

# LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY: THE AXES OF CONFIGURATION OF THE MUSICAL MAP OF CATALONIA DURING THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

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## ABSTRACT

After the death of Ferdinand II, the absence of courtly life in the Principality and the cautious patronage of the nobility – more dependent on alliances with Castile than on strengthening Catalan lineages – rendered ecclesiastical patronage the only stable alternative for the former singers of the Catalan royalty and nobility. Several of them, aside from enjoying ecclesiastical benefits under royal protection, served as singers, vocal instructors or organists in their cathedrals in Barcelona, Girona, Lleida, Zaragoza, Tarragona, Tortosa, Valencia and Vic. Beginning in the mid-15th century, the establishment of the first chapels in cathedrals, later emulated by those in major urban basilicas and, to a lesser degree, by the more modest collegiate churches, parishes, and monastery and convent churches, transformed these institutions into the only musical production and teaching centres for the inhabitants of their towns and cities. In this regard, the leading role of ecclesiastical institutions was almost exclusive and remained so until the end of the Ancien Régime. The variety of ecclesiastical chapels depended on the category of their respective churches and their financial capacity to support one or two magisterial positions, that is, the chapel master and organist. The map of ecclesiastical chapels was shaped by musicians looking for the best artistic and economic conditions, within the framework of the linguistic and sociocultural reality shared among the Catalan-speaking countries.

**KEYWORDS:** Catalan cathedrals, musician circulation routes, history of Catalan music, language and identity, sociocultural map, 15th to 19th centuries.

## LLENGUA I IDENTITAT, EIXOS DE LA CONFIGURACIÓ DEL MAPA MUSICAL DE CATALUNYA DURANT L'EDAT MODERNA

### RESUM

A partir del traspàs de Ferran II, l'absència de la vida cortesana del Principat i el discret mecenatge de la noblesa —més pendent de les seves aliances amb Castella que de l'enfortiment dels llinatges catalans— van propiciar que el patronatge eclesiàstic es convertís en l'única alternativa estable per als antics cantors de la reialesa i la noblesa catalanes. Alguns d'ells, a banda de fruir de prebendes eclesiàstiques sota l'empara reial, van actuar de cantors, mestres de cant o organistes a les seues catedralícies de Barcelona, Girona, Lleida, Saragossa, Tarragona, Tortosa, València i Vic. A partir de mitjan segle XV, les primeres capelles de les catedrals, seguides de les instituïdes a imatge seva en les grans basíliques urbanes, seguides, en segon terme, de les més discretes de les col·legiates, parròquies i esglésies de monestirs i convents, esdevenien els únics centres de producció i d'ensenyament musicals per als habitants de llurs viles i ciutats. En aquest sentit, el protagonisme de les institucions eclesiàstiques va ser gairebé exclusiu i es va mantenir ben bé així fins a la fi de l'Antic Règim. La tipologia de les capelles eclesiàstiques variava d'acord amb la categoria dels seus respectius temples i de llur capacitat econòmica per mantenir un o dos magisteris, és a dir, magisteri de capella i organista. El mapa de les capelles eclesiàstiques era solcat pels músics que cercaven la millor oferta artística i econòmica, en el marc de la realitat lingüística i sociocultural que relligava els països de parla catalana.

PARAULES CLAU: catedrals de Catalunya, vies de circulació de músics, història de la música catalana, llenguatge i identitat, mapa sociocultural, segles XV al XIX.

This article aims to emphasize the importance of sharing a common linguistic, cultural and socioeconomic identity when studying the mobility of musicians who travelled around the territories of the Principality of Catalonia and the former kingdoms of Aragon, Valencia and Mallorca.

After the death of Ferdinand II, the absence of court life in the Principality and the circumspect patronage of the nobility – more concerned about its alliances with Castile than the strengthening of Catalan lineages – rendered patronage the only reliable alternative for the singers of yesteryear belonging to the royal household and the Catalan nobility. In addition to enjoying ecclesiastical prebends under royal protection, some of these singers served as chapel masters or organists at their cathedrals in Barcelona, Girona, Lleida, Zaragoza, Tarragona, Tortosa, Valencia and Vic.<sup>1</sup>

From the mid-15th century onwards, the first cathedral chapels, later emulated by those in major urban basilicas, and to a lesser degree, the more modest

1. See Josep Maria GREGORI I CIFRÉ, “Músics de la capella reial catalano-aragonesa de Joan II i de Ferran II a la catedral de Barcelona (1458-1514)”, *Butlletí de la Societat Catalana de Musicologia*, III (1995), pp. 19-27.

collegiate and parish churches as well as monastery and convent churches, transformed these institutions into the only centres of musical production and education for the inhabitants of their towns and cities. In this respect, the ecclesiastical institutions almost exclusively played a leading role that lasted until the end of the Ancien Régime. The different types of ecclesiastical chapels varied according to the status of their respective places of worship and their financial capacity to afford one or two magisterial positions, that is, a chapel master and organist, in addition to a variable number of chaplains or ecclesiastical benefits assigned to the choir.<sup>2</sup> However, given their prominence this paper focuses on cathedral chapel masters.

## 1. THE CATHEDRAL CHAPELS

The cathedral chapels in the Principality had a highly uniform structure, although each one had its own administrative and socioeconomic framework. Today, it is a well-known fact that as of the mid-14th century, cathedrals had their own *magister cantus*, descendants of the *caput scholae* or singing teachers, who were in charge of conducting plainsong and the earliest forms of polyphony. By the mid-15th century, the figure of the *mestre de cant* (chapel master) began to appear in the initial deliberations of the chapters which articulated the intention of associating the position of master with the establishment of a small choir school whose members were tasked with singing the highest notes of the polyphony and participating in plainsong during religious services. Over time, the chapel master evolved into the leading figure of musical services within cathedrals and the coordinator of the various elements that made up the chapel: the organist, the choristers and singers, as well as the *ministrers* (minstrels or instrumentalists) when present.

The chapel master was responsible both for the quality of the music – the composition and performance – and for the repertoire associated with the services, whether it involved polyphony performed by the chapel singers or the plainsong performed by the canonical choir.

Throughout the second half of the 16th century, the cathedral statutes began to set out – in the form of capitulations – the musical duties expected of candidates for the position of master, together with a set of moral and social requirements which would ultimately also impact their civil status.

The statutes applicable to the chapel master of the Cathedral of Barcelona in 1578 referred to these requirements in the following terms: he must be “a man of decent age”, implying maturity; he needed to be a cleric holding at least the minor orders; he should be a person of virtue “and of good repute”; he must “be skilful at singing with a good voice, particularly on days when he may be required to

2. In this regard, see our contribution: “Ecclesiastical musical patronage in Catalonia during the reign of the Catalan-Aragonese Crown”, in Rosa ISUSI-FAGOAGA and Francesc VILLANUEVA SERRANO (eds.), *La música de la Corona d’Aragó: investigació, transferència i educació*, Valencia, Universitat de València, Institut de Creativitat i Innovacions Educatives, 2020, pp. 99-119.

sing”, that is, to have a strong voice, of good tonal quality, and expertise in plain-song; able to teach *cant d’orgue* – both singing and improvising polyphony and counterpoint – to choirboys, endowed singers and other vocalists from the city twice a day: “cada volta una hora lo mancho” (“at least an hour each time”); he should also teach plainsong to those canons who so desired, as well as being responsible for the cassocks and meals of the choirboys.<sup>3</sup>

The cathedral chapels had a distinct, well-established dual mastership consisting of the chapel master and the organist. However, within Catalan cathedrals no 16th-century statutes or ordinances referring to the duties of organists have been preserved. Nevertheless, within the territorial context of the Principality, the practices and customs of organists at the time were likely aligned with the provisions found in a short *consueta* (a customary) belonging to the Cathedral of Zaragoza dating from the early 17th century. The document recommended that the organist should play in a solemn style, in accordance with the tones of plain-song, alluding thereby to *alternatim* interventions between the organ, the chapel choir and the canonical choir in certain musical genres, at the start of plainsong, and during hymns and psalms. It also included a list of religious services and festivals requiring organ accompaniment.<sup>4</sup>

The absence of specific ordinances applicable to organists – as officials who were part of Catalan cathedrals in the 16th century – suggests that the statutes governing these individuals had not yet routinely included them among other cathedral officials. Therefore, it is necessary to search for these early agreements in notarial archives, just as in the case of the capitulations signed in 1611 by Joan Martí, organist at the Cathedral of Girona, with locksmith Joan Rius which referred to lessons in “the organist’s art” for his son.<sup>5</sup>

The cathedral chapels usually had between four and eight choirboys, with varying terms according to the area. They were known as *escolans de cota de grana* in Barcelona, as *corers* in Vic, as *preveners* in La Seu d’Urgell and as *choralatus* in Gandia.<sup>6</sup> Usually originating from the areas of influence of their respective cathedrals, these choirboys were instructed in both plainsong and the *cant d’orgue* polyphony and counterpoint. The number of singers at Catalan cathedrals fluctuated between four and eight, according to the amount of the emoluments each of the cathedrals made available to them. The structure of ecclesiastical polyphony at cathedrals was complemented by groups of instrumentalists of vary-

3. Cf. Josep Maria GREGORI I CIFRÉ, “El magisteri de cant de la catedral de Barcelona a l’època del Renaixement”, *Revista Catalana de Musicologia*, XV (2022), pp. 49-75.

4. Pedro CALAHORRA MARTÍNEZ, *Música en Zaragoza: Siglos XVI-XVII*, Vol. 1, Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Católico, 1977, pp. 25-26.

5. See our paper: “La docència de l’orgue a la primeria del segle XVII a Girona: notes per a l’estudi de l’acompanyament continu a Catalunya”, *Recerca Musicològica*, VIII (1988), pp. 135-138.

6. Josep Maria GREGORI I CIFRÉ, “Renaixement i manierisme”, in Francesc BONASTRE and Francesc CORTÈS, *Història crítica de la música catalana*, Barcelona, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2009, pp. 76-77.

ing compositions, who were always hired externally in Catalonia. They were usually employed to mark significant liturgical celebrations, such as the Christmas cycle or Corpus Christi, as well as the festivities for the patron saints of the cities or towns and their cathedrals.

The cathedral chapels in the largest towns in the Principality enjoyed certain rights of precedence over chapels of other parish churches regarding the musical events and performances held in the places of worship in each major city. These rights enabled them to take part in the religious services organized by the confraternities and religious orders of the relevant city, including the first vows of novices, first masses and prayers for the deceased. Accordingly, the cathedral chapel choirs were able to sing in the ecclesiastical settings of convents and monasteries within their respective towns and also played a leading role in the processions that marked the liturgical calendars and religious festivals of each town or city. In Barcelona, for example, the chapel master at the cathedral had the privilege of holding the post of director of the city's sole musical chapel which was permitted to perform polyphony during the religious services held at the church. The 1581 statute document was particularly unequivocal in specifying this prerogative:

[...] no one but he may sing mass or / officiate or sing polyphony in any church in this / city of Barcelona except him; or one having express written permission from him / as stated in the memorial on the preeminence of said Cathedral.<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, the chapels of large urban basilicas made use of the customary rights of precedence to underscore the importance of their cathedrals and thereby to seek legal recognition. This was not only for their chapel choirs to sing polyphony within their churches but also to extend this privilege to other places of worship without needing the cathedral's authorization. Consequently, above all they were able to benefit from the income derived from the burial of stillborn babies or infants who passed away at a young age, a right that remained exclusively with the cathedral until the late 16th century.

In response to the requests from the parish churches of Santa Maria del Mar, Santa Maria del Pi and Sant Miquel for a papal bull that would enable them to appoint their own chapel master, and thereby hold funeral services for stillborn babies and infants without the mandatory presence of the cathedral's chapel master and the choristers, the Barcelona chapters expressed its concerns in writing about losing substantial revenue, stating:

We understand that members of Santa Maria de la Mar, del Pi / and Sant Miquel have approached His Holiness to ask / if they may appoint a chapel master for their churches / to enable masses to be sung outside said churches and so that / the choristers

7. Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona (ACB): *Llibre de tots los officis*, 1581, f. 23-24, cited in our study on "El magisteri de cant de la catedral de Barcelona a l'època del Renaixement", *Revista Catalana de Musicologia*, XV (2022), p. 74.

of said churches may hold funerals for / stillborn babies and infants, significantly prejudicing this church of ours / since it will grant them a substantial part / of the emoluments upon which our chapel master / and our choristers depend for their livelihood.<sup>8</sup>

During the second half of the 16th century, disputes between the Cathedral Chapter and the community of priests from Santa Maria del Mar generated rivers of ink in the form of a series of lawsuits lodged with the Roman Curia. The case of Santa Maria del Mar was similar to that of the leading parish churches in the city; namely, Santa Maria del Pi, Sants Just i Pastor, or the Church of Sant Miquel, to which the city counsellors belonged. Despite obtaining legal recognition for their chapels, their performances were strictly confined to the church buildings – but not the parishes – of their places of worship.<sup>9</sup>

It is important to acknowledge that the chapels of large urban basilicas, such as Santa Maria del Mar and Santa Maria del Pi in Barcelona, or the ancient Collegiate Church of Sant Feliu in Girona, were musical chapels with considerable financial resources. Indeed, these chapels, often rivalling those of the cathedral, were also able to afford two separate posts of master – namely, the chapel master and organ master. In addition, they maintained a body of choristers and singers that was closely comparable in number to that of their respective cathedrals. Furthermore, they also collaborated with the instrumental ensembles from the respective towns during the foremost festivals in the church calendar.

In the city of Girona, the cathedral's prerogatives often clashed with performances from Sant Feliu when the latter's chapel choir sought to perform at venues outside the collegiate church.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile, the cathedral chapel choir enjoyed the freedom to sing in the churches associated with the city's convents and monasteries. This meant that, throughout the liturgical year, this choir frequently performed in ecclesiastical settings of the Dominican (Sant Domènec), Mercedarian (La Mercè), Carmelite (El Carme and Sant Josep), Franciscan (Sant Francesc), Jesuit (Sant Martí) and Cistercian (Santa Susanna) convents, as well as in the monasteries of Sant Pere de Galligans, Sant Daniel and Santa Clara, and even in the Collegiate Church of Sant Feliu itself.<sup>11</sup>

Similarly, in the mid-16th century the Chapter of Tarragona Cathedral had also stipulated that “no person of any status may perform polyphony either

8. ACB: *Correspondència. Llibre 6, 1577-1584*, f. 123v, cited in our study “El magisteri de cant de la catedral de Barcelona a l'època del Renaixement”, p. 62.

9. Josep Maria GREGORI I CIFRÉ, “La controvertida preeminència musical de la Seu dins la Barcelona de la segona meitat del segle XVI”, *Anuario Musical*, 46 (1991), pp. 103-125.

10. Francesc CIVIL I CASTELLVÍ, “Compositores y organistas gerundenses en el siglo XVII”, *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses*, XXI (1972-1973), pp. 130-131.

11. That prerogative was still maintained well into the 18th century, cf. Josep PUJOL I COLL, “Quotidianitat i festa a la Girona del XVIII”, in M. C. PARDO and M. CUENCA (eds.), *La música culta a les comarques gironines: Dels trobadors a l'electroacústica*, Banyoles, CECB, 2015, pp. 59-74.

within or outside the cathedral without the chapel master of the Reverend Chapter being present".<sup>12</sup>

In regard to the presence of instrumentalists in the Catalan cathedrals, it is necessary to point out the notable differences that existed between them and those in the Kingdom of Castile. During the first three decades of the 16th century, a number of Hispanic cathedrals – particularly those endowed with plentiful financial resources – began to employ groups of instrumentalists on a permanent basis. This was the case of Seville Cathedral, where on 9 July 1526 the Chapter agreed to “hire its own tall, salaried instrumentalists with sackbuts and shawms [...] so that they could participate in some of the main festivals and processions organized by this Holy Church, ensuring they were remunerated with a suitable salary [...] and decreeing that five tall minstrels should be appointed in this Holy Church to play three shawms – treble, tenor and contra – as well as two sackbuts”.<sup>13</sup> Each would receive an annual salary worth 200 ducats. This agreement was renewed on 26 July 1553 in the early days after Francisco Guerrero took up the role of master, stating that “[...] such a magnificent and distinguished temple [...] has great need of this music on account of its resonance, since all other cathedral churches of Spain, even those with far fewer means, employ such individuals [the instrumentalists ...]”.<sup>14</sup> It is clear that when this document issued by the Chapter refers to Spanish cathedrals it is alluding to those belonging to the Crown of Castile, and obviously the wealthiest.

No documents have been handed down to us which would suggest Catalan cathedrals employed instrumental ensembles with permanent contracts. Documentation referring to the presence of these groups in Catalan churches does so only occasionally and when discussing religious processions and celebrations.<sup>15</sup>

12. ACT: *Actes Capitulars*, 1539-1548, f. 25v. Resolution from July 1540.

13. Robert STEVENSON, *La Música en la Catedral de Sevilla 1478-1606*, Madrid, Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1985, p. 27, doc. 149.

14. Robert STEVENSON, *La Música en la Catedral de Sevilla 1478-1606*, Madrid, Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1985, p. 40, doc. 274.

15. Conventionally, the civil institutions – the Diputació del General in Barcelona or other Councils throughout the region – were responsible for hiring groups of instrumentalists for religious processions such as Corpus Christi or for festivals celebrating their respective patron saints. In the mid-15th century, Corpus Christi was one of the foremost festivities organized in towns and villages all over Catalonia. During the event, allegorical scenes were staged along with short comedies, with musical accompaniment provided by the respective chapel masters, organists or chapel choirs and contributions from instrumentalists. In the towns and villages, it was customary for the same instrumentalists who had performed with the choir in the parish church and in processions to also enliven popular festivals and merrymaking, as well as open air comedies, with their music.

## 2. THE ROUTES CONNECTING CATHEDRALS IN CATALAN-SPEAKING TERRITORIES

The musical relationships between the cathedrals in Catalan-speaking territories were shaped by the routes musicians favoured guided by opportunities for artistic work always dictated by the availability of economic resources derived from ecclesiastical patronage. The musical relationships existing between the dioceses of the Iberian states – confederated under the dynastic union of the House of Barcelona, and including the Crown of Aragon and the kingdoms of Valencia and Mallorca – were shaped on the basis of a triangular axis of communication that linked the cathedrals in the major towns and cities within their peninsular territories (Valencia, Barcelona, Perpignan, Zaragoza) and, to a lesser extent, Mallorca.



FIGURE 1: Map from 1653 by the French cartographer Nicolas Sanson.

SOURCE: Nicolas SANSON and Guillaume SANSON, *Les estats de la Couronne d'Arragon en Espagne ou sont l'Arragon royaume, la Catalogne princip.te, la Valence royaume, et les Isles de Maiorque roy.e / par le Sr. Sanson...*, Paris, Chez Pierre Mariette (1653), <<https://cartotecadigital.icgc.cat/digital/collection/espanya/id/1988/>>.

An examination of the routes and pathways traversed by the musicians in the 15th and 16th centuries enables us to create a map detailing the interrelationships existing among the cathedrals, along with their respective bailiwicks and spheres of influence. These connections are understood to have been underpinned by a common language and the resultant close bonds of national identity emanating from that linguistic unity. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that a comparison of the salary scales offered at the various institutions could shed light on the movements of masters and singers between churches in Catalan-speaking territories, influenced by these economic factors.



## 2.1. BARCELONA AND VALENCIA

The deeply-rooted relationship between the cathedrals of Barcelona and Valencia became even more entrenched in the period from 1480 to 1540. The inclusion within their masterships of the organist from Vic, Pere Vila,<sup>16</sup> in the years 1510-1517, 1522 and 1525-1538, and of the organist from Tarragona, Mateu Fletxa [or Freixa], in the years 1526-1531 and 1539-1541<sup>17</sup> helped to further strengthen the ties of this relationship during the first half of the 16th century.

Disciples of Vila and Fletxa [or Freixa] from Catalonia travelled to Valencia to study before returning to the Principality, where they took up important posts as masters. This was the case of Pere Alberch; and indeed of Gaspar Sagristà, an organist from Manresa and pupil of Vila in Valencia. The latter was originally the organist at the parish church of Sant Esteve of Valencia before being recommended by Alberch for the Cathedral of Girona.<sup>18</sup>

If we look at the 17th century, it is worth mentioning the presence of Valencians Jeroni de la Torre, who transferred from Tarragona, and Lluís Vicenç Gargallo, who transferred from Huesca. They were both masters at Barcelona Cathedral.<sup>19</sup>

## 2.2. BARCELONA AND VIC

The relationship between Barcelona and Vic cathedrals was particularly close between 1530 and 1580. This period saw a flourishing musical exchange between them, largely initiated by the lineage of organists beginning with Pere Vila, followed by Pere Alberch (1517-1582) and Lluís Ferran (*ca.* 1565-1631) at Barcelona Cathedral. The presence of Jaume Caçador and Guillem Caçador, both natives of Vic, at Barcelona Cathedral between 1545 and 1570 lent further energy to this exchange. One particular musical outcome to stem from this relationship was without doubt the polyphonic compilations found within manuscripts M 681

16. Josep Maria GREGORI I CIFRÉ, "Pere Vila (*ca.* 1465-1538), organista de les catedrals de Vic i València, probable autor del *Magnificat* a 4 (BC: M 1167, *olim* E: TarazC 2/3)", *Revista Catalana de Musicologia*, XI (2018), pp. 31-61.

17. Francesc VILLANUEVA SERRANO, "Mateu Flecha el Viejo en la catedral de Valencia: sus dos periodos de magisterio de capilla (1526-1531? y 1539-1541) y su entorno musical", *Anuario Musical*, 64 (2009), pp. 57-108. According to Villanueva's research, Fletxa's original surname was "Frexa" or using the correct Catalan spelling "Freixa".

18. Josep Maria GREGORI I CIFRÉ, "Pere Alberch artífex de la relació musical entre les Seus de Girona i Barcelona en el Renaixement tardà", *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, XXVIII (1986), pp. 281-298.

19. See, respectively, Salvador RAMON I VINYES, "Canonges, comensals i beneficiats de la Seu de Tarragona", *Butlletí Arqueològic de la Reial Societat Arqueològica Tarraconense*, Epoch V (1999-2000), issues 21-22, p. 594; and Francesc BONASTRE, *Historia de Josep Gargallo. Oratori de Lluís Vicenç Gargallo* (*ca.* 1626-1682), Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1986, p. 14.

belonging to the Biblioteca de Catalunya (Library of Catalonia) – compiled by Antic Andreu (†1607) from Vic – and manuscript 59 of the CEDOC,<sup>20</sup> belonging to Onofre Martínez, an organist at Vic Cathedral and likely a singer for the Duke of Gandia.<sup>21</sup> This latter manuscript includes works by Pere Beuló, organist at Vic Cathedral and a pupil of Pere Alberch in Barcelona.

The Cathedral of Vic boasted a solid musical tradition. Its 1456 constitutions attest to the service of four choirboys. Over the course of the 15th and 16th centuries, the chapel choir, consisting of seven members by 1534, was conducted by Pere Carbons (1417), Pere Arny (1431), Bartomeu Trullols (1487), Salvador Novell (1488), Gabriel Gual (1513-1526), García Govantes (1532-1533 and 1536-1539), Tomàs Gonsalbo (1538), Jaume Madriguera (1538-1540), Llorenç Xara (1540), Joan Gibage (1542-1544), Martí Llorenç (1548-1553), Bernat Bossart (1553), Andreu Vilanova (1554-1560), Onofre Martínez (1561), Pere Coll (1562-1570), Gabriel Costa (1573, 1578), Pere Peruga (1574), Pere González (1583) and Joan Marcer (1584-1594).<sup>22</sup>

A number of these chapel masters, who were active in Vic, had studied under Pere Alberch in Barcelona, as was the case of Pere Peruga and Andreu Vilanova, who in the mid-16th century alternated their roles as masters between the cathedrals of Vic and Barcelona. This was also the case of Pere Coll, who was the organist at Santa Maria del Mar from 1573 to 1591<sup>23</sup> and Pere Beuló, organist at Vic.<sup>24</sup>

Documentation relating to the organ in Vic has been consistently recorded since the early 15th century, and it is worth pointing out the presence of organists such as Bernat Albareda (1438-1455), Pere Ponç (1474-1483),<sup>25</sup> Jaume Carrarachs (1484), Pere Rusquelles (1485), Pere Vila (uncle of Pere Alberch, 1502-1509, 1523),

20. For further information on both manuscripts see: Bernat CABRÉ, *Himnes, motets i responsoris del manuscrit 59*, Vilablareix, Ficta, 2016, coll. “Mestres Catalans Antics”, 8; “El manuscrit 59 del Centre de Documentació de l’Orfeo Català. Nous repertoris, noves perspectives”, *Revista Catalana de Musicologia*, IX (2016), pp. 99-146; and Andrea PUENTES-BLANCO, *Música y devoción en Barcelona (ca. 1550-1626): Estudio de libros de polifonía, contextos y prácticas musicales*, doctoral thesis, Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, 2018, Vol. I, pp. 48-80.

21. Between 1539 and 1543, during Francesc de Borja’s sojourn in Barcelona as a *lloctinent de Catalunya*, he had at his disposal a chapel of singers and instrumentalists. These notably included “Nofre Martínez” who could well be identified as the organist from Vic. See Ferran ESCRIVÀ-LLORCA, *Erudito, pietas et honor: Joan de Borja i la música del seu temps (1533-1606)*, doctoral thesis, Valencia, Universitat de València, 2015, p. 21; and by the same author, “La vida musical a Gandia durant el segle XVI”, *Revista de la Safor*, 11 (2022), p. 80, footnote 12.

22. Meritxell VINAIXA I PLANAS and Josep Maria GREGORI I CIFRÉ, “Vic”, *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, Madrid, SGAE, 2002, Vol. 10, pp. 843-844.

23. Josep Maria GREGORI I CIFRÉ, “Coll, Pere”, *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, Madrid, SGAE, 1999, Vol. 3, p. 803.

24. For further information about Pere Alberch’s students see our paper *Pere Vila (ca. 1460-1538) i Pere Alberch (1517-1582), organistes de les seus de Vic, València i Barcelona. Música eclesiàstica, ensalades i madrigals*, Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 2024.

25. Meritxell VINAIXA I PLANAS, “Pere Ponç de Vic, efímer organista de la seu de Girona el 1473”, *Annals de l’Institut d’Estudis Gironins*, XXXIV (1994), pp. 457-460.

Pere Vila II (1524?-1545), Pere Ferrament (1545-1546), Jeroni Jordà (1547-1549), Diego Fernández (1550-1566), Pere Coll (1566-1570), Pere Beuló (1579-1584) and Jaume Soler (1586).<sup>26</sup>

From his post in Barcelona, Pere Alberch advocated for the construction of a new organ for Vic Cathedral, which was carried out by Pere Flamench between 1542 and 1545. Alberch also recommended former students, such as the aforementioned Pere Coll, for the post of master in the cathedral.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, during the tenure of Lluís Ferran as master – a position he inherited from his uncle Pere Alberch at the organ in Barcelona – another choirmaster from Vic, Marcia Albareda, took over from Joan Pujol in the position of chapel master at Barcelona Cathedral.

### 2.3. TARRAGONA AND TORTOSA: ROUTES CONNECTING WITH THE KINGDOMS OF VALENCIA AND ARAGON

In the south of Catalonia, the Cathedral of Tarragona became a strategic crossroads for musicians travelling between Valencia, Zaragoza and Barcelona. At the same time, it became a focal point for musical routes traversing across its sphere of influence, i.e., routes that linked the cathedrals of Lleida, La Seu d’Urgell and Tortosa.

On 7 October 1477, Tarragona Cathedral Chapter approved the creation of the position of chapel master among its official ranks.<sup>28</sup> The salary payments made to chapel masters and organists at Tarragona Cathedral are well known thanks to studies such as that conducted by Father Salvador Ramon.<sup>29</sup> However, from the mid-15th century onwards, and especially throughout the 16th century, a fruitful exchange of chapel masters and organists took place among Barcelona, Zaragoza, Valencia and La Seu d’Urgell that would continue well into the 17th century.

During that period, the passage through Tarragona of chapel masters such as Antoni Marlet in 1506,<sup>30</sup> Francesc Tovar, Joan Ferrer and Joan Borgunyó is likewise documented. The latter two went from teaching organ and singing at Tarragona

26. Meritxell VINAIXA I PLANAS and Josep Maria GREGORI I CIFRÉ, “Vic”, *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, Madrid, SGAE, 2002, Vol. 10, pp. 843-844.

27. Josep Maria GREGORI I CIFRÉ, *Pere Vila (ca. 1460-1538) i Pere Alberch (1517-1582), organistes de les seus de Vic, València i Barcelona: Música eclesiàstica, ensalades i madrigals*, Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 2024, p. 99.

28. Salvador RAMON I VINYES, “Canonges, comensals i beneficiats de la Seu de Tarragona”, *Butlletí Arqueològic de la Reial Societat Arqueològica Tarraconense*, 21-22 (1999-2000), p. 351.

29. Salvador RAMON I VINYES, *Los órganos de la Catedral de Tarragona*, Tarragona, Caja de Ahorros Provincial de Tarragona, 1974; and “Canonges, comensals i beneficiats de la Seu de Tarragona”, *Butlletí Arqueològic de la Reial Societat Arqueològica Tarraconense*, Epoch V, 1999-2000, 21-22, p. 351.

30. A certain “Antoni Merlet” from Palau d’Anglesola was admitted to the school at Lleida Cathedral on 10 October 1486, cf. Juan MUJAL ELIAS, *Lléida. Historia de la Música*, Lleida, Dilagro, 1975, p. 150.

Cathedral to occupying identical posts in Barcelona during the first three decades of the 16th century. Furthermore, from Aragon, Melcior Robledo (1549-1562 and 1566-1569) and Diego Gascón (organist from El Pilar in Zaragoza)<sup>31</sup> also spent some time in Tarragona. From Valencia, Nicasi Çorita (1578 and 1585) and Pere Peruga (1587, formerly at Vic) also offered their talents in Tarragona, as did Joan Pujol (1593-1595), from Mataró, before moving to the chapel at El Pilar in Zaragoza. During the first half of the 17th century, it is interesting to note the passage through Tarragona of Jeroni de la Torre, from Valencia, on his way to Barcelona Cathedral.

Among the masters on the payroll in Tarragona were the Flemish organist Arnau de Lindren (1583-1593) and Joan Berart, likely a native of France.

The strategic geographical location of Tortosa Cathedral lent itself to relationships with the musical centres in northern Valencia – Sogorb and Morella – and in southern Aragon, although it remained within the sphere of influence of Tarragona. Despite having scarce information about musical life at Tortosa Cathedral, it is known that by 1469, besides the teacher Joan Lazer and the succentor Benet Company, there were seven singers: Jaume Segur, Sancho de Vallobar, Francí [Mir?], the canon Cervera, Joan Yvanyes, a certain Ferrando and one Puig. Regarding both posts of master (chapel and organ), between 1432 and 1475 they were unified and taken over by under the name of Jaume Buxoló. The organ of Tortosa was rebuilt by chapel master Marturià Prats and by *Infante* Enric d'Empúries between 1598 and 1601, having previously undergone successive restorations by the Valencian organ builder Pere Serrano starting in 1533. The post of master was occupied by Antoni Andreu Queraltó from 1489 to 1509 and by one Badia in 1566.<sup>32</sup>

The limited cathedral documentation from the 16th century available to us indicates that the composition of the chapel choir was subject to changes due to the lack of quality of its voices, although there were no more than four endowments assigned to its singers. Despite serving as a bridge between the Valencian and Catalan churches, Tortosa Cathedral mostly remained an enclave somewhat isolated from these places.

#### 2.4. LLEIDA AND LA SEU D'URGELL: ROUTES CONNECTING WITH THE CATALAN COUNTIES IN THE NORTH OF THE PYRENEES

From the first three decades of the 15th century onwards, the Cathedral of Lleida was able to call on choirboys from the towns and villages in and around

31. In order to fill the vacancy of organist, R. Coloma recommended the service of organists Diego Gascón and Lluís Ferran, the nephew of Pere Alberch, to the Chapter, expressing his preference for the latter. Cf. Francesc BONASTRE I BERTRAN, "L'estada del compositor Rafael Coloma a la catedral de Tarragona (1589-91, 1595-1600)", *Recerca Musicològica*, III (1983), p. 66.

32. Arxiu Capítular de la Catedral de Tortosa (ACCT): *Libre de deliberacions / del any MCCCCLXXXVXL / y acaba en lo any M.D.III / Notari mº Joan Menor*, s. í.; and *Llibres de sotstresoreria*, 1432-1433 to 1474-1475, n.d.

Huesca, as well as from counties to the west of Tarragona. In many respects, like Tarragona, it became an inevitable stopping place halfway between Zaragoza and Barcelona. Several of its masters had also been in Tarragona, such as Friar Joan Berard (1477-1493), as he is referred to in records about Lleida.

Lleida Cathedral was one of the few in Catalonia that welcomed masters belonging to the Crown of Castile. Between 1573 and 1576, Sebastián Vivanco, a contemporary and compatriot of Tomás Luis de Victoria, occupied the post of master there. The geographical proximity of Lleida to Zaragoza likewise facilitated the appointment of Pedro Rimonte in 1590, prior to his relocation to Brussels.

From the early 16th century, documents attest to the musical ties between the cathedrals of La Seu d'Urgell and Barcelona through to chapel masters Joan Gallart and Antoni Salvat. Nevertheless, following the departure of Pere Alberch in 1582 and the retirement of Joan Brudieu in 1586, La Seu d'Urgell Chapter strengthened its musical relationship with Tarragona Cathedral through the involvement of chapel masters Pere Peruga (a former chapel master at Vic and a student of Alberch), Rafael Coloma and Pere Riquet, as well as organists Pere Figueres and Mateu Torres, the Portuguese singer Alexandre d'Almeida and the cornet and dulcian players Agustí Serra and Jeroni Pelegrí.

Given their proximity to the counties in the north of Catalonia, the cathedrals of La Seu d'Urgell and Lleida often welcomed music masters from the north of the Pyrenees, with whom they shared both language and identity. At La Seu, it suffices to mention that Joan Brudieu (who transferred from Limoges with four other musicians) held a post as master as did Pere Riquet, whose repertoire of compositions was sung at the parish church of Sant Fructuós de Cameles in the county of Roussillon.<sup>33</sup> In regard to the reception of musicians from Occitania, it is interesting to note the presence at Lleida Cathedral of the chapel masters Francesc Mejuil (1438), Johannes Deloi (1445), Johannes Deqourin de Tarbes (1477) and Jaume Lombart (1582), along with the organist Donastius de Brandenburch [sic] (1545), likely a native of Germany.<sup>34</sup>

## 2.5. GIRONA AND PERPIGNAN

Girona not only maintained close musical ties with other Catalan cathedrals, between the 14th and 19th centuries it also became the hub and main gateway to Perpignan and the musical centres of the Catalan-speaking regions of Conflent, Roussillon, Vallespir and Capcir. This was the case despite the surrender of the county of Roussillon by John II, king of Aragon, to Louis XI, its

33. Ascensión MAZUELA-ANGUITA, "Polifonía, redes musicales y ceremonias rurales en los Pirineos orientales a través de las crónicas de Honorat Ciuró (1612-1674)", *Revista de Musicología*, XXXIX/2 (2016), pp. 411-454.

34. Juan MUJAL ELIAS, *Lérida. Historia de la Música*, Lleida, Dilagro, 1975, p. 66.

reacquisition by Ferdinand II in 1493, and the later signing of the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659.

The presence of chapel masters, organists and organ builders who were active at the Cathedral of Girona during these centuries – especially throughout the periods of highest migratory flow of musicians – remained unchanged in the 15th and 16th centuries. Notable figures who attest to this include organ builder Guillem Pagana in 1473; the members of the Bordons [Bourbons] family in the 16th century;<sup>35</sup> the organist Joan Brescó in 1474; and the choirmaster Llorenç Casquer between 1532 and 1537.<sup>36</sup>

During the first three decades of the 17th century, the frequency of musical exchanges with Perpignan and the Catalan counties in the north of the Pyrenees decreased considerably due to the wars with the French Crown. However, it was during this century that Joan Verdalet<sup>37</sup> occupied the post of organist at the court of Louis XIV. It is also interesting to note the presence of three compositions by Gaspar Dotart, a native of Roussillon, at Girona Cathedral. Dotart, a contemporary of Verdalet, held an endowment at Sant Joan in Perpignan in 1668, the year he switched positions with Joan Gallart, a presbyter from Perpignan, while continuing to serve at the chapel of the Palace of the Countess of Barcelona.<sup>38</sup> These musical exchanges between the masters of Girona and those from towns in the north of the Pyrenees resumed in the 19th century after the so-called *Guerra del Francès* (Napoleonic Wars, 1808-1814), involving figures such as Antoni Guiu, Bernat Papell and Joan Carreras.<sup>39</sup> A similar case was that of Sebastià Boixet, organist and master of the chapel choir at La Seu d'Urgell, who went into exile in 1852, initially in Foix and later in Montpellier, where he relocated in 1874.<sup>40</sup>

35. Josep Maria SALIS I CLOS, “Els Bordons, destacada nissaga d’orgueneres, i la seva aportació a l’orgueneria catalana (segles XV-XVI)”, *Revista Catalana de Musicologia*, X (2017), pp. 15-44.

36. Francesc CIVIL CASTELLVÍ, “El órgano y los organistas de la catedral de Gerona. Siglos XIV-XVI”, *Anuario Musical*, IX (1954), p. 219.

37. Francesc CIVIL CASTELLVÍ, “La música en la catedral de Gerona en el siglo XVII”, *Anuario Musical*, XV (1960), p. 237.

38. Jordi RIFÉ I SANTALÓ, “Aspectes musicals del segle XVII català i francès: noves dades del compositor Gaspar Dotart”, *Revista Catalana de Musicologia*, III (2007), pp. 61-67; and Jaume PUIG I OLIVER, *Catàleg dels manuscrits de la Biblioteca Diocesana del Seminari de Girona*, Vol. I, Barcelona, Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 2016, p. 252.

39. Josep Maria GREGORI I CIFRÉ, *Inventaris dels fons musicals de Catalunya. Volum 10: Fons de la catedral de Girona*, Barcelona, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 2019, pp. XIII-LXXI.

40. See Joan BENAVENT PEIRÓ, *La música en el bisbat d’Urgell en 1767-1836 i el seu referent catedralici: els mestratges de Maurício Espona, Jaime Balius i Bruno Pagueiras*, doctoral thesis, Vol. IV, Universitat d’Andorra, 2023, pp. 345-360.

### 3. LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY: THE DEFINING FEATURES OF THE MUSICAL MAP OF THE CATALAN-SPEAKING TERRITORIES

The map that illustrates the mobility of musicians across Catalan-speaking territories belonging to the confederation of states under the dynastic union of the House of Barcelona, the Crown of Aragon and the kingdoms of Valencia and Mallorca largely maintained its routes throughout the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, as well as during most of the 18th century, and in some cases even as recently as the late 19th century.

The mobility of cathedral masters, and indeed of ecclesiastical centres, in these Catalan-speaking territories rarely extended beyond the geographical confines of those confederated states. It is widely known that their preferred routes followed the channels of communication that linked the great cathedrals of Valencia, Barcelona, Perpignan and Zaragoza with those in Tarragona, Lleida, Girona, Vic, La Seu d'Urgell and, to a lesser extent, Mallorca. We may ask ourselves why this was so. Could there have been an underlying reason behind this? We will try to reveal this in the following paragraphs.

When examining this map of musical mobility it is crucial to not lose sight of the profound linguistic and sociocultural ties that the Catalan-speaking countries shared with most of the territories belonging to its confederated states and kingdoms – some of which have persisted for more than a thousand years. The fact that they shared this identifiable and fully objectifiable linguistic, cultural and socioeconomic reality is what enabled musicians belonging to these territories with a common identity to practice and advance their professions within this shared linguistic, cultural and socioeconomic contextual framework.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the irrefutably distinct identities and cultural, political and socioeconomic models characterizing the territories of the confederation of states under the dynastic union of the House of Barcelona, the Crown of Aragon and the kingdoms of Valencia and Mallorca are scientifically established historical realities. These distinctions become quite evident when compared with those of the Crown of Castile. Nevertheless, Spanish musicology, let alone international musicology have been extremely reluctant to acknowledge and incorporate this indisputable reality into their analyses. The historian Antoni Furió summarizes this well in the following terms:

Castile was a Hispanic kingdom with a single law, a consistent institutional structure and one currency extending from Galicia to Murcia and Andalusia, while the Crown of Aragon was a Mediterranean monarchy that operated as a confederation of Iberian and Italian kingdoms and territories, including islands located between both peninsulas. It exhibited far greater legal, institutional, monetary, metrological and even linguistic diversity. After two centuries of Catalan hegemony, its confederal nature had become even more reinforced under the new Trastámara dy-

nasty [...] However, despite its fragmented state and institutional weakness the Crown of Aragon managed to persist until the War of the Spanish Succession in the 18th century.<sup>41</sup>

When one closely examines the emoluments paid to chapel masters and organists attached to cathedrals in the Principality, the absence of their counterparts from Castile becomes very apparent, with occasional exceptions, such as Garcia Govantes from Burgos, who held positions in Vic and Barcelona in the mid-16th century.<sup>42</sup> This state of affairs was reciprocal; indeed, during the period in question, the movements of these masters within the Catalan-speaking territories typically followed the aforementioned axes and areas of influence on the cultural and socioeconomic map of their shared territory.<sup>43</sup>

The notable absence of masters from Castile starkly contrasts with the abundant presence of chapel masters, organists, organ builders, singers and minstrels from Occitania (in France), the Netherlands and Germany. These musicians settled in territories under the Catalan-Aragonese Crown and occupied their respective positions at the cathedrals during the 15th and 16th centuries.

The sociolinguistic reality portrayed in this map meant that the edicts announcing the holding of official competitive exams for masterships in cathedrals in Catalan-speaking territories were restricted to the regions encompassed by the territorial map of the cathedrals belonging to the confederation of states under the dynastic union of the House of Barcelona, the Crown of Aragon and the kingdoms of Valencia and Mallorca.

It was only with the Decree of *Nueva Planta* (1716) – concocted in an attempt to dilute the shared cultural and linguistic identity that provided cohesion and unity to the territories within these states – that the Catalan masters began to venture beyond the boundaries of the lands belonging to the Kingdom of Castile; that is, from the first quarter of the 18th century.<sup>44</sup>

41. Antoni FURIÓ, “Les dues corones del Rei Catòlic. Ferran II, Castella i la Corona d’Aragó”. In Ernest BELENGUER I CEBRIÀ (ed.), *Ferran II i la Corona d’Aragó*, Barcelona, Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 2018, pp. 18-19.

42. Josep Maria GREGORI I CIFRÉ, “Els mestres de cant de la seu de Barcelona en el Renaixement”, *Recerca Musicològica*, IV (1984), pp. 40-43.

43. An observation of salary scales for cathedral masters reveals the patterns of mobility of Catalan, Aragonese and Valencian musicians across the cathedrals of Valencia, Tarragona and Barcelona. For instance, notable movements include the relocation of Pere Vila, Mateu Fletxa [or Freixa] and Pere Alberch to Valencia; Aragonese Melcior Robledo and the Valencian Nicasi Çorita to Tarragona; or in the 17th century, the Valencians Geroni de la Torre and Lluís Vicenç Gargallo to Barcelona.

44. One only needs to recall the cases of Jaume Casellas (*et altera*), and towards the end of the century, Francesc Juncà (Toledo, 1780), Jaume Balius (Cordoba, 1785), Domènec Arquimbau (Seville, 1790) and Josep Pons, Balius’ assistant (Cordoba, 1790). After failing his exams for different masterships in Castile (Tuy, Cartagena, Salamanca, Acalá de Henares and the Capilla Real de la Soledad de Madrid), Pons ended up as master at the Cathedral of Valencia in 1793, where he remained until he was relocated in 1818.





FIGURE 2: Map of the Iberian Peninsula by Jorge Torres Villegas from 1852.

SOURCE: Jorge Torres Villegas, *Cartografía hispano-científica o sea los mapas españoles en que se representa a España bajo todas sus diferentes fases*, Madrid, Imprenta de D. José Marín Alonso, 1852.

Nevertheless, as an illustrative reference, the edict issued for the competitive exams in order to qualify for the position of *contralto* singer at the chapel of Santa Maria del Pi in 1754, and again in 1830, was addressed to “all persons in the Principality of Catalonia, and the kingdoms of Aragon, Valencia, Mallorca and Menorca with expertise in the faculty of *cant d’orgue*”.<sup>45</sup> According to Carles Badal’s doctoral thesis, the specific allusion to the Catalan-speaking territories continued in the edicts at Santa Maria del Pi announcing competitive exams for the post of master of the chapel choir in 1769 and 1824, and for the posts of cantor until 1830.<sup>46</sup>

As for the presence of Castilian polyphonic repertoire during the *Siglo de Oro* (Spanish Golden Age), the musical collections of Catalan cathedrals provide scant information on the subject, primarily due to the displacement of their old repertoires. One prime example is the books on polyphony belonging to the

45. Arxiu Parroquial de Santa Maria del Pi (APSMP): C543 CdMB, 111.10 (3-III-1754), quoted by Carles BADAL I PÉREZ-ALARCÓN, *La música a la capella de Santa Maria del Pi, 1700-1936*, doctoral thesis, Barcelona, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2023, p. 246.

46. See APSMP: C543 CdMB, 111.11 (12-VI-1769); C541 CdMB, 022.00 (1-V-1824); APSMP: C542 CdMB, 093.02 (6-VI-1830), quoted by Carles BADAL I PÉREZ-ALARCÓN, *La música a la capella de Santa Maria del Pi, 1700-1936*, doctoral thesis, Barcelona, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2023, p. 246.

cathedrals of Barcelona, Vic and Girona published in the 15th and 16th centuries. They are now housed at the Biblioteca de Catalunya (Library of Catalonia) and the Centre de Documentació de l'Orfeó Català (Orfeó Català Documentation Centre).<sup>47</sup>

Similarly, it is interesting to observe the scant attention the Principality paid to the printed editions that Tomás Luis de Victoria strove to distribute among the cathedrals in the Kingdom of Castile.<sup>48</sup> To date, no records of any correspondence from Victoria regarding the acquisition of these editions have been found in the archives of the Catalan cathedrals. This may be explained by the inveterate structure of the Hispanic map in which the social, economic, linguistic and cultural disparities between the two kingdoms rendered them foreign to one another.

The delayed reception of Victoria's printed editions in Catalonia and the documented presence of handwritten copies of the Castilian *Siglo de Oro* polyphonic repertoire<sup>49</sup> is complemented by the rich reception of the international polyphonic repertoire in the confederated states under the dynastic union of the House of Barcelona, the Crown of Aragon and the kingdoms of Valencia and Mallorca. Notably, Barcelona and Valencia were the primary recipients of most of the repertoire arriving from France and Italy.<sup>50</sup>

47. In relation to this topic the reader is referred to works by Andrea Puentes-Blanco, mentioned above. In addition to their research work, a few documents have been preserved *in situ* from the 15th and 17th centuries. These can be found in the collections belonging to the cathedrals of Tarragona, Girona and Solsona. They can also be consulted in the IFMuC catalogues (<http://ifmuc.uab.cat>) in the collection "Llibres de Polifonia".

48. See Juan RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, "Recepción y pervivencia de la obra de Victoria en las instituciones eclesiásticas de la Corona de Castilla". In Alfonso de VICENTE and Pilar TOMÁS (eds.), *Tomás Luis de Victoria y la cultura musical en la España de Felipe III*, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2012, pp. 301-352.

49. By way of illustration, the twenty polyphony manuscript books from the 16th and 17th centuries preserved in the Biblioteca de Catalunya (Library of Catalonia) and the CEDOC form a collection of 25 works by Morales, 8 by Victoria, 3 by Guerrero and 1 by Ceballos. However, collections from booksellers and musicians incorporate a growing presence of printed editions by Victoria during the first quarter of the 17th century. Cf. Andrea PUENTES-BLANCO, *Música y devoción en Barcelona (ca. 1550-1626): Estudio de libros de polifonía, contextos y prácticas musicales*, doctoral thesis, Vol. II, Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, 2018, pp. 1-254.

50. In this regard, see Tess KNIGHTON, "Petrucci's Books in Early Sixteenth-Century Spain", in Giulio CATTIN and Patrizia DALLA VECCHIA (eds.), *Venezia 1501: Petrucci e la stampa musicale / Venice 1501: Petrucci, Music, Print and Publishing*, Venice, Fondazione Levi, 2005, pp. 623-642.