

Recorder Use in Spanish Churches and Cathedrals in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries

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Resumo

Os documentos do século XVI e início do século XVII que sobrevivem até hoje revelam informações muito dispersas no que concerne ao papel da flauta de bisel na prática de música sacra. Embora tivessem sido adquiridos vários conjuntos de flautas de bisel por instituições eclesiásticas ao longo desse período, coincidindo temporalmente com a representação na iconografia religiosa, grande parte das obras vocais sacras do século XVI não nos elucidam sobre a utilização específica destes instrumentos. Dada a escassez de documentação com informação acerca do uso das flautas de bisel, várias questões persistem até à actualidade entre os músicos que procuram definir as suas escolhas informadas para a prática interpretativa. Este artigo apresenta alguns resultados da pesquisa sobre o papel assumido pelas flautas na prática musical sacra em catedrais e igrejas em Espanha, durante os séculos XVI e XVII. Através da síntese e análise dos dados arquivísticos relativamente à compra, reparação e posse de flautas de bisel, às características de alguns desses instrumentos, a contratação e actividade dos músicos que os tocavam, e detalhes da prática interpretativa que remetem especificamente para estes instrumentos. Este artigo aborda também o tópico do repertório disponível nas catedrais e igrejas espanholas que possuem registo da sua actividade e, especificamente, da música que integra as colecções para instrumentos de sopro. A informação recolhida através de fontes arquivísticas é complementada pelas interpelações da prática instrumental no século XXI.

Palavras-chave

Prática performativa; Flauta de bisel; Instrumentos musicais; Menestréis; Música sacra; Península Ibérica; Espanha; *Século de ouro*.

Abstract

Surviving sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century documentation is highly fragmentary with regard to the participatory role of recorders in performing sacred music. While numerous sets of recorders were purchased by ecclesiastic institutions during that period, and while recorders were often portrayed then in religious iconography, most sacred vocal compositions of the sixteenth century did not indicate the use of specific instruments. Given the scarcity of detailed documentation concerning recorders' participation therein, many questions in this regard persisted into the early twenty-first century among musicians seeking an informed basis for their performance choices. This article presents research findings concerning the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century role of recorders in performing sacred works in cathedrals and churches across Spain. It synthesizes and analyses archival evidence demonstrating

purchase, repair and ownership of recorders, characteristics of some of these instruments, the hiring and activity of musicians playing them, and performance practice details specifically calling for recorders. The article broaches the topic of the repertoire available in Spanish churches and cathedrals which had recorder activity, and, more specifically, music included in collections prepared for wind instrumentalists' use. The article ties information gleaned from archival sources with some of the issues arising in twenty-first-century performance.

Keywords

Performance practice; Recorders; Use of music instruments; *Ministriles*; Sacred music; Iberian Peninsula; Spain; *Siglo de Oro*.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES SHOW THAT DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, the purchase and ownership of recorder consorts or sets proliferated in numerous locations and settings across Europe. At the same time, the surviving music of that period reveals only very few notated sources specifically calling for the recorder, and a limited number for any other specific wind instrument. Many questions have persisted regarding the role and repertoire of recorders and other wind instruments during that period.

This article therefore presents current research into the use of recorders in Spain by liturgical institutions, in the performance of sacred musical works during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, for the purpose of documenting and clarifying such use. The archival information which illuminates this issue also has practical applications for twenty-first century musicians wishing to make historically informed decisions regarding their choices of instruments, manner of performance, and repertoire.

While the information found consists of small and diverse fragments, certain types of detail tend to recur, and it seems useful to group these into broad categories to facilitate analysis of the pictures or patterns which emerge. These categories pertain to the instruments themselves, the musicians who played them, and the music which was played.

Instruments

Archival documents reveal the presence of recorders in ecclesiastic institutions in cities spread across the Spanish kingdoms during the period studied. Together, information regarding purchases, care and repairs contributes to forming a portrait of the instruments there at that time.

Purchases

The archival evidence of Toledo Cathedral reveals considerable recorder presence and use in this institution's music activity. Toledo Cathedral purchased cases of recorders at least five times, starting in 1532, and continuing at least until 1589, spanning a period of at least fifty-seven years. Their first purchase, consisting of nine recorders, was made almost simultaneously with the

establishment of their permanent salaried group of *ministriles*; hence recorders were amply present in this ensemble's instrumentarium from its start.¹ In 1549, Toledo bought more recorders, this time in Seville, and another ten were acquired two years later.²

The eight recorders purchased in 1562 were brought from England, rather than Seville, and consisted of two *tiples*, or cantus recorders, four tenors and two *contrabajos*, or basses. Toledo Cathedral's record keepers deemed it relevant to note that these instruments bore the '*marca de ala de mosca*', the mark of the wing of the fly.³ Contemporary instrument builders commonly engraved an identifying mark onto their instruments, marks which can be seen on surviving instruments. The description of fly wings brings to mind the trademark of the renowned Bassano family of builders and musicians, who were active in London at the time of this purchase and whose instruments were much sought after.



Figure 1. Bassano mark engraved on tenor recorder. Detail from public domain image of Metropolitan Museum of Art, purchase, Amati gift, 2010 (2010.205)

¹ '[...] syete mil e quinientos maravedies que ovo de aver porque lo pagó al camarero de Su Reverendísima Señoría en Alcalá por nueve flautas en una caja cubierta de cuero prieto.' See Archivo Catedral Primada de Toledo, *Obra y Fabrica* (O.F.) 826, f. 89v, April 1532; and François REYNAUD, *La polyphonie toledane et son milieu des les premiers témoignages aux environs de 1600* (Turnhout, CNRS Éditions, Brepols, 1996), p. 208.

² 'mandó que fue[se] a Sevylla a comprar una caja de flautas y otra de orlos y dulçaynas' see Archivo Catedral Primada de Toledo, O.F. 843, f. 94v, 22 October 1549. 'seis mill maravedies los quales se le dan por una caja de flautas [...] en ella diez pieças' see Archivo Catedral Primada de Toledo, O.F. 845, f. 97r, 2 December 1551; and REYNAUD, *La polyphonie* (see note 1), p. 209.

³ 'una caja de flautas que tiene ocho pieças que se labraron en Ynglaterra y son de la marca de ala de mosca. Esta caja tiene dos tiples y quatro tenores y dos contrabajos.' See Archivo Catedral Primada de Toledo, O.F. 857, f. 113v, 9 May 1562.

On 28 July 1589, Toledo Cathedral bought still another set of recorders, for at least the fifth time.⁴ There are many possible reasons an institution might purchase multiple sets. These could include instrument loss, damage and deterioration over time, the need for more sizes of recorders later in the sixteenth century, or for several of a particular size, the increased performance of larger-scale polychoral works involving multiple parts, and the increased number of Toledo *ministriles* as the capilla gradually expanded during this period. Newer models of instruments may have been developed, especially around the transition period of the dawning early baroque era. Issues of pitch may offer potential reasons as well. Pitch was not yet standardized during that time, and it is known that in other European locations, institutions sometimes purchased several sets of a particular instrument, built to several different pitch standards, to enable greater versatility of consorts to play, for example, with an organ or in groups combining a mixture of other instruments.

Toledo Cathedral lent money in 1593 to Gaspar de Villegas, one of its wind instrumentalists, or *ministriles*, for the purpose of purchasing one recorder, ‘to serve his work’.⁵ Why would de Villegas have needed one recorder of his own, for his cathedral tasks? Clearly, recorders of all sizes were already owned by the cathedral for use by its *ministriles* and there are many examples elsewhere of cathedral musicians taking some of their cathedrals’ instruments home. The instruments of the cathedral consorts would have been built to match each other in pitch, intonation and timbre, and to function together as a set. A single instrument purchased separately might then have been less well matched for consort playing. It is known that the *ministriles* often possessed some instruments of their own, particularly ones they were more specialized on. One can hypothesize purchasing a sole recorder, not part of a consort, could have been for de Villegas to develop such specialization, or for use in a soloistic or virtuosic manner. When intended for solo use, a recorder can be selected, for example, to have a more penetrating, projecting sound, rather than to blend perfectly in a balanced way with the rest of a consort. As well, renaissance consort recorders normally had a range of approximately an octave and a sixth; however, certain models of renaissance recorders available at the time of this Toledo purchase could attain larger ranges surpassing two octaves, which would be a practical advantage for playing repertoire with ornamental *glosas* or diminutions, for example, and hence a potential motive to purchase an individual recorder. Instrument builder and researcher Adrian Brown has noted such characteristics of range for example in three surviving late Renaissance recorders in the collection of the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum.⁶

⁴ ‘tres mil y docientos maravedís [...] por seis flautas de box que [...] se compraron para servicio del choro’ see Archivo Catedral Primada de Toledo, O.F. 890, f. 138v, 28 July 1589.

⁵ REYNAUD, *La polyphonie* (see note 1), p. 210.

⁶ Recorders with inventory numbers SAM 130, SAM 140 and SAM 148. ADRIAN BROWN, ‘Dolcimelo Recorders’, <<https://adrianbrown.org/dolcimelo-recorders/>> (accessed 9 December 2017).

Numerous other cathedrals and churches purchased recorder sets during this period, in the Spanish kingdoms. Jaén Cathedral acquired such a consort in 1558.⁷ In 1564, within a few months of establishing its permanent band of salaried *ministriles*, Granada Cathedral arranged to buy a case of very good recorders, to serve the cathedral.⁸ In 1565, the *Actas Capitulares* [chapter acts] of Granada Cathedral noted the request for payment of a set of recorders in three sizes, from Seville.⁹ Like Toledo Cathedral, the Cathedral of Seville bought many sets of recorders during a period which extended at least into the seventeenth century. For example, in 1566, Seville Cathedral approved the purchase of a case of recorders which were described as necessary for the *ministriles*.¹⁰ In 1571, Seville Cathedral approved the purchase of more recorders.¹¹ In 1567, the chapter of Ciudad Rodrigo Cathedral decided to request that recorders be sent from England.¹²

Repairs

Instrument-related repairs also indicate both ownership and use of recorders. In 1565, the *Actas Capitulares* of Seville Cathedral note a request to Canon Luis Carrillo to see if recorders could be repaired, and if not, to purchase new ones for the *ministriles*.¹³ Similarly, in 1581 in Calatayud, an order to repair or replace the case holding recorders reveals that recorders were owned and used at that time in the Colegiata Mayor de Santa Maria.¹⁴

Responsibility for the Care of Instruments

Evidence that recorders were owned and used by musicians of an institution can sometimes be gleaned from institutional orders regarding the responsibility and care for the instruments. Thus, for example, in Zamora Cathedral, an inventory of 1578 shows that a case of recorders, a case of

⁷ Archivo de la Catedral de Jaén, Actas Capitulares, volume 1540-5 (Libro 2º) f. 230, 3 December 1558, as cited by Pedro JIMÉNEZ CABALLE, *Documentario musical de la Catedral de Jaén I. Actas capitulares* (Granada, Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía, 1998), p. 21.

⁸ Archivo de la Catedral de Granada, Actas Capitulares 4, f. 239, 11 February 1564, as transcribed by José LÓPEZ-CALO, *La música en la Catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada, Fundación Rodríguez Acosta, 1963), vol. I, pp. 225-6.

⁹ Archivo de la Catedral de Granada, leg. 5-161, 30 January 1565, as transcribed by LÓPEZ-CALO, *Granada* (see note 8), p. 225, and Archivo de la Catedral de Granada, 5, f. 19v, 22 May, 1565, as transcribed by LÓPEZ-CALO, *Granada* (see note 8), p. 225.

¹⁰ '[...] cometiéron al señor canonigo Luis Carrillo de Castilla q[ue] compre la caja de flautas q[ue] es menester para los menestresiles y que sea con brevedad.' See Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla, Actas Capitulares 1564-1566, Signatura 7076, f. 195v, 9 January 1566.

¹¹ 'cometieron al señor canonigo Antonio del Corro que [...] compre unas flautas con que [h]an tañido los menestresiles' Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla, Actas Capitulares 1571-3, Signatura 7079, f. 24, 20 July 1571.

¹² Beryl KENYON DE PASCUAL, 'Bassano Instruments in Spain?', *Galpin Society Journal*, 40 (1987), pp. 74-5, at p. 74.

¹³ 'Cometieron al S[eñ]or. Canónigo Luis Carrillo que compre, si viere q[ue] es necesario, una caja de flautas pa[ra] los menestresiles y vea prim[er]o la vieja q[ue] ay si está pa[ra] servir y si podrá adobarse.' See Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla, Actas Capitulares 1564-1566, Signatura 7076, f. 122r, 19 January 1565.

¹⁴ Antonio EZQUERRO ESTEBAN, 'Calatayud, archivos musicales', *GEA, Gran Enciclopedia Aragonesa* (Zaragoza, 2008) <http://www.encyclopedia-aragonesa.com/voz.asp?voz_id=13335&voz_id_origen=13410> (accessed 17 February 2017).

crumhorns, two *cornetas* and a dulcian were in the care of Pedro de Guebara, a musician of that Cathedral.¹⁵ Seville Cathedral's 1614 *Inventario de libros e instrumentos de ministriles*, [inventory of books and instruments of *ministriles*] reveals that eleven recorders there were entrusted to Francisco Cano de Alvanchez.¹⁶

In 1626, Huesca Cathedral entrusted nine recorders to Augustin Sessé, the superintendent of the Cathedral's *ministriles*, and stated that this was so that they be played in the church. These recorders were described as being very good and as coming from England. Eight were contained in a case, and the ninth was an additional large recorder.¹⁷

Inventories

Inventories provide another source demonstrating ownership and use of recorders by numerous Spanish cathedrals and churches during the period of this study.

The 1568 inventory of the Catedral San Martín de Orense lists a case '*con cuatro flautas para música concordada*' [with four recorders for harmonized music].¹⁸ Also in 1568, an inventory of Úbeda's Iglesia del Salvador included a case holding seven recorders.¹⁹ The church's capilla had been established that same year.²⁰

¹⁵ Inventory, cit. in Alejandro Luis IGLESIAS, 'El Maestro de Capilla Diego de Bruceña (1567-1623) y el impreso perdido de su *Libro de Misas, magnificats y motetes* (Salamanca, Susana Muñoz, 1620)', in *Encomium Musicae: Essays in Honor of Robert J. Snow*, Festschrift Series 17, edited by David Crawford and George Grayson Wagstaff (Hillside, New York, Pendragon Press, 2002), pp. 435-70, at p. 458. Iglesias's source is the *Libro de visitas pastorales* del Fondo documental de la Catedral de Zamora, libro I, 1558-1649, ff. 124-129v.

¹⁶ *Inventario de libros e instrumentos de ministriles*, Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla, section IV, book 09648, f. 168r, 12 June 1614, as transcribed by Juan Ruiz JIMÉNEZ, *La librería de canto de órgano: Creación y pervivencia del repertorio del Renacimiento en la actividad musical de la catedral de Sevilla* (Seville, Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura, 2007), p. 360.

¹⁷ Archivo de la Catedral de Huesca, *Resoluciones*, IV, f. 103, 6 July 1626, cit. in Antonio EZQUERRO ESTEBAN, 'Músicos del seiscientos hispánico: Miguel de Aguilar, Sebastián Alfonso, Gracián Babán y Mateo Calvete', *Anuario Musical*, 61 (2006), pp. 81-120, at p. 116 <<http://anuariomusical.revistas.csic.es/index.php/anuariomusical/article/viewFile/4/4>> (accessed 22 June 2016).

¹⁸ José LÓPEZ-CALO, 'Las Diez Misas Polifónicas de Jacques Moderne (Lyon, 1540) en la Catedral de Orense', *Abrente*, 40-41 (2008-2009), pp. 187-222, at p. 198, <<http://www.academiagallegabellasartes.org/gestor/archivos/07joselopezcalo.pdf>> (accessed 4 February 2018). See also Francisco Javier GARBAYO MONTABES, 'Inventarios de obras e instrumentos musicales en el Archivo Capitular de la Catedral de Orense', *Porta da Aira: Revista de Historia del Arte Orensano*, 12 (2008), pp. 229-56, at p. 231 <http://www.academia.edu/5421309/Inventarios_de_obras_e_instrumentos_musicales_en_el_Archivo_Capitular_de_la_Catedral_de_Orense_Porta_da_Aira_2008_12> (accessed 18 June 2016). In these two aforementioned sources, López-Calo and Garbayo Montabes both refer to Emilio DURO PEÑA, *La música en la Catedral de Orense* (Orense, Caixa Orense, 1996), p. 105.

¹⁹ *Memoria e inventario de los bienes de la Yglesia del Salvador*, A.H.Ú. F.P.N. Antón de Cazorla, Leg. 0995, ff. 170-89, Úbeda, 4 December 1568, as transcribed by Francisco Javier RUIZ RAMOS, *La Sacra Capilla de El Salvador de Úbeda: Estudio histórico-artístico, iconográfico e iconológico* (Úbeda, Asociación Cultural Ubetense 'Alfredo Cazabán Laguna', 2011), p. 184; Ruiz Ramos transcribes the complete inventory at pp. 169-90, available at <http://www.academia.edu/4189487/la_sacra_capilla_de_el_salvador_de_ubeda_estudio_historico_artistico_iconografico_e_iconologico> (accessed 18 June 2016).

²⁰ Miguel Ángel MARÍN LÓPEZ, 'Una historia imposible? Música y devoción en Úbeda durante el Antiguo Régimen', in *Úbeda en el siglo XVI*, edited by A. Moreno Mendoza (Úbeda, Fundación Renacimiento, 2003), pp. 141-66, at p. 144.

Zamora Cathedral's inventory of 1578 lists a case of very good recorders, as well as crumhorns, *cornetas*, a dulcian, and two pairs of organs above the *coro*.²¹ Recorders are also listed in the 1579 inventory of wind instruments of Zaragoza's Basilica del Pilar.²²

The Cathedral of Calahorra was richly supplied with recorders, as demonstrated in two inventories. The first, in 1578, simply lists unquantified '*flautas*', along with an ample variety of other instruments. The inventory of 1593 is more specific and counts two cases containing seventeen *flautas* and three *flautones* [large recorders].²³

In the 1582 inventory of Iglesia Parroquial Valdemoro, recorders form approximately half of the instruments listed by that church. This inventory includes a small case with four recorders, and a large case with two bass recorders. Other instruments include shawms, a sackbut, and one dulcian (*bajón*).²⁴ Because *ministriles* often possessed additional instruments of their own, the proportions shown in the inventory are not necessarily the same as those of the total instruments available and used.

Seville Cathedral's 1614 *Inventario de libros y instrumentos de ministriles*, referred to earlier, shows that the Cathedral then owned at least sixteen recorders, consisting of two old *contrabajos*, two tenors, and a set of twelve recorders apparently purchased in 1607.²⁵ The inventory describes this consort of twelve recorders: 'Ítem, de un juego de flautas que parece se compró el año de 1607 y que costó 41.000 y tantos maravedís y que tuvo doce piezas: cuatro tenores, cuatro tiples, dos sobretiples y dos contrabajos.'²⁶

Four sizes of recorders are noted, rather than the three seen in some earlier sixteenth century sets. This corresponds with the general expansion of consorts during the sixteenth century, to include more sizes, and the compositional evolution of polyphony from three to four voices and then to polychorality.

²¹ Inventory, Libro de visitas, cit. in IGLESIAS, 'El Maestro' (see note 15), p. 458.

²² *Inventario de instrumentos y actuaciones de los ministriles*, Archivos Capitulares de Zaragoza, Archivo Capitular del Pilar, Actas Capitulares, vol. 1551-84, f. 145v, January 1579.

²³ Archivo Capitular de la Catedral de Calahorra, *Libro de inventario y visita*, signature 202, f. 153, 1578, '*Instrumentos de ministriles*', cit. in Francisco RODILLA LEON, 'Nuevos datos sobre la capilla musical de la catedral de Calahorra a finales del siglo XVI. El magisterio de Juan Esquivel de Barahona (1585-1591)', *Nassarre: Revista Aragonesa de Musicología*, 20/1 (2004), pp. 403-30, at p. 415, and Archivo Capitular de la Catedral de Calahorra: *Libro de fábrica*, signature 194, 1593-1642, 7 March 1593 as transcribed by RODILLA LEON, 'Nuevos datos', at p. 415, n. 71. <http://www.academia.edu/7149057/Nuevos_datos_sobre_la_capilla_musical_de_la_catedral_de_Calahorra_a_finales_del_siglo_XVI_El_magisterio_de_Juan_Esquivel_de_Barahona_1585-1591> (accessed 21 February 2017).

²⁴ Iglesia Parroquial Valdemoro *Libro de inventarios 1582-1719*, 1582, f. 14v, as transcribed by Antonio GALLEGO, 'Un siglo de música en Valdemoro (1582-1692)', *Revista de Musicología* 1/1-2 (1978), pp. 243-53, at p. 246.

²⁵ *Inventario*, as transcribed by RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La librería* (see note 16), p. 360.

²⁶ [Item, of a set of recorders which seem to have been bought in the year 1607 and which costed 41,000 and some *marevedís* and which had twelve pieces: four tenors, four *tiples*, two descants and two basses.] *Inventario*, as transcribed by RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La librería* (see note 16), p. 360.

Recorders are listed in two later inventories of Cuenca Cathedral. Cuenca's 1633 inventory includes two cases each holding a set of five recorders. An inventory there of 1675, again lists two cases each with five recorders. Cuenca also lists at least six other types of instruments in the earlier inventory, and nine types in the latter.²⁷

Ownership of recorders is sometimes revealed in fleeting comments. For example, a 1673 *Actas Capitulares* entry of Badajoz Cathedral states that the *maestro de capilla* requested two recorders held by the *fabrica*.²⁸

The purchases and inventories show that recorders were owned in significant quantities, from which can be deduced that they were used in significant manner. In virtually every example, the recorders were owned in complete sets, although it was possible to purchase recorders singly. That recorders were purchased in large sets and in varied sizes, provides some clues as to how they were used, and for their potential use in twenty-first century performance. The sizes owned made both high and low consort playing possible. This would have allowed a variety of sound colour. Ownership of several recorders of a particular size also means that a considerable variety and flexibility of their combinations were possible then in the performance of polyphony – for example Alto/Alto/Tenor/Bass or Tenor/Tenor/Tenor/Bass. Such diversity could extend the range of repertoire in which recorders could have played in the formation of a complete consort. The recorders were capable of covering the entire vocal range employed in polyphonic compositions of that time.

Other Characteristics of the Instruments

Additional characteristics of the recorders emerge among the archival entries. At least three institutions purchased recorders from England, although recorders were available closer by. The six recorders Toledo purchased in 1589 were described as being made of boxwood.²⁹ The prices paid for recorders make possible some degree of comparison with the costs of other instruments. For example, in 1570 in Seville, a recorder could cost one *ducado*, while a shawm might cost six.³⁰

²⁷ 'Ytten. Vna caxa sin llaue con vn Juego de cinco flautas. / Ytten. Otra caxa sin llaue con otras cinco flautas' (1633 inventory). José Luis de la FUENTE CHARFOLÉ, 'Inventarium librorum musicae: Nueva aportación documental sobre el archivo musical de la Catedral de Cuenca (siglos XVII-XVIII)', *Anuario Musical*, 62 (2007), pp. 171-204, at pp. 182 and 189. De la Fuente Charfolé transcribes from Archivo de la Catedral de Cuenca, Section X, Inventory 23 June 1633 ID_Mus, a. 633, f. 1r, and Archivo de la Catedral de Cuenca, Section X, Inventory 26 June 1675, ID_Mus, a. 675, f. 5r, 'Ymbentario de los Instrumentos, Año de 1675'.

²⁸ '[...] el maestro de capilla pide dos flautas que tiene la fábrica' see Archivo de la Catedral de Badajoz, *Actas Capitulares*, 14 June 1673, as cited by Macário Santiago KASTNER, 'La música en la Catedral de Badajoz (años 1654-1764)', *Anuario Musical*, 18 (1963), pp. 223-38, at p. 224.

²⁹ Archivo Catedral Primada de Toledo, O.F. 890, f. 138v, 28 July 1589. See footnote 4.

³⁰ Clara BEJARANO PELLICER, 'Juventud y formación de los ministriles de Sevilla entre los siglos XVI y XVII', *Revista de Musicología*, 36/1-2 (2013), pp. 57-91, at p. 64.

Recorder Use within the Liturgy

Diverse archival evidence offers a number of indications regarding when and how recorders were used in the liturgy. Feast days for which recorders were specified include *Fiesta de la Calenda*, Christmas, Epiphany, Corpus Christi, and All Saints Day.

In Seville Cathedral, *Maestro de Capilla* Francisco Guerrero provided instructions in 1586 that called for recorders to play on each of the feast days which included the *coro*.³¹ Guerrero's 1586 musical regulations are particularly significant because of their rich performance practice content regarding the *ministriles*. Guerrero's recognition and quality as a composer, coupled with Seville Cathedral's wide influence both in Iberia and the New World, add to the historical importance for music practices, of his 1586 music regulations. Two Seville Cathedral documents of 1611 show that these same regulations were still in use there twenty-five years later.³²

In Sigüenza Cathedral, a 1594 document of music regulations required recorders to play in a service during the *Fiesta de la Calenda*.³³ Also in Sigüenza, a 1607 *Actas Capitulares* entry instructed *ministriles* to use recorders on All Saints' Day.³⁴ In Zaragoza, the *Actas Capitulares* of December 1595 instructed that recorders be used during the Feast Day of the Nativity and on *Fiesta de los Reyes*, or Epiphany, on 6 January.³⁵

Why might institutions have required the use of recorders on these particular days? Guerrero's inclusion of recorders for all feast days with *coro* might have served to augment the provision of variety in those services. Perhaps calling for these instruments in celebrations on specific days implies that their use on those occasions carried some special meaning. Culturally valued

³¹ 'que en las fiestas del choro aya siempere un berso de flautas' see Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla, *Actas Capitulares*, Signatura 7084-36, f. 47r, 11 July 1586.

³² Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla, unbound documents in Caxon D Legaxo 3º Nº. 33, 22 August 1611, and 26 August 1611.

³³ Archivo Cabildo de la Catedral de Sigüenza, Juan Pérez, *Directorio de Coro* (DC), 0, DC, IV, f. 437, 17 January 1594, cit. in Louis JAMBOU and Cristina DIEGO PACHECO (eds.), 'Lexique Musical de la Renaissance (LMR)' Université Paris-Sorbonne <<http://www.plm.paris-sorbonne.fr/LMR/>>, <<http://www.ums3323.paris-sorbonne.fr/LMR/en/indexAnglais.html>> (accessed 14 February 2018). See also Louis JAMBOU 'La capilla de música de la Catedral de Sigüenza en el siglo XVI. Ordenación del tiempo musical litúrgico: del Renacimiento al Barroco', *Revista de Musicología*, 6/1-2 (1983), pp. 271-98, at p. 284. Álvaro Torrente gives the dates of the compiled 'Directorio' as 1581-1609, in 'Function and Liturgical Context of the Villancico in Salamanca Cathedral', in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450-1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, edited by Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing, 2007), pp. 99-148, at p. 102.

³⁴ 'Este dicho día el Cabildo dio comisión a los Srs. Arcediano de Almazán y maestro Hocés, Canónigo, para que hablen a los menestreses se instruyan para el día de Todos los Santos con las flautas que se [h]an traído de Zaragoza...' See Archivo Capitular de la Catedral de Sigüenza, *Actas Capitulares*, ACCS 19, f. 196v, 29 October 1607, cit. in JAMBOU and DIEGO PACHECO, 'Lexique' (see note 33).

³⁵ 'Y que [...] se añada mucha solemnidad y musica en las dichas festividades de Navidad y de los Reyes, eligiendo un verso en cada salmo, el que pareciere mas a proposito a la festividad, y que dichos versos se compongan por el maestro de capilla a canto de organo, usando en ellas de mucha variedad: unas veces con voces sencillas, otras con voces y flautas, y con toda la variedad mayor que el supiere.' See Archivos Capitulares de Zaragoza, Archivo Capitular del Pilar, *Actas Capitulares*, vol. 1584-99, f. 147r, 2 December 1595.

symbolism might have motivated some of these choices. Recorders and other members of the flute family have a very long symbolic association with pastoral scenes and shepherds, which may explain their musical inclusion in festivities of the Calenda, Christmas, and Epiphany. Similarly, the requirement for recorders to play on All Saints Day might spring from the flute family's symbolic representation of death which also dates back thousands of years.

Evidence shows that recorders were used in a variety of liturgical services. A 1548 set of regulations for music at León Cathedral, specifies that on Holy Saturday at Complines, the recorders should play the first and last psalm and *Nunc Dimittis*, with *fabordon*.³⁶ In 1602, Palencia Cathedral specified that recorders, shawms and *violones*³⁷ should play during Matins.³⁸

The use of recorders during Vespers is mentioned in Francisco de Luque Fajardo's 1610 description of celebrations in Seville Cathedral for the beatification of San Ignacio. *Cornetas*, dulcians and two organs also played in this service with music composed by the *Maestro de Capilla*, Alonso Lobo.³⁹ The *Actas Capitulares* of 14 January 1545 of Jaén Cathedral, specify that the motet after elevation should be played by the *ministriles* with recorders.⁴⁰ Hence, recorders could also be included in music which occurred between mass movements. In 1595, Granada Cathedral called for recorders and crumhorns to play during the offertory.⁴¹

Archival references to books for *ministriles* include examples of volumes containing masses. In 1532, Toledo Cathedral purchased for its *ministriles* a book of fifteen masses, the *Liber quindecim missarum*.⁴² A Seville Cathedral document of 1572 states that 'being necessary for the *ministriles*, a book of masses of Maestro Guerrero, was bought.'⁴³ When a book of masses was considered

³⁶ Kenneth KREITNER, 'The Cathedral Band of León in 1548, and When It Played', *Early Music* 31/1 (2003), pp. 41-62, at p. 53. Kreitner transcribes all clauses of Archivo Historico Catedral de León document 3720 (1548), at pp. 53-60.

³⁷ Large bowed string instruments related for example to viols or violins.

³⁸ Archivo Catedral de Palencia, Actas Capitulares, 24 May 1602 as cited by José LÓPEZ-CALO, *La música en la Catedral de Palencia* II (Palencia, Diputación Provincial de Palencia, 1981), at p. 594, cit. in Javier GARBAYO MONTABES, 'Música instrumental y liturgia en las catedrales españolas en tiempos de Barroco', *Quintana* 1 (2002), 211-24, at p. 212.

³⁹ Francisco de LUQUE FAJARDO, *Relación de la fiesta que se hizo en Sevilla a la Beatificación del glorioso S. Ignacio fundador de la compañía de Jesus* (Sevilla, Luis Estupiñan, 1610), f. 7r, <<http://fondosdigitales.us.es/fondos/libros/6942/35/relacion-de-la-fiesta-que-se-hizo-en-sevilla-la-beatificacion-del-glorioso-s-ignacio-fundador-de-la-compania-de-iesus-francisco-de-luque-fajardo/>>; see also RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, *La librería* (see note 16), p. 224.

⁴⁰ Archivo de la Catedral de Jaén, Actas Capitulares 1540-5 (Libro 2º) f. 154v, 14 January 1545, cit. in JIMÉNEZ CABALLE, *Documentario* (see note 7), p. 11.

⁴¹ Juan RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 'Ministriles y extravagantes en la celebración religiosa', in *Políticas y prácticas musicales en el mundo de Felipe: Estudios sobre la música en España, sus instituciones y sus territorios en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI*, edited by John Griffiths and Javier Suárez-Pajares (Madrid, ICCMU, 2004), pp. 199-239, at p. 218.

⁴² Juan RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 'The Unica in Ms 975 of the Manuel de Falla Library: A Music Book for Wind Band', in *Pure Gold: Golden Age Sacred Music in the Iberian World. A Homage to Bruno Turner*, Colección DeMúsica 15, edited by Tess Knighton and Bernadette Nelson (Kassel, Edition Reichenberger, 2011), pp. 59-78, at p. 74.

⁴³ 'que siendo necesario para los menestres un libro de misas del maestro guerrero lo compre.' See Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla, Actas Capitulares 1571-1573, f. 82v, 16 April 1572, also cited in Francisco GUERRERO, José María

necessary for the wind instrumentalists of Seville Cathedral then it would seem the *ministriles* had some role to play some of this music in some manner. As well, one of the rare surviving manuscripts believed to have been used by *ministriles*, the Manuel de Falla Ms. 975, contains the *Missa Terti Toni* of Rodrigo de Ceballos. Hence we can deduce that recorders may have been active in some manner, along with the other *ministril* instruments, in some music of the mass.

De Luque Fajardo specifically notes recorders playing in a Mass in Seville Cathedral in 1610 during the festivities there for the beatification of San Ignacio. The description stresses that much variety was employed in the instruments used, and in the music composed by Lobo for the service.⁴⁴

During Palencia's Feast of Corpus Christi in 1627, recorders, *corneta*, dulcian, *claviorgano* [claviorgan]⁴⁵ and other instruments were instructed to play in the Cathedral during the musically elaborate interval between services there, for the stated purpose of inspiring devotion.⁴⁶

Thus, recorders were active in some music of the Divine Office, the Mass, and during intervals within and between services.

Recorders also played a variety of musical forms. These included a motet after Elevation in Jaén, the first and last psalms at Compline and the canticle *Nunc Dimittis* in León, and psalms at Christmas and Epiphany, in Zaragoza's Basilica del Pilar. In Seville Cathedral, Francisco Guerrero's 1586 regulations required the recorders to play a verse of the hymn *Salve Regina*.⁴⁷

Documents occasionally provide similar details calling for the specific use of some other instrument of the *ministriles*, such as the shawm or *corneta*, while the dulcian developed a partly differentiated role with particular duties.

Inventories and other archival documents detail a large repertoire of available music which ecclesiastic institutions then owned. Sources show numerous references to music or books prepared and purchased for the *ministriles*, music which was therefore used by the group of wind players who included recorders among their instruments. Of the books prepared specifically for *ministriles*, at least four are presently known to have survived. These include the Manuel de Falla Ms. 975 from

LLORENS CISTERÓ, Karl H. MÜLLER-LANCÉ, *Motetes I-XXII*, Monumentos de la Musica Española XXXVI (Barcelona, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1978), p. 46.

⁴⁴ LUQUE FAJARDO, *Relación* (see note 39), f. 7r.

⁴⁵ A keyboard instrument with pipes and strings, which combines characteristics of an organ and harpsichord or other plucked string keyboard instrument.

⁴⁶ 'quedará tañendo el luego con las flautas y demás instrumentos, y después los cantors con el claviórgano cantarán motetes, villancicos, romances y letras al Santísimo Sacramento, cantados a solas con el claviórgano y ayudando el bajón y corneta, así cada uno de por sí con el calviórgano como con algunos dúos y tercios, cantando en ellos una voz, disponiéndolo el maestro de capilla como mejor le parezca y más nueva a devoción.' See Archivo Catedral de Palencia, Actas Capitulares, 17 December 1627, ff. 28v-30, cit. in LOPEZ-CALO, *La música en la Catedral de Palencia* (see note 38), pp. 598-600, and Carlos MARTINEZ GIL, 'Los sonidos de la fiesta: Música y ceremonial en el Corpus Christi', in *La Fiesta del Corpus Christi*, edited by Gerardo Fernández Juárez and Fernando Martínez Gil (Cuenca, Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2002), pp. 215-34, at pp. 230-1.

⁴⁷ Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla, Actas Capitulares, Signatura 7084-36, f. 47r, 11 July 1586.

the mid-sixteenth century, two extensive volumes from the Church of San Pedro in Lerma, from the end of the sixteenth century, and a large collection in Mexico, Puebla Ms. 19, from the mid-seventeenth century.⁴⁸ These manuscript anthologies provide an invaluable window upon such repertoire, and include Spanish, Franco-Flemish and Italian works by composers such as Francisco Guerrero, Cristóbal de Morales, Tomás Luis de Victoria, Josquin des Prez, Orlando di Lasso, and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina.

Another surviving collection, Segovia Cathedral's *Libro de facistol n° 6*, may have been used historically by either *ministriles* or organists. This volume consists almost entirely of motets, all by three composers, Francisco Guerrero, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, and Alonso Lobo, unlike the four previously mentioned sources with their diverse musical genres and broader variety of composers. The works in the Segovia manuscript are included without their texts, and a single mass movement, by Alonso Lobo, appears twice, the second time notated in keyboard tablature.⁴⁹

How the Recorders Played

During the period studied, numerous ecclesiastic institutions with wind bands wrote some type of regulations governing the musicians' duties and their manner of musical participation within the institutions' liturgical services. Such documents offer a rich array of performance details regarding the *maestro de capilla*, the singers, organist, and instrumentalists. Most of the instructions regarding the *ministriles* seem not to be specific to particular instruments, except for those concerning the gradually developing role of supporting the singers on the bass line.

Still, there are several surviving details of performance practice which are specific to the recorder. As already mentioned, in León the recorders were to use *fabordon* in playing the first and last psalms and *Nunc Dimittis* during Compline. Notated examples of *fabordon* can be found in surviving *ministril* manuscripts such as the Manuel de Falla Ms. 975 and the two collections from Lerma, as well as in other sources of this period.

Several times when recorders were specifically called for, an explanation of aesthetic purpose was included with the instruction. A prime example is established in Guerrero's 1586 regulations in Seville, where for the three verses to be played in the *Salve Regina* Guerrero called for one verse with recorders, one with shawms and one with *cornetas*; he then explained that it is annoying always to use the same instrument: 'que en las salues los tres versos que tañen el uno sea con

⁴⁸ E-GRmf, ms 975; NL-Uu, ms 3.L.16; E-LERc, ms1; and MEX-Pc, ms 19.

⁴⁹ Kenneth KREITNER, 'The Repertory of the Spanish Cathedral Bands', *Early Music* 37/2 (2009), pp. 267-86, at pp. 269-70, and Juan RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, 'The unica in MS 975 of the Manuel de Falla Library [E-GRmf 975], a minstrel book', in *Pure Gold: Golden Age Sacred Music in the Iberian World. A Homage to Bruno Turner*, edited by Tess Knighton and Bernadette Nelson (Kassel, Reichenberger, 2011), pp. 59-78, at p. 61.

chirimias y el otro con cornetas y el otro con flautas porque siempre vn instrument enfada y ansi lo proveyeron.⁵⁰ The concern for the listener is noteworthy; as well, the use of diverse sounds is entirely in keeping with the contemporary ethos of *varietas*. In the same regulations, Guerrero also called for one verse to be played by the recorders on feast days. Guerrero's continued influence upon providing a variety of instrumental sounds is reflected in de Luque Fajardo's description of the mass performed in Seville Cathedral during the 1610 festivities there.

While the dulcian often played an important role in supporting or substituting for the bass line of the singers, and was often situated near them rather than with the wind players, several sources show recorders being used for this purpose. When Toledo Cathedral purchased recorders in 1589, the *Actas Capitulares* stated that these were intended '*para seruicio del choro*' [for the service of the *coro*].⁵¹ In 1626, a recorder owned by Huesca Cathedral was described as being large, very good, and serving like a dulcian.⁵²

Musicians Who Played the Recorder

The presence and use of recorders during this period is also demonstrated by information regarding the musicians who played them.

In 1560, Valencia's archbishop Francisco de Navarro wrote music instructions for the cathedral which included creating an ensemble there of four *ministriles*. Valencia Cathedral was therefore to hire four *ministriles* playing recorder, shawm, sackbut, *corneta*, and crumhorn.⁵³ Huesca Cathedral formed a wind band in 1578 with '*musicos de baxon, menestriles y flautas*' [musicians of dulcian, *ministriles* and recorders].⁵⁴

In 1573, Burgos Cathedral requested that *ministriles* be sent from Toledo and Cuenca; the one from Cuenca played recorder, *corneta* and other instruments.⁵⁵ In 1589, Burgos Cathedral examined Joan Sanchez, a *ministril* from Valladolid, on recorder, *corneta*, shawm and bagpipes.⁵⁶

In 1608 San Pedro Church in Lerma hired Andrés Alamillos as *ministril* of recorder, *corneta*, shawm, and *cornamuta* (crumhorn). The records also indicate that he should play *tiple* and tenor

⁵⁰ Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla, Actas Capitulares. Signatura 7084-36, f. 47r, 11 July 1586.

⁵¹ Archivo Catedral Primada de Toledo, O.F. 890, f. 138v, 28 July 1589.

⁵² Archivo de la Catedral de Huesca, *Resoluciones*, IV, 6 July 1626, f. 103, cit. in EZQUERRO ESTEBAN, 'Músicos del seiscientos' (see note 17).

⁵³ '[...] chirimias, sacabuigs, flautes, cornetes, orlos e trompón.' See Archivo de la Catedral de Valencia, Actas Capitulares, Prt. 3732, f. 446v, 17 December 1560. Navarro's music instructions are at folios 444r-448r. See also Josep CLIMENT BARBER, 'La capilla de música de la catedral de Valencia', *Anuario musical*, 37 (1982), pp. 55-69, at p. 64.

⁵⁴ Duran GUDIOL, 'La capilla de música de la Catedral de Huesca', *Anuario musical*, 19 (1964), pp. 29-55, at p. 40.

⁵⁵ Archivo Catedral de Burgos, Actas Capitulares, 22 January 1573, as transcribed by José LÓPEZ-CALO, *La música en la Catedral de Burgos*, vol. 3 (Burgos, Caja de Ahorros del Circulo Católico, 1996), p. 168.

⁵⁶ Archivo de la Catedral de Burgos, Actas Capitulares, 20 November 1589, as transcribed by LÓPEZ-CALO, *Burgos* (see note 54), p. 317.

parts.⁵⁷ It was common at the time to hire multi-instrumentalist musicians to play a particular line such as treble. In 1631 and 1632, the *capilla de música* of the Catedral de Teruel included recorders, *cornetas*, sackbuts, and shawms.⁵⁸

Details regarding Gerónimo López can offer a broader portrait of a *ministril* who played recorder, as well as other instruments. López was employed at Toledo Cathedral from 1562 until at least 1603, with records showing that he played recorder, shawm and *corneta*, in the registers of *tiple* and *contralto*.⁵⁹ Increases in salary quickly made him one of the highest paid *ministriles* at Toledo Cathedral.⁶⁰ A Toledo document from 1600 referred to him as the *Maestro de Ministriles*.⁶¹ The esteem in which López was held is demonstrated by the numerous prestigious invitations he received to provide temporary services elsewhere.⁶² One of his many students was Gaspar de Villegas, who subsequently also played recorder, *corneta* and shawm at Toledo Cathedral.⁶³

In 1613, the Seville Cathedral *ministril* Alonso de Machuca entered into a contract to train *ministril* Francisco de Hermosa in ‘the art of *ministril* of *tiple*, recorder and *corneta*’.⁶⁴ Thus de Machuca included artistic instruction on the recorder as part of the training of a new multi-instrumentalist *ministril*, during this period in which Seville Cathedral purchased and inventoried recorders and included recorder use in its regulations for music in its liturgy.

Conclusions

Surviving documents make clear that there was widespread use of recorders by numerous churches and cathedrals across the Iberian Peninsula during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The examples show that recorders were sometimes purchased right at the inception of a new wind band, while in other cases they were bought later as a new variety of instrument. They were acquired throughout the entire period studied. They were owned by the wealthiest and most

⁵⁷ Douglas KIRK, ‘Instrumental Music in Lerma, c. 1608’, *Early Music*, 23/3 (1995), pp. 393-408, at p. 394; Kirk cites Archivo Histórico Protocolos de Madrid, Gabriel de Rojas, Prot. 1437, f. 180.

⁵⁸ Jesús Maria Muneta MARTÍNEZ DE MORENTÍN, *Músicos Turolenses* (Teruel, Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 2007), p. 80.

⁵⁹ REYNAUD, *La polyphonie* (see note 1), pp. 259 and 217.

⁶⁰ REYNAUD, *La polyphonie* (see note 1), p. 259.

⁶¹ REYNAUD, *La polyphonie* (see note 1), p. 27.

⁶² REYNAUD, *La polyphonie* (see note 1), p. 224 for which Reynaud cites Toledo Actas Capitulares of 28 January 1585, and p. 228 for which Reynaud cites Toledo Actas Capitulares of 31 May 1600.

⁶³ REYNAUD, *La polyphonie* (see note 1), p. 231.

⁶⁴ ‘[...] yo Francisco de Hermosa...entro a deprender el arte de menestril tiple y corneta e flauta con Alonso de Machuca menestril de la santa yglesia desta dicha ziadad de Sevilla’ BEJARANO PELLICER, ‘Juventud y formación’ (see note 30), p. 82. Bejarano Pellicer transcribes the entire contract and cites as her source AHPdS, oficio 4, leg. 2466, libro 3º of 1613, 31 July 1613, ff. 674r-678r.

influential institutions, including Seville and Toledo Cathedrals, but also by some of the smaller institutions with more limited financial resources.

In the earlier decades of permanent wind bands, most of their instruments could be categorized as *alta capella*, the louder types, whereas recorders are quieter instruments commonly considered to belong to the *bassa capella*. Instruments such as shawms and sackbuts clearly would have been a more functional choice for loud outdoor ceremonial use. The times for which the recorders were specified include quieter spiritual, devout or intimate moments. Recorders were also called upon to provide variety of sound.

While music instructions specific to recorder were scarce and very brief, the same can be said for most of the other *ministril* instruments as well. Recorders were used in many types of liturgical service, on many feast days, and in many musical genres. While often played by multi-instrumentalists, specialized recorder virtuosi also existed. That recorders were often played in consorts is clear. Such consorts could consist of a considerable variety of size combinations, producing a variety of sound and character. Clearly the instruments sometimes played works alone as instrumental pieces. In works performed with singers and instrumentalists, recorders sometimes played a single verse, in order to provide variety of sound. Performance questions continue to be examined regarding *alternatim* or *colla parte* playing of wind instruments with the singers. While certain practices were similar in wide areas and influenced by models such as the cathedrals of Seville and Toledo, practices also varied over time, in different locations, and different types of institutions. A large body of specific information is available through numerous institutions' regulations for their musicians. In addition to indicating the days and places in the liturgy where instruments were used, they provide considerable performance practice detail. Such documents merit further study, as does the large and sumptuous repertoire of inventoried music available to the *ministriles*, including the recorders.

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Recebido em | Received 10/04/2018

Aceite em | Accepted 27/11/2018

