a large gold initial for the Palm Sunday opening of a dominical: see ACT, OF 793 (1497) f. 71r. Bosch reproduces, on p. 181 at Fig. 105, an image of an initial that she claims was “signed by the artist Manuel Godino”. The caption for this image, “Pope among prelates, fol. 29, Res. 21, Choir Book, Toledo, Cathedral”, is incorrect. The image does not appear anywhere in Res. 21, a book, moreover, that Bosch had not seen (274, n. 147). In fact, Bosch states that Res. 21 is lost: “It was possible for me to examine only Res. 19 and Res. 20 because Res. 21 is lost, while Res. 18 and Res. 22 are sealed in a glass case” (273, n. 132).

⁷⁸ A note in the *Actas Capitulares* (hereinafter AC) dated 12 August 1493 throws further doubt on Bosch’s hypotheses. The note, partially transcribed in Lop, *El Cabildo Catedralicio*, 403, n. 327, establishes first that Godino’s first name was Francisco, and, second, that he was commissioned to provide the illuminated letters and arms almost a decade after Mendoza’s entry into Toledo with Queen Isabel.

| | |
|---|---|
| [1503/f.111v/16] ¶ Iten otros dos libros que sigue[n] a estos q[ue] comje[n]çan feria quarta in capite Jejunij. | |
| [1503/f.112r/1] [fol.] ¶ c x ij [recto] ¶ Iten otros dos dominicales q[ue] se sigue[n] tras los sobre dichos q[ue] comje[n]ça[n] in domjnca in pasione. | [1539/f.184v/5] ¶ yten otros dos cuerpos de libros cada vno para su coro que comiençan dominica yn pasione. |
| [1503/f.112r/2] ¶ Iten otros dos libros q[ue] se sigue[n] tras estos q[ue] comje[n]çan in resurrectione d[omi]nj. | [1539/f.184v/6] ¶ yten otros dos cuerpos cada vno para su coro que comiençan dominica in Resurrectione domini. |
| [1503/f.112r/3] ¶ Iten otros dos tales como los sobre dichos q[ue] comiençan in açe[n]sion[e] d[omi]nj. | [1539/f.184v/7] ¶ yten otros dos cuerpos que comiençan desde la Açension. |
| [1503/f.112r/4] ¶ Iten otros dos libros q[ue] se sigue[n] tras estos q[ue] comiença[n] d[omi]njca deus o[mn]ium | [1539/f.184v/8] ¶ yten otros dos cuerpos dominicales cada vno para su coro que en comiençan yn dominica prima post octauas corporis christi. |
| [1503/f.112r/5] ¶ Iten otros dos tales como los sobre dichos q[ue] comje[n]çan d[omi]njca ad aperiat. | [1539/f.185r/1] ¶ yten otros dos cuerpos dominicales cada vno para su coro que comiençan dominica ad aperiat. |

Table 7.23 records a double set of choir office antiphoners in nine volumes. Each of the relevant entries in the *Inventario Cisneros* records two identical books, one for each side of the choir; the nine entries thus record 18 books. They were likely copied to replace the smaller and probably older set listed above in Table 7.3. Only three folios from this entire set are known to survive. They are sumptuously historiated leaves that originally belonged to the identical pair of books identified here as [1503/f.112r/3]. Evidently salvaged for their fine illumination, two of these folios remain in Toledo cathedral, bound in one of the two corresponding volumes of the later replacement set of dominical antiphoners created in the 1590s to conform to the Roman breviary, Ms. Cantoral 7.10 (A). Nothing of this book's identical twin survives except for an exquisitely illuminated folio

in private ownership which was listed in art auction sales in 1988 and again in 2002.⁷⁹

The set of nine *dominicales* listed in Table 7.23 was later complemented by a matching double set of sanctorale antiphoners, in 14 volumes (28 books). Largely copied during the first two decades of the sixteenth century, they are listed in the *Inventario Tavera*.⁸⁰ Not a single book from either of these sets is known to have survived. However, some folios from the sanctorale set were salvaged and reused in the replacement set the chapter ordered to be created in the 1580s to conform to the *cursus* of chants required by the 1568 *Breviarium Romanum*. Most of these new books survive, with the salvaged folios in question, in the series Mss. Cantorales 8.⁸¹

Table 7.24. *Inventario Cisneros*: a set of seven office choir lectionaries (sanctorale)

| <i>Inventario Cisneros</i> (1503) | <i>Inventario Tavera</i> (1539) |
|---|--|
| [1503/f.112r/6] ¶ Iten siete cuerpos de libros de lectura sanctorales el p[ri]mero comjenca en la fiesta de s[an] estevan el segundo cathedra s[ancti] pet[r]i el terçero en la fiesta de marcelinj e petri el quarto en vinc[u]la s[ancti] petri. el quinto en la fiesta de egidio abbate el sexto en s[anta] caterina en septimo es del comu[n]. | [1539/f.185r/2] ¶ yten otros dos cuerpos de libros sanctorales de punto cada vno para su coro que comiençan en la fiesta de san tisteban. |
| | [1539/f.185r/3] ¶ yten otros dos cuerpos de libros sanctorales de punto que comiençan desde la cathedra de sant pedro. |

The eight books listed in Table 7.5 as [1503/f.110v,1-8] and the single book listed in Table 7.12 as [1503/f.111r/4] belong to the same set as the seven office choir lectionaries for the sanctoral cycle listed here in Table 7.24.

⁷⁹ Noone & Skinner, "Toledo Cathedral's Plainsong Choirbooks", 299-301.

⁸⁰ See *Inventario Tavera*, ff. 185r-v.

⁸¹ Noone & Skinner, "Toledo Cathedral's Plainsong Choirbooks", 300.

Table 7.25. *Inventario Cisneros*: an intonario (“old”)

[1503/f.112r/7]

¶ Iten un intonario viejo el qual tiene el claustrero

In addition to its terse listing of an “old intonarium”, the entry in Table 7.25 reveals that the book in question was held by the *claustrero*, a post that – at the time the *Inventario Cisneros* was taken – was occupied by the composer Pedro Lagarto.⁸² The title of *maestro claustral* or *claustrero* was assigned to the cathedral’s 50th prebend and its chief duty was the musical instruction of the *clerizones*.⁸³

Table 7.26. *Inventario Cisneros*: The *Liber quindecim missarum*
(Rome: Andrea Antico, 1516) [RISM 1516]¹

[1503/f.112r/8] [added in a later hand]

Ytem un ljbros de canto de organo de las mjsas qu[in]ze ymp[re]so en molde q[ue] dio bernaldjno de alcaraz canonigo; [right margin:] tiene este libro maldonado.

Table 7.26 lists the only printed polyphonic choirbook in the *Inventario Cisneros*. Its acquisition, reported here in a hand that postdates the completion of the inventory by at least 13 years, unequivocally signals the arrival of an international repertory: mass ordinaries by Josquin, Antoine Brumel, Antoine de Févin, Pierre de la Rue, Jean Mouton, Mattheus Pipelare and Roselli.⁸⁴ The entry could

⁸² On Lagarto, see Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus* (The Hague: Martinus Nijnhof, 1960), 235-37, and Rebeca Ríos Fresno, “Notas para una revisión biográfica de Pedro Lagarto”, *ActaLauris* 1 (2013), 108-26.

⁸³ See ACT, AC 1 (1466-90), f. 88r: “Ordenamiento sobre el claustrero y su oficio” (16 August 1476). For a transcription, and further details concerning the office of the *claustrero* and the *clerizones*, see Lop, *El Cabildo Catedralicio*, 176, 184-87, 382-84, 517; and Felipe Rubio Piqueras, *Música y músicos toledanos* (Toledo: Establecimiento tipográfico de sucesor de J. Peláez, 1923), 67-9.

⁸⁴ Five of the masses found in Antico’s print would later be copied – though not necessarily copied from the Antico exemplar – into manuscript choirbooks for the use of the Toledo choir. In 1542, the scribe Martín Pérez copied Josquin’s *Missa de Beata Virgine* and Mouton’s *Missa Dictes moy toutes vos pensées* into what is now E-Tc 16. In 1553, Pérez copied Févin’s *Missa de feria* into what is now E-Tc 28. In 1557-1558, the copying of Josquin’s *Missa faisant regretz* and *Missa Ad fugam* into what is now E-Tc 9 was begun by Pérez and completed, on his death, by the scribe Alonso de Morata.

not have been made before 1516, the year in which the *Liber quindecim missarum* rolled off the press in Antico's printshop in Rome, which would give a date before which the entry that follows could not have been added.⁸⁵ It is also the first record we have to document the donation of a book of polyphony to the cathedral by an individual, in this case the cathedral canon Bernardino de Alcaraz (1484-1556); he was the younger brother of Juan Álvarez de Toledo, one of the *visitadores* responsible for the compilation of the *Inventario Cisneros*.⁸⁶ The name Maldonado, added to the inventory entry in its right margin, must refer to Francisco Maldonado (d. 1539). The earliest documented date for his association with the cathedral is 20 September 1516 when, as master of the choirboys (*maestro de los seyses*), he received 15 fanegas of wheat for the boys' sustenance. In the following year he drew an annual salary of 5,000 maravedíes as master of the music.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ For further discussion of Toledo cathedral's acquisition of the *Liber quindecim missarum* (1516), see Michael Noone, "The Copying and Acquisition of Polyphony at Toledo Cathedral 1418-1542: The Evidence from Inventories and Payment Documents" in *The Anatomy of Iberian Polyphony around 1500*, Esperanza Rodríguez-García & João Pedro d'Alvarenga (eds.). (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2021), 155-89.

⁸⁶ More commonly styled in contemporary documents as Bernaldino de Alcaraz, he was the fifth of eleven children born to Fernán Álvarez and doña Aldonza de Alcaraz. At the age of 15 he is cited in his parents' last will and testament as a canon in the cathedrals of both Seville and Toledo. In documents of 1516, and between 1520 and 1538, he is found as administrator of the chapel of Don Pedro Tenorio in Toledo Cathedral. By 1532 he was steward (*mayordomo*) to the dean and chapter. In 1535 he was deputed, together with Diego López de Ayala, to liaise with the sculptor Felipe Bigarny (1498-1527) and the sculptor/architect Diego de Siloé (c. 1495 – 1563) concerning the construction (from 1539 to 1543) of the cathedral's sumptuous upper choirstalls (see ACT AC 5 [1528-1536], f. 211, 11 September 1535). He was a leading figure in Toledo's humanistic cultural circles and in 1545, together with Diego López de Ayala, played an active rôle in the recruitment of Cristóbal de Morales (c. 1500-53) to the cathedral's chapelmastership (see ACT AC 6 [1537-44], f. 327r and ACT AC 7 [1545-1547], ff. 49v-50r). In 1546 he was elected to the influential position of chancellor (*maestrescuela*) within the cathedral chapter and for a decade he governed the College of Santa Catalina, University of Toledo. He was instrumental in bringing the prolific writer, Hellenist, and historian Álvaro Gómez de Castro (1515-80) to the University of Toledo where Gómez de Castro was installed in 1548. In 1552 Bernardino endowed the University with a library. Among the treasures he left on his death to the college was a personal library of some 80 volumes; see Pedro M. Cátedra García, "La biblioteca de la Universidad de Toledo (siglo XVI)", *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 81/7-8 (2004): 927-56. It has recently been suggested that Alcaraz may even have been the author of *Lazarillo de Tormes*; see Jesús Fernando Cáseda Teresa, "Una nueva hipótesis sobre el autor del *Lazarillo de Tormes*: Bernardino Illán de Alcaraz", *Lemir* 23 (2019): 97-124. The most recent and complete study of Bernardino de Alcaraz and his family is Vaquero, *El libro de los maestrescuelas*, 143-75.

⁸⁷ See ACT OF 810 (1516) and ACT OF 811 (1517) ff. 14v-15r. At the end of 1518, the chapter fixed Maldonado's salary "por cantor e por maestro de música" at 25,000 maravedíes and 20 fanegas of wheat. See ACT AC 5 (1511-27) f. 185v (24 December 1518) and ACT OF 813 (1519) f. 19v.

Table 7.27. Manuscript polyphonic choirbook E-Tc Res. 23

| <i>Inventario Cisneros (1503)</i> | <i>Inventario Tavera (1539)</i> | <i>Inventario Quiroga (1580)</i> |
|--|--|---|
| [1503/f.112r/9] ¶ Otro libro grande de canto de organo escrito en pergamino con muchas obras nuevas con algunas letras de oro q[ue] mando conprar el señor die[g]lo lopez de ayala de vn aleman. Juntamente con vna copa de plata grande con su sobre copa toda dorada de dentro e de fuera que tiene camafeos en la qual se puso el sant[isi]mo sacr[a]m[ent]o ençima de el altar mayor y asi mesmo vn portapaz grande de plata dorado con algunas piedras dobles q[ue] esta esmaltado de Reporte. | [1539/f.190v/1] ¶ yten vn libro de canto de organo muy Rico escrito y puntado en pergamino con sus letras E ystorias ylluminadas el qual esta muy bien enquadernado y guarnecido mandolo comprar el dicho Señor don diego lopez de ayala vicario canonigo y obrero. | [1580/f.139v/13] ¶ ytem otro libro grande de canto de organo con muchas Illuminaciones escrito en pergamino y enquadernado en bezerro negro y tablas con diez bollones y sus manos y fronteras de alaton que le hizo Joannes monton que tiene missas y motetes |

Table 7.27 refers to one of the cathedral's most highly prized bibliographical treasures: a polyphonic choirbook of some 312 parchment folios containing 32 liturgical works by Josquin, Jean Mouton, Antoine de Févin, Antoine de Longueval, Jean Richafort, Mathieu Gascongne, Jean L'Héritier, Pierrequin de Terache, Noel Bauldeweyn, Jean Courtois, and Adrien Thibault. It was first described, in 1923, by Felipe Rubio who was filled with admiration for the book's exquisite illumination.⁸⁸ The manuscript was next described by Robert Snow who called

⁸⁸ "En cuanto a las veintiuna viñetas que distribuidas por distintos sitios del libro sirven de ornamentación en el comienzo de algunas composiciones [...] sólo advertiremos que verlas y saborear al punto un arte exquisito, todo es uno; aquellas figuras y aquellos colores y aquellos dibujos de los miniaturistas, todo aquel arte ornamental en una palabra, corre parejas con la música dulce y sentida de las composiciones que adornan y enaltecen." Rubio Piqueras, *Música y músicos*, 28-9 (reprinted in: Felipe Rubio Piqueras, *Códices polifónicos toledanos* (Toledo: [Establecimiento tipográfico de sucesor de J. Peláez], 1926), 59-61.

it “a truly exceptional example of its genre”, one holding “unusual interest for the musicologist and the art historian”.⁸⁹ Snow concluded his 1983 article thus: “How and when this splendid manuscript, seemingly of Flemish origin and probably destined for use in the Low Countries, found its way to Spain and then to that country’s primatial church, the Cathedral of Toledo, is still a mystery”. In a footnote, Snow perspicaciously directed scholars to the *Inventario Cisneros*: “The documents most likely to contain a reference to the manuscript are those numbered 1326 through 1334 in the *Catálogo [del Archivo de Obra y Fábrica]*.” Yet while our inventory is certainly helpful, it does not entirely fulfil Snow’s prediction. It tells us that the choirbook was bought from a “German”, a term that was routinely employed for anyone from the North, on the order of Diego López de Ayala, and that it was part of a purchase that included a grand silver goblet and a large enameled pax of silver and gold decorated with precious stones.⁹⁰ All three items appear listed again on f. 127r in a later hand that itself has been corrected by even later hands (Fig. 7.3).

⁸⁹ Robert Snow, “Toledo Cathedral MS reservado 23: A Lost Manuscript Rediscovered”, *Journal of Musicology* 2/3 (1983), 246-77, at 274. See also René Lenaerts, “Les manuscrits polyphoniques de la bibliothèque capitulaire de Tolède”, en *International Musicological Society: Report of the Fifth Congress, Utrecht 1952* (Amsterdam: IMS, 1953), 269-81, especially 279-80; Robert Stevenson, “The Toledo Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks and Some Other Lost or Little Known Flemish Sources”, *Fontes Artis Musicae* 20/3 (1973), 87-107, especially 89-90; Janini & González, *Catálogo*, 272, no. 250; and the Books of Hispanic Polyphony database at <https://hispanicpolyphony.eu/source/13376> (consulted 11 September 2021).

⁹⁰ On Diego López de Ayala, see María de las Nieves Muñiz Muñiz, “Sobre la traducción española del *Filocolo* de Boccaccio (Sevilla 1541) y sobre las *Treize elegantes demandes d’amours*”, *Criticón* 87-88-89 (2003), 537-51; Ramón González Ruiz, “Los claros varones”, *La Catedral Primada de Toledo*, 434-43; Jonathan Paul O’Conner, “Diego López de Ayala and the Intellectual Contours of Sixteenth-century Toledo”, Ph. D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2011; and Susana Villaluenga, “Los efectos jurídicos de las cuentas. El embargo ejecutado contra el obrero de la Catedral de Toledo Diego López de Ayala (1530-1583)”, *De Computis. Revista Española de Historia de la Contabilidad* 11 (2014), 137-67.

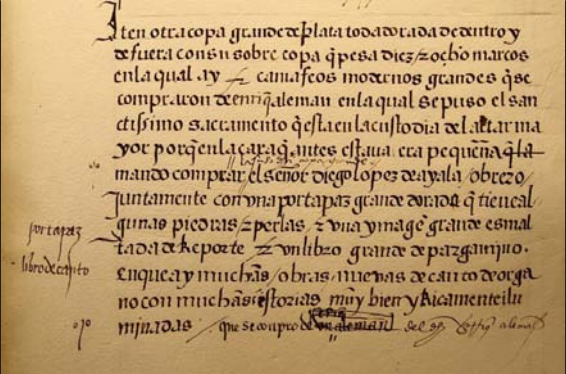
| <i>Inventario Cisneros (1503)</i> | Copas de oro e plata |
|--|---|
|  <p>Item otra copa grande de plata toda dorada de dentro y de fuera con su sobre copa q[ue] pesa diez e ocho marcos en la qual ay camafeos modernos grandes q[ue] se compraron de un alemán en la qual se puso el santissimo sacramento q[ue] esta en la custodia del altar mayor por q[ue] en la cara q[ue] antes estava era pequeña q[ue] la mando comprar el señor diego lopez de ayala obrero juntamente con una portapaz grande dorada q[ue] tiene algunas piedras e perlas e una ymage grande esmaltada de reporte e un libro grande de pargamino. En que ay muchas obras nuevas de canco de organo con muchas istorias muy bien y ricamente iluminadas que se compró de un alemán del año 1497.</p> <p>por la copia libro de canto</p> | <p>[1503/f.127r/2] [margin:] portapaz libro de canto</p> <p>¶ Item otra copa grande de plata toda dorada de dentro y de fuera con su sobre copa q[ue] pesa diez e ocho marcos en la qual ay [blank space] camafeos modernos grandes q[ue] se compraron de [later hand: enrique] alemán en la qual se puso el santissimo sacramento q[ue] esta en la custodia del altar mayor por q[ue] en la cara q[ue] antes estava era pequeña q[ue] la mando comprar [later addition: la susodicha copa grande] el señor diego lopez de ayala obrero juntamente con una portapaz grande dorada q[ue] tiene algunas piedras e perlas e una ymage[n] grande esmaltada de Reporte e un libro grande de pargamino. en que ay muchas obras nuevas de canto de organo con muchas istorias muy bien y Ricamente iluminadas que se conpro de un alemán [later hand:] del dicho enrique alemán.</p> |

Fig. 7.3. *Inventario Cisneros*, f. 127r © Archivo de la Catedral de Toledo

It seems clear that at some stage after the purchase, someone was moved to point out that the goblet, pax, and choirbook were purchased not from “un alemán” but from a person named Enrique Alemán. Although this name does not find its way into the entry for the choirbook in the *Inventario Tavera* on f. 190v, it is specified on f. 183r in the listing headed “Portapaces de Plata” (silver paxes) of that 1539 inventory (Fig. 7.4). Yet as if to remind us that early modern inventories were not constructed to provide instant answers to the questions of twenty-first-century scholarship, Snow’s mystery remains largely unresolved.

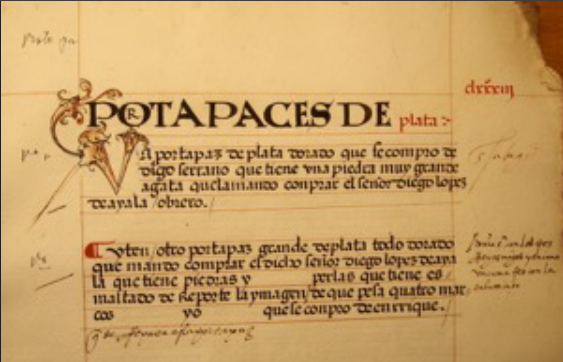
| | |
|---|---|
| <i>Inventario Tavera</i> (1539) | Portapaces de plata |
|  | <p>[1539/f.183r/1] ¶ Vn portapaz de plata dorado que se compro de diego serrano que tiene vna piedra gran de agata que la mando comprar el señor diego lopez de ayala obrero.</p> |
| | <p>[1539/f.183r/1] ¶ yten otro portapaz grande de plata todo dorado que mando comprar el dicho señor diego lopez de ayala que tiene piedras y [blank space] perlas que tiene esmaltado de Reporte la ymagen de que pesa quatro marcos [blank space] yo [blank space] que se compro de Enrique.</p> |

Fig. 7.4. *Inventario Tavera*, f. 183r © Archivo de la Catedral de Toledo

E-Tc Res. 23 was restored in 1994 at the workshop of the Benedictine nuns of the Real Monasterio de San Pelayo, Oviedo, under the supervision of María Dolores Díaz de Miranda.⁹¹ Although some of the polyphony contained in this choirbook was heard in the cathedral after 1542, it is likely that it was performed using one of the six locally produced choirbooks copied by Martín Pérez in the period 1542 to 1553.⁹² We know, from an entry in the AC of Monday 4 December

⁹¹ See María Dolores Díaz de Miranda, “Restauración de una encuadernación: Cantoral del s. XVI”, in *XI Congreso de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales. Castellón*, 3, 4, 5 y 6 de Octubre de 1996 (Castellón: Diputación de Castellón, 1996), 373-83. Snow’s is the best pre-restoration description we have of the choirbook; see Snow, “Toledo Cathedral MS reservado 23”, 253-73. For a colour image of E-Tc Res. 23, ff. 98v-99r, see Fernández, *Guía del Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares de la Catedral de Toledo*, 71.

⁹² See E-Tc 10, 16, 17, 18, 25 and 28. There is no strong evidence to suggest that Pérez copied these works from E-Tc Res. 23. Pérez’s copy of L’Héritier’s *Magnificat quarti toni* (4 v) does not survive.

1553, that, at least on this date, the choirbook was retrieved from the *sagrario* so that it could be used in the auditions that were being held for the post of *maestro de capilla*.⁹³ That the choirbook was kept in the *sagrario*, and not with the choirbooks that were in regular use, is confirmed by Ginés de Boluda (c. 1545 – 1604) who, in a recently-discovered and as yet unpublished list of the music books in his custody, signed on 4 September 1585, mentioned this choirbook at the end of his list.⁹⁴

Although the musico-liturgical books of Toledo Cathedral were made of the same materials and often by the same artisans, they were regarded as separate from the books that were kept in the Chapter Library. Books had always enjoyed a special status within Christianity, something that is hardly surprising for a faith founded on the book. But it was not until 1383 and a bequest from archbishop Pedro Tenorio (1377-99) that an independent Chapter Library with its own purpose-built space was established at the Spanish primatial cathedral.⁹⁵ The musico-liturgical books differed from those kept in the library in a number of ways. First, they were in regular use in the cathedral's central *coro*. Their large – often very large – size and their decoration often derived from their role as conspicuous actors in the larger theatre of the liturgy. They were heavy, and needed to be stored as close as possible to the *coro*, and because their function was to transmit liturgical texts as accurately as possible, they were often subject to correction, emendation and revision. Far from untouchable bibliographical treasures, these were the draft horses of the unending liturgical cycle. They provide an indispensable record of the ways in which the liturgy and its music was prescribed and performed in Toledo cathedral for the best part of 500 years. The cathedral's rich series of inventories offer some of the best evidence we have about the ways in which these books were made, used and changed over the centuries. A thorough and systematic study of all the Toledo cathedral's inventories is a project in the making.

⁹³ See ACT AC 9 (1552-1555) f. 149r-v (Monday 4 December 1553): "... se pusieron dos facistores en medio del Cabildo y en el un facistor se puso un libro de Canto llano, y en el otro un libro de Canto de organo rico q[ue] esta en el sagrario...".

⁹⁴ See ACT OF 1330, f. 57v: "quedose en el sagrario vn libro de pergamino iluminado muy rico, de misas de Jusquin...".

⁹⁵ González, "Evolución histórica de la Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo", 235-56.