



Spanish Plainchant Publications to 1601

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MMUSICOLOGISTS UNANIMOUSLY acknowledge the paramount role played by plainchant in Renaissance liturgical polyphony. Nonetheless, they have tended to shun “impure” Renaissance sources in their discussions, favoring instead “pure” Solesmes plainchant versions. In explanation for their neglect, Renaissance plainchant sources, except for incunabula, have not been anywhere comprehensively catalogued.

The present catalogue of pre-1601 Spanish imprints containing plainchant took wings as a class project at the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid, where I occupy the plainchant chair. During its preparation I have profited greatly from the investigations of a bibliographer who dedicated his entire life to liturgical books, Antonio Odriozola. A decade after his accidental death in December 1987 appeared his *Catálogo de Libros Litúrgicos Españoles y Portugueses, impresos en los siglos XV y XVI* (Museo de Pontevedra, 1996).

Cathedral archives from Seville to Ayacucho, Cuzco, and Lima, from Toledo to Bogotá, Mexico City and Puebla to Quito, house hundreds of handwritten, atlas-size *cantoriales* containing plainchant. As exquisite masterpieces of visual art the illuminations in these choirbooks have occasionally attracted scholarly attention. For one example, the Bogotá periodical *Bolívar*, 45 (November–December 1955), contains at pages 1076–1129 Gabriel Giraldo Jaramillo’s “Francisco de Páramo, Miniaturista y Calí-

grafo Santafareño del Siglo XVII” with an appendix of eighteen black and white plates. The first plate is a facsimile of the colophon to Choirbook IV (this contains Christmas chants): *Este Libro lo escribio Fran^{co} de Paramo por mandado del Ill^{mo} Señor Don Bartholome Lobo Guerrero, Arzobispo deste Nuevo Reino, año de 1.606*. The rest of the plates chosen from the total of 32 (originally 30) plainchant monsters copied on vellum between 1606 and 1608 show Páramo’s skill as an illuminator; the second plate also includes the music for the Low Sunday Mass introit.

But an article or two on visuals does not palliate the supreme ignorance that reigns concerning music in plainchant sources extant in Spain, Portugal, and Latin America. The disregard for the music in the fifteenth- through seventeenth-century Iberian world plainchant sources manifests itself painfully in the extreme, when John R. Bryden and David G. Hughes’s two-volume *An Index of Gregorian Chant* (Harvard University Press, 1969) is consulted. Not one Spanish manuscript or printed plainchant source of any century is indexed. Samuel Rubio in his monograph *Las melodías gregorianas de los “libros corales” del Monasterio de Escorial* (El Escorial, 1982) demonstrated how different from widely dispersed melodies elsewhere can be Spanish variants, none of which can be deduced from Bryden and Hughes.

The list of imprints given below includes only



fifteenth- and sixteenth-century imprints. As thorough as was Antonio Odriozola, he kept constantly adding new typewritten cards deposited at the Juan March Foundation, in justification of the award given him in 1960. Editors Julián Martín Abad and Francesc X Altés i Agulló have had the foresight to publish facsimiles of Odriozola's added cards. Meanwhile, however, the purpose and destination of any printed plainchant book must be understood if its melodic contents are to be rightly comprehended and evaluated.

PLAINCHANT MANUSCRIPT AND PRINTED CHOIRBOOKS IN SPANISH CATHEDRALS

Along with other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century changes, their printing altered the idea of what constituted a liturgical book and lent it another function. As is well known, the first printed plainchant books, aptly described by Michel Huglo in his *Les livres de chant liturgique* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988) were modeled on current manuscript plainchant sources. But in the long course of time, liturgical books suffered certain changes to meet the varying demands of churches served by religious orders and by diocesan secular clergy. In my *Historia de la música española desde los orígenes hasta el ars nova* (Madrid: Alianza, 2nd ed., 1988), pages 239–42, I lengthily described source manuscripts which served as models for the first printed plainchant books, and therefore desist from repeating myself here.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Spain witnessed strategic religious reforms enforced upon both secular and religious clergy, thanks to the Catholic Kings' impetus throughout their combined reigns. New ascetic fervor permeated Spanish society everywhere at the close of the so-called Middle Ages. Exact observance of all religious precepts—especially liturgical obligations—paralleled a new economic abundance that made possible the completion of many Gothic churches and cathedrals, construction of which had begun in some instances more than two centuries previously. As one result, more space became available for required liturgical functions that became constantly more solemn and formal, thus matching the increased religious fervor and private prayers inculcated by the *devotio moderna*. In cathedrals and collegiate churches the middle nave

spaces were enclosed, while in churches served by the religious orders the back tribune was closed off, thus separating the officiating clergy from other worshippers. The ornate choir stalls whose lateral tribunes contained one or two organs were grouped around a choirbook stand in the center of the enclosure. The choirbook stand with four faces gave the benefited clergy, singers, and instrumentalists circling it their opportunity to sing and play under the choirmaster's watchful direction. Placed on the central choirbook stand were the enormous plainchant books copied with the same solicitude devoted to the rest of the liturgical furniture that included paintings and sculpture, altarpieces with scenes that incited to piety, as did the altars and chapels in the wings.

In this ambience the antiquated plainchant manuscripts gave way to printed books with notes legible at a distance. In processions, portable manuscripts were replaced by printed plainchant manuals. Not until the Tridentine decrees took effect did liturgical uniformity prevail throughout Spain. The papal-approved Breviary was first printed in 1568, Missal in 1570, Pontifical in 1596, Bishops' Ceremonial in 1600, Ritual in 1614. These documents prescribed fixed texts, but not uniform music—although musical norms were dictated.

Pope Gregory XIII's desire in 1577 to unify plainchant usages under Palestrina's supervision was stymied by Fernando de las Infantas's intervention, authorized by Philip II. Las Infantas's occult motive for intervening can be explained. At El Escorial and elsewhere throughout Spain great sums were being spent to copy locally approved traditional plainchant melodies into lavish choirbooks. To discard these in favor of plainchants favored at Rome, even those authorized in the papal chapel, spelled economic tribulation throughout Spain. Delaying the publication of any Roman models approved by the pope, gave the numerous diverse ecclesiastical entities in Spain their opportunity to cling to their own traditional usages, and permitted the bishops, for instance, Alfonso de Gregorio at Saragossa, to authorize publication as late as 1596 and 1598 of antiphoners *De Sanctis* and *De Tempore*. Meanwhile the long anticipated Roman Gradual did not reach print until 1614, and it even then carried no papal brief obligating its usage throughout the whole of catholic Christendom.



TYPES OF LITURGICAL BOOKS

Here follows an annotated list of the fourteen types of liturgical books containing plainchant that were published in the Spanish peninsula before 1601.

1. *Missal*. The musical portions consisted chiefly of the prefaces and intonations of the Gloria in excelsis. Holy Week music frequently included intonations for the rite of the Adoration of the Cross, the Good Friday office, and Holy Saturday's dawn. Sometimes the music for the *Ite missa est* intoned by the deacon was also included.

2. *Manuale Sacramentorum*. This all-music miscellany, designed for parish priests, combined chants sung at Mass and during the daily office. As a rule it also included the ceremonial music for baptisms, marriages, funerals, burial offices, and other exceptional events. Examples of this frequently published type of mixture began appearing in 1501 and 1508, when Fadrique Aleman de Basilea published his *Manuale Burgense* and continued unabated past mid-century, until in 1566 Juan de Cánova published his *Manipulus Conquensis*. All these manuals included plentiful printed plainchant.

3. *Ordinarium*. A book thus entitled often contained the same music as a *Manuale Sacramentorum*. However, it might contain also the sung and/or read texts of the daytime office, expanded occasionally with matins and nocturns texts.

4. *Processionarium*. Containing responsories, antiphons, and hymns, processions were strictly musical volumes with a fixed repertory. After terce on Sundays and feast days, the religious and secular clergy in cathedrals and collegiate churches processed throughout the cloister; special processions occurred on Palm Sundays and Rogation days. Each procession involved its proper responsories; hymns were also sung, and when the clergy stopped before a statue or altar in the cloister, antiphons and relevant prayers were sung. Since music hymnals are quite rare, the melodies of certain hymns must be sought elsewhere, especially in processions. Printers often included also psalm intonations, burial offices, and even at times a brief plainsong instructor for the use of novices, as for instance did Mathias Gast in the processional published at Salamanca in 1563. At the end of the Ungut-Polono processional printed at Seville in 1494 folios 67-69

contain the Christmas and Epiphany chants and gospel genealogies.

5. *Intonarium*. Normally containing the intonations grouped by tones for psalms and hymns, the type of book, when destined not only for the use of parish clergy but also for lay choirs in cathedrals and collegiate churches, might also be called a *Manuale Chori*—as was for example called the Toledo intonarium published at Alcalá by Brocar in 1515. At times intonariums opened with a short plainsong treatise in Latin or Spanish, instances being those printed at Saragossa by Pedro Bernuz in 1543 and 1548.

This type of intonarium served more for school and practice use than for employment in the liturgy.

6. *Manuale Chori*. A music book thus entitled contained all the verbal instructions, psalm and hymn intonations and most frequently sung liturgical pieces required by a plainchanter. Sometimes its contents duplicated those of a processional, as for example the *Processionale* published at Salamanca by Juan de Cánova in 1557. As much a school textbook as a liturgical publication, a *Manuale Chori* was in general acquired by churches boasting a choral program, and as such was deemed either a treatise or an art of plainchant or an intonarium. (See Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta's "A propósito de un *Manuale Chori* of 1539" published in *De Musica Hispana et aliis*, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1990, pages 263-74.)

7. *Himnario*. An exceptional type, containing as a rule no more than hymn intonations, and therefore comparable with an intonarium; also, hymnals could occasionally find their way into such other books as a passioner.

8. *Pasionario*. Such a book contains the music for the passion recitations sung during Holy Week. As José Vicente González Valle brilliantly showed in his 1974 Munich Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität doctoral dissertation, *Die Tradition des Liturgischen Passionsvortrags in Spanien* and in its revised Spanish version published at Saragossa by the Institución Fernando el Católico in 1995, the formulas for the reciting of the passion narratives varied widely throughout the peninsula. Passioners occasionally included also the *Pregón Pascual* "Exsultate" and the genealogies read at Christmas and Epiphany.

9. *Psalterium*. In as much as the 150 psalms have traditionally been designated for liturgical use, for



each psalm is specified an appropriate antiphon. Even today monastic breviaries begin with the *Psalterium feriale*. According to the Benedictine rule, the 150 psalms are sung in numerical order from beginning to end each week ("psalterio corrente"). Like medieval codices containing the book of psalms, printed psalters customarily included hymns and also the *De Beata* and burial offices—an example being the Toledan psalter published at Alcalá by Brocar in 1515.

10. *Diurnale*. A book thus titled contained the daily festive offices from Lauds to Compline. At times a diurnale included likewise music for matins and for special solemnities. By order of Cardinal Guillermo de Croy, archbishop of Toledo, Brocar published at Alcalá in 1519 a *Diurnale dominicale seu Ordinarium secundum usum alme ecclesie Toletane*. In the introduction Francisco de Mendoza, who was then Gobernador General of the archdiocese, recalled that only this one liturgical book needed being now printed, since all the others used in the liturgy—psalter, missal, passioner, intonarium, common of saints, and so forth, had already been published.

Cum vero iam Psalterium, Missale, Intonarium, Passionale, Sanctorum commune, rei divine Officiarum absolvisset, invidit fortuna illius ingentis ceptis, et quod solum restabat diurnarum horarum opus duplex, alterum quod ad sanctorum festa pertinebat, interceptus morte in medio imprimendi apparatu reliquit.

Therefore it seems that the editor in his prologue explaining the purpose of the *Diurnale* offered in addition a conspectus of the different types of liturgical books then in use. Despite the *Diurnale* title, the two volumes—one for feast days, the other for saints' days—includes also the music for the *night*

offices of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, and Corpus Christi, precisely because the music for these and other major feasts was sung even in small churches not owning other choirbooks.

11. *Officarium*. Books thus entitled with generous music for the Office corresponded to what is now called the Office Antiphoner (chants for the day, the night, or both); with music for the Mass they equalled what is now called the Gradual.

12. *Graduale*. Although present-day graduals contain chants sung at Mass, the *Graduale Officarium Dominicale* published at Granada by Juan Varela de Salamanca ca. 1507 seems to be the only compound title *graduale* of its period containing chants for the Mass.

13. *Antifonario*. Antiphoners contained the divine office chants for feast days. Juan Varela de Salamanca published an *Antiphonarium Officarium Dominicale* at Granada in 1508 as a complement to the just listed *Graduale* of ca. 1507. As late as 1596 and 1598 Archbishop Alfonso de Gregorio commissioned Pascual Pérez's publication at Saragossa of saints' days and feast days antiphoners.

14. *Pontificale*. Liturgists call a book of rites pertaining exclusively to bishops—such as ordinations, church dedications, Maundy Thursday consecrations of Holy Oil and Chrisma—a pontifical. However books containing exclusively the *ordo* and *ordines* for bishops' ceremonies do not always bear the title *pontificale*.

The repositories for the plainchant publications listed in the catalogue that concludes this article are identified by siglas, first for Spanish locations, second with siglas for foreign locations. Spanish spellings for Spanish cities prevail (Zaragoza, not Saragossa).

*Liturgical books containing plainchant
published before 1601 (Spanish uses)*

SIGLAS

Spanish Sources

ALG	Alegría (Alava), Parroquia
ALM	Andorra, La Massana, Archivo Parroquial
ARZ	Aránzazu (Guipuzcoa), Convento de Franciscanos
AST	Astorga, Catedral
AUBA	Biblioteca de Enrique Auba, Zaragoza
AV	Avila, Biblioteca diocesana



B ac	Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón
B ah	Barcelona, Archivo Histórico de la ciudad
B ap	Barcelona, Archivo de Protocolos
B c	Barcelona, Catedral
B ca	Barcelona, Biblioteca del Colegio de Abogados
B capd	Barcelona, Biblioteca particular de Felipe Capdevilla
B card	Barcelona, Cardona, Archivo Parroquial
B d	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Cataluña
B s	Barcelona, Biblioteca del Seminario
B u	Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universidad
B uei	Barcelona, CSIC. Instituto (UEI) de Musicología
BAE	Baeza, Parroquia de San Pablo
BARB	Barbastro, Catedral
BI d	Bilbao, Diputación Foral
BO	Burgo de Osma, Catedral
BRI	Briones (Logroño), Parroquia
BU ad	Burgos, Archivo Diocesano
BU c	Burgos, Catedral
BU hr	Burgos, Hospital del Rey
BU p	Burgos, Biblioteca Provincial
C	Córdoba, Catedral
C p	Córdoba, Biblioteca Pública
C sm	Córdoba, Seminario Diocesano
CALER	Convento de PP. Dominicos de Caleruega (Burgos)
CARD	Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Pedro de Cardena (Burgos)
CGR	Calahorra, Catedral
CLZ	Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Catedral
COR	Coria, Catedral
Cu e	Cuenca, Biblioteca Episcopal, Catedral
DA	Biblioteca de los Duques de Alba
E	El Escorial, Biblioteca del Monasterio
EST	Estella (Navarra), Parroquia de San Pedro la Rúa
FONT	Biblioteca Font de Rubinat (Reus)
G	Gerona, Catedral
G s	Gerona, Seminario Diocesano
GC s	Gran Canaria, Biblioteca particular de Lothar Siemens
GR j	Granada, Biblioteca de los Padres Jesuitas
GR r	Granada, Capilla de los Reyes Católicos
Gu ma	Molina de Aragón (Guadalajara), Parroquia
H p	Huesca, Biblioteca Pública
J	Jaén, Catedral
J sa	Jaén, Capilla de San Andrés
JAC	Jaca, Catedral
JAM	Biblioteca Particular de José Antonio Mosquera, Pamplona
JF	Jérez de la Frontera, Colegiata
JGL	Biblioteca de Jesús Gonzalo López (Zaragoza)
L bd	León, Biblioteca Diocesana, Centro de Estudios San Isidoro
L c	León, Catedral
L si	León, Colegiata de San Isidoro
LE c	Lérida, Catedral
LE	Lérida, Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses
LEs	Lérida, Biblioteca del Seminario Diocesano
LLUC	Monasterio de Lluch, Mallorca
LM	Ripoll (Gerona), Biblioteca Pública Lambert Mata



LO m	Logroño, Iglesia Parroquial de Sta. María de Palacio
LO p	Logroño, Biblioteca Pública
LO s	Logroño, Parroquia de Santiago el Real
M ah	Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional
M c	Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense
M lg	Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano
M h	Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional
M n	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional
M p	Madrid, Palacio Real
M u	Madrid, Biblioteca de la Unviersidad (Facultad de Derecho)
MA s	Málaga, Seminario Diocesano
MARCH	Biblioteca de Bartolomé March (Madrid)
MO	Monasterio de Montserrat (Barcelona)
MON	Mondoñedo, Catedral
MU u	Murcia, Biblioteca Universitaria
O c	Oviedo, Catedral
O s	Oviedo, Seminario Diocesano
O u	Oviedo, Biblioteca de la Universidad
OR	Orense, Catedral
OR s	Orense, Seminario Diocesano
P bp	Palencia, Biblioteca Pública
P c	Palencia, Catedral
PA c	Pamplona, Catedral
PA p	Pamplona, Biblioteca Pública
PA s	Pamplona, Seminario Diocesano
PER	Biblioteca del Palacio de Perelada (Gerona)
PLAS	Plasencia, Catedral
PMd	Palma de Mallorca, Archivo Diocesano
PM lr	Palma de Mallorca, Monasterio La Real
PM p	Palma de Mallorca, Biblioteca Pública
PO yo	Pontevedra, Monasterio de Poyo
POB	Monasterio de Poblet (Tarragona)
S	Sevilla, Catedral Biblioteca Colombina
S pa	Sevilla, Palacio Arzobispal
S u	Sevilla, Biblioteca Universitaria
SA	Salamanca, Catedral
SA d	Salamanca, Convento de las Dueñas Dominicanas
SA se	Salamanca, Convento de San Esteban
SA u	Salamanca, Biblioteca de la Universidad
SA up	Salamanca, Biblioteca de la Universidad Pontificia
SAL	Salvatierra (Alava), Parroquia de San Juan
SC	Santiago de Compostela, Catedral
SC f	Santiago de Compostela, Convento de los PP. Franciscanos
SC jl	Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca de los PP. Jesuitas «José López»
SC u	Santiago de Compostela, Universidad
SE	Segovia, Catedral
SE p	Segovia, Biblioteca Pública
SEG	Segorbe, (Castellón) Catedral
SI	Biblioteca del Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos)
SIG	Sigiienza, Catedral
SJQ	Convento de Dominicas de San Juan de Quejana (Alava)
SOL	Solsona (Lérida), Archivo Diocesano
RIP	Ripoll, Museo Parroquial
T c	Toledo, Catedral



T cm	Toledo, Catedral Capilla Mozárabe
T p	Toledo, Biblioteca Pública
TA c	Tarragona, Catedral
TA aha	Tarragona, Archivo Histórico Archidiecésano
TAR	Tarazona, Catedral
TE	Teruel, Biblioteca Diocesana
TORO	Toro (Zamora), Colegiata
TUY	Tuy, Catedral
UR	Seo de Urgel, Catedral
URs	Seo de Urgel, Seminario Diocesano
V s	Valladolid, Biblioteca del Seminario Diocesano
V u	Valladolid, Biblioteca Universitaria
VA c	Valencia, Catedral
VA cp	Valencia, Colegio del Patriarca
VA s	Valencia, Colegio Seminario del Corpus Christi
VA u	Valencia, Universidad
VI s	Vitoria, Seminario Diocesano
VIC	Vic, Biblioteca Episcopal
VP	Villafranca del Penedés (Barcelona), Museo
Z c	Zaragoza, Biblioteca de la Seo
Z mc	Zaragoza, Monasterio de Cogullada
Z s	Zaragoza, Biblioteca del Seminario Diocesano
Z u	Zaragoza, Biblioteca de la Universidad
ZA	Zamora, Catedral
ZA d	Zamora, Biblioteca Diocesana
ZAR	Zarauz (Guipuzcoa), Convento de los PP. Franciscanos

Foreign Libraries

B-Br	Brussels, Bibliothèque royale
C-CBU	Cagliari, Biblioteca universitaria
D-Mbs	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
F-AHT	Library of the Abbaye d'Hautecombe (Savoy)
F-AML	Abbaye Saint Martin de Ligugé (Poitiers)
F-AMS	Abbaye Sainte Marie du Dessert (Haute Garone)
F-MANS	Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon
F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
GB-BL	London, British Library
GB-Cec	Cambridge, Emmanuel College
GB-Cu	Cambridge, University Library
GB-Norton	Private library of F. J. Norton, Cambridge
GB-Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
I-Mb	Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale di Brera
I-Rc	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense
I-Rbau	Rome, Biblioteca Alessandrina Universitaria
I-Rvat	Rome, Vatican Library
P-Brp	Braga, Biblioteca Pública
P-Cu	Coimbra, University Library
P-EVp	Évora, Biblioteca pública
P-Lac	Lisbon, Academia das Ciências
P-Ln	Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional
P-Pm	Oporto, Biblioteca Pública municipal
PR-cl	San Juan, Puerto Rico, Casa del Libro



US-Bp	Boston, Public Library
US-CBR	Providence, Rhode Island, John Carter Brown Library
US-CHH	Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina
US-HL	Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Houghton Library
US-NYh	New York, The Hispanic Society
US-NYpm	New York, John Pierpont Morgan Library

<i>Title</i>	<i>Rite</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Printer</i>	<i>Location</i>
Misal	Zaragozano	Zaragoza	1485	P. Hurus	Zc, US-NYh, TE, Bd, LM
Misal	Oscense	Zaragoza	1488	P. Hurus	Zc, US-NYh
Misal	Toledano	Toledo	1489	P. Hagenbach	Bn, Tc
Misal	Valentinum	Venice	1492	J. Hamann	VAc, VAu, Mn, SEG
Misal	Gerundense	Barcelona	1493	J. Rosenbach	G (Fragmentos en MO, G, Bap)
Misal	Auriense	Monterrey	1494	Porras-Passera	OR
(Man. Sacr.)	Legionense	Venice	1494	P. Porris	Lsi
Man. (Sacr.)	Toledano	Sevilla	1494	3 comp. alemanes	E
Procesion.	Dominico	Sevilla	1494	Ungut-Polono	Mn, Mlg, SAd, US-NYh, US-NYpm, Buei, MAS
Misal	Vicense	Barcelona	1496	Rosenbach-Luschner	VIC, MO
Misal	Dominico	Sevilla	1498	Ungut-Polono	BUc
Misal	Barcinonense	Barcelona	1498	D. de Gumiel	MO (Bd, VIC, folios sueltos)
Misal	Zaragozano	Zaragoza	1498	P. Hurus	Zc, Bn, Tp
Misal	Benedictino	Montserrat	1499	J. Luschner	Mah
Misal	Giennense	Sevilla	1499	Ungut-Polono	J
Misal	Tarraconense	Tarragona	1499	J. Rosenbach	US-NYh
Man. (Sacr.)	Segoviano	Salamanca	1499	—	SE
Misal	Mozárabe	Toledo	1500	P. Hagenbach	Mn, MO, Tc, Tp, Pn, GB-BL, etc.
Misal	Tirasonense	Pamplona	1500	A. G. Brocario	TAR, BId
Misal	Segoviense	Venice	1500	J. E. de Spira	Bn, SE
Himnario	Benedictino	Montserrat	1500	J. Luschner	MO (a), GB-BL (b)
Procesion.	Benedictino	Montserrat	1500	J. Luschner	MO, SI, FONT Card, GB-BL, BU _p
Man. Sacr.	Burgense	Burgos	1501	Fadrique Alemán	Mah
Misal	Pampilonense	Pamplona	1501?	A. G. Brocario	PAC
Ordinarium	Gerundense	Perpiñán	1502	J. Rosenbach	FONT
Procesion.	Zaragozano(a-b)	Zaragoza	1502	Coci-Hutz?	Zc, PR-cl (a)
Man. (Sacr.)	Toledano	Toledo	1503	—	Lsi
Misal	Oscense	Zaragoza	1504	J. Coci	JAC, BARB
Pasionario	Zaragozano	Zaragoza	1504	J. Coci-L. Hutz	GB-Norton
Misal	Legionense	Sevilla	1504	J. Cromberger	Lsi
(Himnario)	Valentino	Valencia	1505	L. Hutz	?
Pasion. ¹	Burgense (a-b)	Burgos	1505-8?	Fadrique Alemán	BUad (a), US-NYh (b)
Misal	Maioricense	Venice	1506	L. A. de Giunta	Mn, PMP, JF, Per
Man. Chori	Franciscano	Salamanca	1506	J. de Porras	Mn, GB-BL, US-NYh
Graduale	Granatense	Granada	ca. 1507	J. Varela de Sal.	Pn (inc.)
Misal	Hispalense	Sevilla	1507	J. Cromberger	Sm, GB-BL, I-Rc
Misal	Mercedario	Barcelona	1507	L. Luschner	F-MANS (mús.?)
Antiphonar.	Granatense	Granada	1508	J. Varela de Sal.	Pn (inc.)



<i>Title</i>	<i>Rite</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Printer</i>	<i>Location</i>
Man. Sacr.	Burgense	Burgos	1508	Fadrique Alemán	Cal, CGR, Lsi
Misal	Placentinum	Salamanca	1507/11?	J. de Porras	Tp. PLAS
Misal	Urgellense	Venice	1509	B. de Tridino	UR, Pn
Ordinarium	Urgellense	Venice	1509	B. de Tridino	UR (mús.?)
Misal	Valentinum	Venice	1509	L. A. de Giunta	VAc, Mn, Bd, Lsi
Pontific. ²	Barcinonense	Barcelona	1509/16?	J. Rosebach	Mn
Misal	Abulense	Salamanca	1510	J. de Porras	Bn
Misal	Jerónimo	Zaragoza	1510	J. Coci	US-NYh, GB-BL
Pasionario	Zaragozano	Zaragoza	1510	J. Coci	GB-Norton, Vacp, TZ
Misal	Jerónimo	Zaragoza	1511?	J. Coci	Mn, Mp, MO, S, Cp, P-Ln, GB-BL, I-Mb, D-Mbs, US-HL, I-Rbau
Misal	Elnense	Barcelona	1511	J. Rosenbach	TAp
Misal	Toledano	Burgos	1512	Fadrique de Bas.	Bn, Tc, GB-BL, Tcm
Psalterium	Palentino	Logroño	1512	A. G. Brocario	Pc
Man. (Sacr.)	Tirasonense	Valencia	1514	J. de Gumiel	TZ, ARZ
Ordinarium	Valentinum	Valencia	1514	J. Jofre	VAu, GB-BL, FONT
Procesion.	Cisterciense	Zaragoza	1514	J. Coci	P-Brp, LLUC
Procesion.	Ilerdense	Zaragoza	1514?	J. Coci	GB-Norton
Misal	Oscense	Zaragoza	1515	J. Coci	JAC, Hp, US-HL
Psalterium	Toledano	Alcalá	1515	A. G. Brocario	US-NYh, Mc
Intonarium	Toledano	Alcalá	1515	A. G. Brocario	Mn, Mu
Ordinarium	Maioricense	Valencia	1516	J. Jofre	Mn, Bd, PMd, PMLr, C-CBU
Pasionario	Toledano	Alcalá	1516	A. G. Brocario	Mn, TZ, Pn, SE
Misal	Toledano	Toledo	1517	J. Villaquirán (Coci)	Tc, Pn
Officiarium	Toledano	Alcalá	1517	A. G. Brocario	VIs (incompl)
Misal	Franciscano	Zaragoza	1519	J. Coci	SAup, Bs, Mn, GB-BL
Man. Sacr.	Toledano	Alcalá	1519	A. G. Brocario	Mn, GB-Ob
Diur. Domin.	seu				
Ordinarium	Toledano	Alcalá	1519	A. G. Brocario	Mn, Mu
Diur. Sanct.	seu				
Ordinarium	Toledano	Alcalá	1519	A. G. Brocario	Mu
Procesion.	Dominico	Sevilla	1519	J. Cromberger	Mn, SAd, US-NYh, FONT, US-Bp, P-EVp
Misal	Hispalense	Sevilla	1520	J. Cromberger	Bn
Evangeliario	Valentinum	Valencia	1520	J. Costilla	VAc
Misal	Palentinum	Lyon	1520?		Mlg, SIG
Misal	Barcinonense	Lyon	1521	B. Lescuyer	Bbc, VP, SOL
Misal	Benedictino	Montserrat	1521	J. Rosenbach	MO
Man. (Sacr.)	Legionense	León	1521?	J. de León	Lbd
Misal	Zaragozano	Zaragoza	1522	J. Coci	Zc, Zu, Bd, Mn
Procesion.	Barcinonense	Lyon	1522	J. Myt	Bd, Bcapd, LM
Misal	Astoricense	León	1523	J. de León	AST
Misal	Dertusense	Barcelona	1524	J. Rosenbach	TO, Bd
Misal ³	Ilerdense	Zaragoza	1524	J. Coci	LEc
Misal ⁴	Ilerdense	Zaragoza	1524	J. Coci	LEc, BARB
Ordinarium	Dertusense	Barcelona	1524	J. Rosenbach	?
Misal	Cordubense	Sevilla	1525	J. Cromberger	C. S
Misal	Giennense	Sevilla	1525	J. Cromberger	J
Misal	Tirasonense	Zaragoza	1525	J. Coci	TZ, Mp



<i>Title</i>	<i>Rite</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Printer</i>	<i>Location</i>
Pasionario	Toledano	Alcalá	1525	M. de Eguía	Oc
Misal	Jerónimo	Zaragoza	1526	J. Coci	MARCH, P-EVp
Procesion.	Jerónimo	Alcalá	1526	M. de Eguía	Mn, Bs, E, P-EVp, P-Brp, GB-BL, US-NYh
Man. (Sacr.)	Oxomense	Burgos	1527	J. de Junta	Mn, BO
Procesion.	Urgellense	Barcelona	1527	J. Rosenbach	Bd, VIC, MO, FONT, Bah, UR, BCard, Bah
Misal	Valentinum	Zaragoza	1528	J. Coci	VAc, VAu, I-Mb
Man. (Sacr.)	Conquense	Cuenca	1528	Gallicus-Alfaro	Mn, SCu
Misal	Hispalense	Sevilla	1529	J. Varela de Sal.	I-Mb
Misal	Pacense	Sevilla	1529	J. Cromberger	Mn, VAcP
Misal	Tirasonense	Zaragoza	1529	J. Coci	TAR, Zu, Mp, Bd
Pasionario	Zaragozano	Zaragoza	1529	J. Coci	?
Misal	Dominico	Sevilla	1530	J. Varela de Sal.	Su
Misal	Coria	Venice	1530	P. Liechtenstein	COR
Man. (Sacr.)	Hispalense	Sevilla	1530	J. Varela de Sal	I-Mb
Ordinarium	Tarraconense	Barcelona	1530	J. Rosenbach	TAc, Bd, MO, FONT
Man. Sacr.	Toledano	Alcalá	1530	M. de Eguía	P-Ln, TC
Misal	Calahorra	Logroño	1531	M. de Eguía	MO, LOM
Misal	Zaragozano	Zaragoza	1531	J. Coci	?
Misal	Franciscano	Zaragoza	1531	J. Coci	Mn, P-Ln, Bu, GB-Cu
Pasionario	Calagurritano	Logroño	1531	M. de Eguía	CGR, ALG, ZAR, BRI, SAL
Misal	Jerónimo	Zaragoza	1532	J. Coci	Mn, G
Man. (Sacr.)	Calagurritano	Logroño	1532	M. de Eguía	Mn
Man. (Sacr.)	Salmantino	Salamanca	1532	J. de Junta	Mn, LEs
Ordinarium	Ilerdense	Lyon	1532	D. Harsay	Bd
Misal	Salmantino	Salamanca	1533	J. de Junta	SAu
(Himnario)	Mercedario	Valladolid	1533	N. Thierry	Mn, Bac
Man. Chori	Franciscano	Valladolid	1533	N. Thierry	US-NYh, PAp, AUBA
Misal	Hispalense	Sevilla	1534	J. Varela de Sal.	Bn, S, I-Rvat
Misal	Toledano	Alcalá	1534	M. de Eguía	Tc
Man. Sacr.	Burgense	Alcalá	1534	M. de Eguía	Mn
Procesion.	Zaragozano?	Zaragoza	1535	J. Coci	GB-BL
Pasionario	Palentino	Palencia	1536	D. Fz de Córdoba	Mn, POB
(Pontif.) ²	Palentino	Palencia	1536	D. Fz de Córdoba	Mn, Ou, US-NYh
Misal	Conquense	Alcalá	1537	M. de Eguía	CUe
Misal	Hispalense	Sevilla	1537	J. Varela de Sal.	Bn, S
Man. (Sacr.)	Hispalense	Sevilla	1537	J. Varela de Sal	S
Misal	Urgellense	Zaragoza	1537	J. Coci	UR, URs, SOL, MO, US-NYh, F-ALM
Misal	Giennense	Sevilla	1538	J. Varela de Sal.	J, Jsa
Pasionario	Zaragozano	Zaragoza	1538	J. Coci	Bd, VAcP, MO
Misal	Toledano	Alcalá	1539	J. Brocario	Tc, Tp, Mah, SE, CGR
Man. Chori	Franciscano	Sevilla	1539	(J. Varela?)	GCs
Misal	Zaragozano	Zaragoza	1540	J. Coci	Zc, Bn, Bp
Misal	Jerónimo	Zaragoza	1540	J. Coci	SE
Misal	Zamorense	Zamora	(1539- 1543?)	P. Tovana	SCf
Misal	Pampilonense	Zaragoza	1540?	J. Coci	PAc (mús?)
Misal	Granatense	Granada	1541	S. de Nebrija	E
Misal	Calahorra	Logroño	1542	J. Brocario	ARZ



<i>Title</i>	<i>Rite</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Printer</i>	<i>Location</i>
Man. Sacr.	Burgense	Burgos	1542	J. Brocario?	Mn, S, BUc
Man. (Sacr.)	Granatense	Granada	1542	S. de Nebrija	Mn
Intonario	General ⁵	Zaragoza	1542	Bernuz-Najera	GB-Norton
Misal	Jerónimo	Zaragoza	1543	J. Coci	Mn, Mlg, SCu, SCf, SCjl, Zs, I-Mb, P-Ln
Himnario ⁶	Benedictino	Sahagún	1543	D. Fz. de Córdoba	US-NYh
Procesion.	Benedictino	Sahagún	1542	D. Fz. de Córdoba	US-Nyh
(Graduale)	Granatense	Granada	1544	D. de Nebrija	Mn
Man. (Sacr.)	Cartaginense	Granada	1545	S. de Nebrija	Mn
Misal	Astoricense	León	1546	A. de Paz	AST, I-Mb
Misal	Burgense	Burgos	1546	J. de Junta	BUc, Mah
Misal	Gerundense	Lyon	1546	C. de 7 Granjiis	G, Gs
Misal	Vicense	Lyon	1547	C. de 7 Granjiis	VIC (mús.?)
Ordinarium	Vicense	Lyon	1547	C. de 7 Granjiis	Bd, MO, Bu, VIC
Man. Sacr.	Hispalense	Sevilla	1547	A. de Burgos	C, US-CBL
Misal	Jerónimo	Zaragoza	1548	J. Coci	Mn, Mlg, Mp, Bd, Lsi, P-EVp, P-Ln, US-HL
Intonario	Zaragozano ⁵	Zaragoza	1548	P. Bernuz	Mn
Ordinarium	Urgellense	Lyon	1548	C. de 7 Granjiis	Bd, MO, Bu, LEi, VIC, LM
Man. Sacr.	Segoviano	Segovia	1548	J. Brocario	Mn, SE, SEp, SAu
Misal	Tarraconense	Lyon	1550	C. de 7 Granjiis	TAc, TAp, Bd, VIC, Gs
Misal	Toledano	Alcalá	1550	J. Brocario	Tc, Mn, Zc
Ordinarium	Gerundense	Lyon	1550	C. de 7 Granjiis	FONT, Mp, Bs
Ordinarium	Tarraconense	Lyon	1550	C. de 7 Granjiis	Bd, Bs, E
(Man.) Sacr.	Salmantino	Salamanca	1550	J. de Junta	SAu
Procesion.	Cisterciense	Zaragoza	1550	B. Nájera	Mn, SI, VIC, Bcapd, F-AML, F-AMS
Procesion.	Cisterciense ⁷	Zaragoza	1550	P. Bernuz	Bd, FONT, AML, US-CHH
Misal	Toledano	Lyon	1551	Ph. Rolletius	Tc, Tp, I-Mb, C-CBU
Misal	Toledano	Lyon	1551	B. Fraenus	Tc, Tp, Mn, Mp, PAs, B-Br
Misal	Seguntino	Sigüenza	1552	J. Brocario	SIG, Mp
Misal	Zaragozano	Zaragoza	1552	P. Bernuz	Zc, Zs, PAc, TE, GB-BL
Pasionario	Zaragozano	Zaragoza	1552	B. De Nájera	GB-BL, SOL
Procesion.	Dominico	Alcalá	1553	J. Brocario	SAd, MO (inc.), Mn
Procesion.	Granadino	Granada	1553	S. de Nebrija	Mn, Pn, GCs
Misal	Calahorra	Lyon	1554	G. Trechsel	Bn, CGR, CLZ
Misal	Placentinum	Venice	1554	A. J. Spinellos	Bn, S
Man. Sacr.	Toledano	Granada	1554	S. de Nebrija	Mn, Mah, Ou, Tc, Tp, GB-BL
Intonario	Jerónimo	Alcalá	1554	J. Brocario	Bcapd
Ordinarium	Cisterciense	Coimbra	1555	J. Alvarez	Ln, GB-Cu
Misal	Gerundense	Lyon	1557	C. de 7 Granjiis	Mn, VIC
Misal	Urgellense	Lyon	1557	C. de 7 Granjiis	SOL, UR
Misal	Ovetense	Oviedo	1557	Agustín de Paz	Oc, Mn
Misal	Pampilonense	Lyon	1557	C. 7 Granjiis	PAc, Tp, TAp
Man. Chori	Romano	Salamanca	1557	J. de Cánova	Mn, SCf, NYf
Misal	Hispalense	Sevilla	1558	G. de Torres	S
Misal	Agustino	Zaragoza	1559	Pedro Bernuz	Mn, Zu
Misal	Conquense	Cuenca	1559	J. de Cánova	CUe, Mp



<i>Title</i>	<i>Rite</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Printer</i>	<i>Location</i>
Intonario	General ⁵	Zaragoza	1559	P. Bernuz	?
Misal	Ord. Santiago	León	1560	P. de Celada	S, Mh
Misal	Mercedario	Barcelona (Lyon)	1560	D. Baies (P. Fradin)	Bac
Hebd. Sancta	Hispalense	Sevilla	1560	J. Gutiérrez	S
Man. (Sac.)	Conquense	Cuenca	1560	J. Cánova	Mn, SI, GB-BL
Misal	Cordubense	Córdoba	1561	S. Carpintero A. Cardeña	C, Csm
Misal	Romano	Salamanca	1562	A. Portonariis	Mn, VAcP
Pasionario	Oxomense	Burgo de Osma	1562	D. Fz. de Córdoba	BO, Mn
Procesion.	Toledano	Toledo	1562	J. de Ayala	Tc
Procesion.	Toledano	Toledo	1563	J. de Ayala	Tc
Man. Sac.	Cordubense	Sevilla	1563	S. Carpentarii	C
Pasionario	Zaragozano	Zaragoza	1563	B. De Nájera	VAu, Zmc
Pasionario	Romano	Alcalá	1563	A. de Angulo	Mn, SAse, SCf
Procesion.	Dominico	Salamanca	1563	M. Gast	US-NYh, Mn, Ou, MO, SCf, Bcapd
Pontificale	Romano ²	Valladolid	1563	S. Martínez	Mn, CLZ, ZA, MON, CGR, BUc, BO, AST, TUY
Man. (Sac.)	Oxomense	Burgo de Osma	1564	D. Fz. Córdoba	BO
Pasionario	Seguntino	Sigüenza	1564	S. Martínez	?
Psalterium	Romano	Sevilla	1564	J. Gutiérrez	Mlg
Intonario	General ⁵	Zaragoza	1564	P. Bernuz	?
Man. Chori	Franciscano ⁸	Salamanca	1564	J. de Cánova	Bn, SCf, US-NYh, Bd
Misal	Hispalense	Sevilla	1565	J. Gutiérrez	Su
Man. (Sac.)	Seguntino	Sigüenza	1565	S. Martínez	JF
Pasionario	Seguntino	Sigüenza	1565	S. Martínez	SIG
Misal	Benedictino	Salamanca	1567	J. Cánova	SI, LOp, P-Pm
Misal	Palentinum	Palencia	1567	S. Martínez	Bn
Ordinarium	Ilerdense	Lérida	1567	P. de Robles	VIC, FONT, MO, Bca
Pasionario	Toledano ⁹	Toledo	1567	J. de la Plaza	SAse, Ou, US-NYh, GB-BL, MO, Tp
Misal	Benedictino	Salamanca	1568	J. Cánova	SI, P-EVp, MO, P-Brp
Misal	Palentinum	Palencia	1568	S. Martínez	Bn, Vu
Ordinarium	Vicense	Barcelona	1568	C. Bornat	Bd, VIC, MO
Procesion.	Tarraconense	Barcelona	1568	C. Bornat	Bd, MO, TAac, TAaha
Ordinarium	Barcinonense	Barcelona	1569	C. Bornat	Bd, Bu, Bc, Bs
(Man.) Sac.	Salmantino	Salamanca	1569	J. de Cánova	Su, Vs
Procesion.	Cisterciense	Salamanca	1569	J. B. Terranova	Mn, Vs, US-NYh
Procesion.	Dominico	Salamanca	1569	J. de Cánova	Mn, SAse, SAd, US-NYh, SJQ, Bcapd, CALER, PR-cl
Procesion.	Jerónimo	Alcalá	1569	A. de Angulo	Mn, E, GB-BL, SCJl, US-Bp
Pasionario	Dominico ¹⁰	Salamanca	1570	M. Gast	Mn, SAse, SAd
Man. Chori	Franciscano ⁸	Salamanca	1571	Alej. de Cánova	Bu, SAU
Procesion.	Benedictino	Salamanca	1571	M. Gast	Mn, SI, SAd, MO, GB-Cu
Officiarium	Seguntino	Sigüenza	1572	S. Martínez	GUma
Officiarium	Seguntino	Sigüenza	1573	S. Martínez	GUma



<i>Title</i>	<i>Rite</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Printer</i>	<i>Location</i>
Procesion.	Tridentino ¹¹	Alcalá	1573	A. de Angulo	Mn, SAu
Misal	Tridentino	Salamanca	1575	J. B. Neyla	Bn, AV
Misal	Tridentino	Salamanca	1576	J. B. Neyla	Os
Pasionario	Toledano ¹²	Toledo	1576	J. de la Plaza	Mn, Tc, MO, US-NYh, MON, BAE, Tp
Ordinarium	Dominico ¹³	Salamanca	1576	V. M. Tridino	Bu, GB-BL, Mn, SAu, VAu, P-Lac
Misal	Tridentino	Valencia	1577	P. de Huete	VAcP
Procesion.	Valentino	Valencia	1578	P. de Huete	Mn, Bd, VAc
Oficio	SS (Romano)	Salamanca	1582	Haer. M. Gast	BUc, BUhr, SC, MON, TORO, GRr, Jsa, SIG, Lc, SCjl, ZAD
Misal	Hispano (prop)	Lyon	1583	G. Rovillium	Bd
Man. Sacr.	Romano	Salamanca	1583	M. Gast	Tc, Ln, SI
Ordinarium	Mercedario	Valladolid	1583	N. de Thierry	Bac
Man. Sacr.	Romano	Salamanca	1584	M. Gast	VAcP, BO
Man. Sacr.	Romano	Salamanca	1585	G. Foquel	Vc, Su, E, C, JAM, I-Rvat
Man. chori	Franciscano ¹⁴	Salamanca	1586	G. Foquel	ORs, US-NYh, SCf
Man. Sacr.	Romano	Salamanca	1588	G. Foquel	Mn
(Intonario)	Trinitario ¹⁵	Barcelona	1589	J. Cendrad	Mn, Pn
Misal	Cisterciense	Salamanca	1590	J. Fernández	Mn, SAu, Spa, F-AHT, AMD
Man. Sacr.	Romano	Salamanca	1590	G. Foquel	VAcP
Ordinarium	Carmelitano ¹⁶	Madrid	1590	Vda. Alonso Gómez	Bum, Ou, Su
Ceremonial	Romano	Toldeo	1591	P. Rodríguez	Mn, Bu, Tp, MUu
Man. Sacr.	Romano	Salamanca	1591	G. Foquel	MO, LOs
Man. chori	Agustino	Salamanca	1591	G. Foquel	US-NYh, Pn
Ordinarium	Dertusense	Valencia	1592	Pedro P. Mey	Bd, VIC, FONT
(Ordinarium)	Valentinum	Valencia	1592	Pedro P. Mey	Bd, Bu, RIP, VAcP, VAm
Procesion.	Trinitario	Sevilla	1593	J. de León	Bn, Su, P-EVp, Tp, C-CBU
Evangelario	Tridentino	Madrid	1594	T. de Junta	S, SE, EVc
Epistolario	Tridentino	Madrid	1595	T. de Junta	Mn, S, SA, Csm, CGR
Man. Sacr.	Romano	Madrid	1595	T. de Junta	Su
Procesion.	Dertusense	Valencia	1595	P. P. Mey	Bd, UR, VAs
Pontifical	Romano ¹⁷	Madrid	1595	T. de Junta	Mn, Mp, DA, GRj
Ordinarium	Carmelitano ¹⁸	Madrid	1595	Vda. P. Madrigal	BU, Mn, Pbp, Su
Antiph. Sant.	Zaragozano ¹⁹	Zaragoza	1596	Pascual Pérez	Ou, MO, EST
Ordinarium	Vicence	Barcelona	1596	S. de Cormellas	Bu
Chorale	Tridentino	Madrid	1597	Tip. Regia-Flandro	SAu, MO, EST
Ordinario	Jerónimo	Madrid	1597	Impr. Real (mús.?)	P-EVp, P-Lac, Mn, Tp
Antiph. Temp.	Zaragozano ¹⁹	Zaragoza	1598	Pascual Pérez	Ou, Bd, BARB, MO, EST, GCs, JGL
Man. chori ²⁰	Mercedario	Salamanca	1598	J. Fernández	POyo, GB-Cec
Misal	Tridentino	Madrid	1599	Tip. Regia-Flandro	OR
Intonario	Benedictino	Valladolid	1599	A. Merchán	Mn, SCu, MO, BUp, Buei, GB-Cu
Man. (Sacr.)	Zaragozano	Zaragoza	1600	L. de Robles	SI



¹ Copy (a) is shorter than copy (b).

² Rite for the consecration of chrisma and holy oil

³ Size: 26 × 36 cm.

⁴ Size: 17 × 24 cm.

⁵ Author, Pedro Ferrer

⁶ Intonations

⁷ Veruela Monastery

⁸ Author: Fray Juan de Palencia

⁹ Author: Juan Rincón

¹⁰ Author: Fray Alonso de Tarazona

¹¹ Author: Alfonso de Bustamante

¹² Author: Juan Rodríguez de Villamayor, *claustrero*

¹³ Author: Fray Juan de Palencia

¹⁴ Author: Fray Pedro Navarro

¹⁵ Manual of the Order of the Most Holy Trinity (Intonarium-
Processional)

¹⁶ Authors: Fray Gregorio Nacianceno and Fray Juan de San
Jerónimo

¹⁷ Dedication of a Church rite

¹⁸ Treatise for ceremonies . . . and for the burial of the dead

¹⁹ *Antiphonarium de Sanctis y de Tempore*, facsimile edition
2 vols, Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1996

²⁰ Procesionario