

Music in the Cathedral of Córdoba (1236-16th century)

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Abstract

The present article tries to explore the origins of music in the cathedral of Cordoba since it is consecrated as a Christian temple, as well as the beginning and consolidation of the groups and ministers who daily play the Gregorian chant in the Catholic Mass and in the different hours of the divine office, and, extraordinarily, polyphony in the great liturgical solemnities, taking as its starting point the very institution of the cathedral lobby which is the one that makes this sound reality possible. On the other hand, we inquired in the beginnings of the instrumental musical practice from the first news allusive to the presence of the organ and the participation of the first group of minstrels in the solemnity of the religious services, to finish exposing the opinion about the chapel of music that their contemporaries had.

Keywords: Music chapel, chapel master, minstrels, musicology, succentor..

A. INTRODUCTION

Every mouth of the protagonist of his work, the squire Marcos de Obregon, recounts the joy by the arrival in Córdoba Vicente Espinel, musician by profession and reputed musical theorist of his time, in an uncertain date from the last third of the 16th century or the first years of the following century. It is significant and powerfully attracts attention that immediately after settling down in the emblematic Mesón del Potro, he directed his steps to the nearby cathedral with the manifest interest of hearing the music and making himself known to people who, probably like him, enjoyed authority and prestige in the music scene of the Spain of the Golden Age, cultivating its art in the institution in which we focus our study and we try to trace the most significant milestones from its birth to its consolidation in the second half of the five hundred.

B. METHOD

Research on Music in the Cathedral of Córdoba was conducted using qualitative methods. With this qualitative method, researchers attempt to reveal the universal essence of phenomena personally experienced by a group of individuals in depth (Taylor et al., 2015; Cresswell & Cresswell, 2017). Data was collected through several techniques, including observation techniques, focus group discussions, and documentation studies. Data analysis was carried out through three analysis processes, namely coding, merging codes that emerged into themes, verification of themes through theory and follow-up interviews, and drawing conclusions.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. THE ORIGINS

On June 29, 1236, the Mesnadas de Fernando III made their entry into the city. The chronicles relate that when the cross, carried by the teacher Don Lope de Fitero, appeared on top of the minaret of Abderraman III between the Indescribable joy of the Christians, the clergymen and bishops present sang the *Te Deum*. It was the hour of the eve of the feast of the apostles Pedro and Pablo when the bishop of Osma and Lope de Fitero entered the mosque in order to prepare what was necessary for the dedication of what would become a Cordovan cathedral, meticulously complying with the ritual and the norms of the Roman pontifical: external purification, consecration of the altar and celebration of mass, liturgical ceremonies in which for the first time the cantilations and melodies of the Gregorian repertoire resounded in the sumptuous temple, singing before the main door of the old mosque, as the *Latin Chronicle* of the bishop of Osma tells us, the antiphon *Adesto Deus* in which the Trinity is invoked (Pidal & Catalan, 1977).

Presumably, at the mass that is celebrated after the purification rites, some of the songs of the ordinary collected in the *Graduals will sound*, and those of the own that the Roman liturgy provides for this rite. The reconquest, -because Christian sources address the fall of the capital of the caliphate under the rule of the Castilian kings with this mentality-, not only supposes the implantation of a new political and social order and the restoration of a religiosity, but the introduction of a new music in the brand new Church of Córdoba, it is true, in a marked process of decline, and stripped of some of its peculiar aesthetic qualities. I am referring to the Roman-Frankish chant, better known as Gregorian, an essential element in the materialization of the ritual of the Roman liturgy.

Therefore, we have to look for the origins of the musical practice in the Cathedral of Córdoba from the moment of its consecration as a Christian temple, which means the implantation in our city of the musical tradition of the Castilian church, rooted from the substitution of the Visigothic-Mozarabic liturgy and the acceptance of the Roman ritual.

Very shortly after the conquest, in 1238 (Nieto,1992), King Ferdinand III endowed the first church with a congregation of ministers whose primary purpose was divine praise through the liturgical services of the high mass and the prayer of the hours. of the office, grouped in nocturnal and diurnal, distributed throughout the day and accompanied by the tolling of the bell in the succession of matins, lauds, prima, tertia, sixth, nona, vespers and completes.

Alfonso X el Sabio tells of his father (in the *Septenary*) that “he was crafty in all the good ways that a good knight should use, and paying himself off from other singers and knowing it he fazer; et all, paying for court omes who knew well how to trobar and sing, and joglares who

knew how to play instruments well, he paid a lot for himself and he understood who did it well and who did not ... " (Contreras, 2015) .

The text not only describes the most outstanding qualities of the personality of the holy king, highlighting among his abilities the natural disposition for singing, the taste in the treatment and company of skilled people in the faculty of instrumental performance, in whose arts he was versed, but highlights the pre-eminent place of music in the cultural conformation of the Castilian social peak.

For this reason, it is quite significant to verify that among the main dignities of the cathedral, - the prior or dean, the treasurer, the archdeacon of Castro, Córdoba and Pedroche-, there are the cantor or capiscol and a teacher, prebendas secularly occupied in the dignity of singing in religious services.

The *Games* of Alfonso X the Wise entrusted to the maestrescuela the responsibility of providing the Cathedral of teachers who teach young people to read and sing, what other sources add the amendment of the texts and accents of songbooks (Nieto, 1992).

The office of the cantor, according to the Alfonsine jurisprudence, has the competence to initiate the singing in the choir and order it to be done with the necessary decency and solemnity. This position is documented from 1246 and the first known clergymen who held it were, among others, Don Juan Gutiérrez (1251), Aznar Pérez (1282-1285, Don Pelegrín (1287-1293) and Ruy Pérez (1294).

For the greatest splendor of the cult in the first temple of the diocese, to these seven dignities it is necessary to add nineteen canons, ten rationers and twenty half rationers who constitute the cathedral chapter and occupied, according to their rank and seniority, the high chairs of the two choirs named "the dean" and "the archdeacon of Córdoba", arranged opposite each other and to the left and right of the bishop's seat, which occupied the most prominent place in the center of both.

2. THE SOCHANTRES

Long before the documents show the chapelmaster as the most competent and qualified official at the head of the cathedral musical institution, the great religious centers will have among their servants a position of which, although the functions that were entrusted to it, its fundamental role in the development of ecclesiastical music has not been fully considered, at least until the establishment of the chapel magisterium, a task that transcends time with regard to the exercise of music in parish worship . I am referring to the sochantre, a position that was provided in people with good voices, generally bass, although it was not unusual that they were tenors, and very skilled in singing.

According to Professor Sancho, the first news of this profession in Córdoba dates from 1311, the date on which the existence of the cathedral school of reading and singing seems to have been verified, the teaching of which was probably carried out by the sochantre Juan de Grau (Ibanez, 2005).

More famous and credited by documentation was Lázaro Martínez, from the end of the 14th century until his testament in 1413, considered the sochantre par excellence . This ministry was related to the direction and execution of the liturgical song, singing the antiphons, psalms, hymns and other songs in the processions and in the choir, taking care of decency, order and composure in it. He also appointed the singers who had to interpret the responses, verses and lessons, and distributed for weeks to the beneficiaries who had to wear a pluvial cape .

Another task that the statutes attribute to the sochantre is the notation of the festivities on a tablet in the choir for the knowledge of all those who had an obligation to attend it and the custody of the choral books, taking care of their repair or proposing their acquisition when it was necessary, all in charge of the cathedral factory.

He frequently appears in the documents as a teacher of the choir boys, teaching them to read and training them in plain singing and organ singing, that is, what we know today as polyphony, facet of which later the chapel masters will take over.

In addition to being the first authority in the direction of the choir, the sources also often present him as a "singer", a term that implies participation with the other singers in the performance of the polyphony, as opposed to the name of "choir chaplain" , which designates the minister consecrated to divine praise in the hours of Office, by means of the Gregorian chant.

These responsibilities appear included in the minutes of February 25, 1447, in which "the lords of the council ordered to give Martín Fernández, sochantre, five hundred mrs. every year because I teach two children and show them organ singing and special responses for the choir in carnal and in Lent, and they ordered him to give these mrs. as much as it suits the council" (Lesmes, 2006) .

The reference to organ singing in this chapter commandment is not the only one that we have news about in the Cathedral of Córdoba in the period prior to the 16th century, since "on Monday, three days in February (1455) the said gentlemen cabillo sent a book of organ singing to Juan Daguerro and Villalpando, young men of the chapel of the bishop Don Sancho de Rojas, God behold, which book the said bishop sent them" .

These testimonies only reaffirm the polyphonic practice in the Cathedral of Córdoba as a deeply rooted custom, and that therefore has the human elements necessary for its exercise, such as adult singers in the classic tessitura of tiple, alto , tenor, bass; two, three or four choir boys,

necessary but not essential, since the upper voices of the treble and contralto were performed by the adults, and a teacher who taught the organ singing and acted as the first singer.

The sochantre could be, as ruler of the choir, the person in charge of coordinating and directing the polyphony in the moments prior to the establishment as such of a chapel of singers. The documents do not say anything that resolves this question, but all the indications indicate it as the person in charge of polyphonic singing until these functions were later taken over by the chapel master.

Despite the shortage of documents and the laconic nature of the sources, I believe I am in a position to ratify this task of the sochantre in the parish of Asunción de Priego, where we frequently find this office together with that of chapel master, positions with which still in 1751 appears "Don Alexandro Gómez de Cañete, Sochantre, and Maestro de Capilla de la Parroquial desta Villa de Priego ... " (Jimenez & Martinez, 2004). But it is more, the office of composer of the music that is interpreted in the temples, one of the most important tasks that the capitular acts entrust to the master of the chapel, we also find it attributed to the sochantre in the accounts of charge and discharge of 1617 of the parochial Prgatense, when it refers to the "chançonetas that it makes and sings (the sochantre is understood), in the said church the Easter of Christmas and the Corpus Christi" .

The provision of this office from the second half of the 16th century is carried out by means of an opposition presided over by the chapel master, after calling for edicts placed in the most important churches of Andalusia and Castilla, having as an obligation the care of the choir boys and the addition of a chaplaincy in their twenties, for which the applicant's essential requirement was to present the record of the cleansing of his blood.

Such was the care of the cathedral chapter in the election of the position of sochantre, and so great its demands regarding the musical qualification of its holders, that the capitulars did not hesitate to extend the term of the edicts to choose from a wide range, nor in the development of the opposition, leave the vacancy deserted when the interested parties were not to their liking. This situation will be repeated several times in the last five years of the century of the five hundred.

3. THE CHAPLAINS OF THE TWENTY

The twelve "*choir or twentysomething chaplains*" , seated in the low chairs, six in each choir, make up the clerical group on which the obligation of daily attendance at night and daytime singing falls, occupying the usual absences of dignities and canons, often occupied in capitular deputations outside the city, accompanying the prelate or in the resolution of other matters (Cruz, 2016) . Cabildo and twentyneros, together with the sacristans and choir boys, all under the direction of the sochantre, made up the cathedral choir that interpreted Gregorian chant in daily services.

In the opinion of Professor Sancho, its origin could be found in the middle of the 13th century among the clergy of the cathedral that Alfonso X cites as the "*alumni chori*", denomination by which the choir boys could also be designated at such an early date 16. Its components were twenty, since a chapter ordination, probably from the second half of the fourteenth century, prevented their number from exceeding this number. In 1426 they already appeared under the name of "choir chaplains", who were assigned a daily maravedí for attending matins during Lent this year, and named as "twenty-year chaplains", twelve in number, since March 5, 1462, already assuming the responsibility of divine praise in one of the most untimely hours of the divine office, when the absence of lighting or pavement in the streets meant a great sacrifice and sometimes a committed adventure walk at night. Thus, the disabled or convalescent chaplains request the license from the council that dispenses them from assistance at this time, forcing themselves to look for the person who complies in their place. Such is the content of the request of a chaplain in his twenties in July 1596, the month that invites night outings, "in which he says that because of the notable damage that the watchman does to his eyes, the doctors have told him that he will lose it very quickly coming to Matins at night" (Sancho, 1988).

The provision of these chaplaincies took place by means of opposition, after public convocation by edicts in which the express demand of the good voice of the aspirants was inserted. After the deadline for the presentation of the candidates, the sochantre examined their skill in singing a lesson, their ability to interpret plain chant and their reading skills, subsequently passing to the election by secret ballot. Once this was done, and according to the statutes of the cathedral, these chaplaincies were granted by the council to people who did not have the blood of Moors or Jews, descendants of old Christians, clean of all blemishes, according to the statute of cleanliness, of good life and representation.

Other times, the vacant chaplaincy was divided into halves and the council handed it over to two choir boys, thus rewarding their proven proficiency in the tasks of their trade. When a new vacancy arose, each was filled with the other half, thus individually assuming the ownership of an entire chaplaincy.

It is common for a singer from the music chapel to serve a chaplaincy in his twenties as a complement to his financial allowance. On the other hand, the vacancies or periods of absence of the sochantre are filled by the cabildo a chaplain in his twenties well endowed for the office. Other times, apart from their obligation to sing in the choir and fulfill the tasks of the liturgy assigned to their charge, they attend the supervision of works or the collection of certain fiscal obligations, commissioned by the council. In the case of Martin Rubio, chaplain of twenty each year in the last decade of the sixteenth century, come to the peoples of the Sierra de Córdoba helping a canon in the collection of the tithe of Extremadura rams (López Rider, 2018).

Without being able to speak at this early time of an "arrangement" for the greatest solemnity of worship ceremonies, medieval sources make constant reference to the singers, list the books

containing the liturgical melodies, or show the diligent attitude of those responsible for its provision, as well as the zeal for its maintenance and care.

4. THE EARLY TESTIMONIES OF THE GREGORIAN REPERTORY

Among the oldest musical testimonies that have come down to us in the archive of the Cathedral of Córdoba, we can cite a fragment of the liturgy of Holy Saturday, consisting of a *Gloria* related to that of the *Cunctipotens Genitor Deus* Mass of the Roman Gradual, and a *Alleluia* with a verse that presents the same Gregorian melody collected in the *Liber Usualis* after the Epistle of this day. Its notation seems Aquitanian, *in campo aperto* (Catedral, 1976), that is to say, only the text written on the blank parchment, with the primitive musical signs or neumes on the syllables, without guidelines, tetragrams or staves that will later serve to annotate the melody. It could have even formed part of the impedimenta of the clergy who settled in Córdoba after the conquest, after accompanying the mesnadas of Fernando III, and its origin could well be placed in the *scriptorium* of one of the great Castilian monasteries.

5. THE BODY

A testimony of singular importance in the evolution of music in our city is found in 1365, "when the bishop, dean and council granted Vasco Alfonso, vassal of the king and neighbor in the collation of Santa María, a chapel in the Cathedral to burial of him, Mari García, his wife, and their descendants, expressing the will to celebrate a solemn procession and other religious services on the day of Santa María de Marzo, playing the organs".

Even meaning the first allusion that we find referred to this instrument so closely related to the solemnity of the cult, we do not consider it explanatory of an isolated event, but rather the confirmation of a quite ingrained custom of solemnizing the religious services of the most important days with the music of the organs, assuming the early presence of this instrument and its indissoluble relationship with the cult in the first Cordovan temple.

It is obvious that the existence of these instruments implies the need for a staff to attend them, bringing together officers as diverse as the player, the master craftsman who builds and decorates them, -using the terminology of the time-, as well as the individual who it operates the bellows, later referred to as the "organ toner".

The first reference to the organist of the cathedral is sufficiently revealing, when the cabildos book of September 7, 1461 «gives alms to Juan Ruiz de Cárdenas, a player (we assume that of the organs), of all that he owed from the I rented from the houses he had in Las Cabezas".

Other testimonies will be ambiguous or will designate different tasks with the same terms, as occurs when mentioning in 1493 the "maestro Vincencio, organist who made the organs", to name the organ builder, as we would say today, who builds the organs of the cathedral, when

in reality it refers to the completion of two new large organs and two other small ones installed in the choir, with the maximum satisfaction of the council .

During these fin de siècle years we also have news of the construction of an organ for the monastery of Santo Domingo de Scala Coeli, a work carried out by the “organists” - here we find a new example of the use of the term that designates the player, instead of organ builder that names the architect-, Cristóbal Lucas and Diego Fernández, residents of Córdoba (Ocampo, 2009) .

However, a chapter order of 1500 uses the term "organ makers" to designate the officers who play these instruments, a noun that the sources use interchangeably to name the person responsible for their conservation.

The second half of the 16th century opens with a salary increase for the organist Gaspar de los Reyes. It was his duty to play the organ at mass and the eve of all Sundays, except Advent and Lent, all the feasts of keeping and festivals that have processions, the masses on Saturdays dedicated to the Virgin, the salves that are sung in the choir on Saturdays of Lent, Matins , solemn octavars, the days of general processions where the council is, and the first vespers of the solemn festivals. With regard to the processions, special emphasis is placed on their attendance at the "Corpus Christi day by playing the small organ that is carried in it" . Moreover, the days that are organ trades, will be careful to open before the start of the morning and afternoon (Laguna, 2001) .

He was also obliged to find a person to sing the organ, paying his fees on behalf of the council. Even though it is an essential element for the execution of these mills, the documentation does not include until a fairly late date the individual who operates the bellows, whose name is Fernando de Écija, commissioned by the Provisor in 1507, in addition to the intonation of the organs of the food from the temple lamps .

A very interesting testimony that illustrates us about the musical practice of the time, on a subject as debated as the supposed interpretation of polyphony accompanied by instruments, is perfectly satisfied by the statutes of the Cathedral of Córdoba when ordering "the organists who will follow the order that the master of the chapel gives them in those things that the organ and the singers have to play and sing alternately, failing to do so" . Thus, the organ alternates with the singers interpreting the polyphony, although in a chapter order of 1583 it is made clear that “when saying the verses of psalms, hymns, magnificat, offering and communicated that on solemn feast days the organ usually plays or the minstrels, it was agreed that the sochantre always say such verses and the other things that the organ or minstrels play, and sing them submissively voce, so that the choir is understood, entering together with the organ or minstrels " (Laguna, 2001) .

According to these evidences, it is essential to study the sources and be extremely careful in the current versions of polyphony accompanied with instruments, which sounding with exquisite beauty and taste, could mask the intelligibility of the texts. religious, contrary to the Renaissance aesthetic principle of the role of music as a vehicle for the transmission of the sung word of God.

Of course, we are not aware of the organ music that was performed in Córdoba. We can only refer to some customs followed in organ performance in the office: until 1581 it was common for the organ to sound in the *Gloria* and in the *Creed* of the mass. From this moment on, these pieces of the ordinary are proclaimed by the Gregorian chant choir. Again this practice will recover at the end of the following year.

From the end of 1563 until 1596 when Gaspar de los Reyes died, the Cathedral of Córdoba will have two organists who will play the organ taking turns for weeks.

Regarding the testimonies of the time about the instrument in population centers of the kingdom of Córdoba, in the parish church of Santa María de la Asunción de Priego de Córdoba we find the organist Pedrazas accompanying a funeral funeral in January 1584 .

A decade earlier, Beltrán de Liarte held the same office in the parish church of Asunción and Ángeles de Cabra (Córdoba), with an annual salary of 64 bushels of wheat, and three years later the documents record the payment of the six men who carried the organ in the Corpus procession.

Although we do not have these parish centers with sources prior to the last third of the 16th century, we suppose the implantation of the organ in these localities much older, since in nuclei such as Loja and Alhama, towns of the Granada diocese, which was the last to be established , we find data from 1514 (Jimenez, 1995) .

6. THE CHORUS BOYS

The years of the last two decades of the fourteenth century pass, a period in which the royal chronicles celebrate the splendor of music in court entertainments, but apparently quite infertile in terms of the fruits of sound creation in the peninsular kingdoms, when little by little the embryo of the primitive musical organization is developing in the cathedral of Cordoba, put at the service of worship in the sumptuous ceremonies conceived in the mentality of the Gothic.

Thus, in November 1386, the council established the method of payment to Alfonso Fernández "who shows the choir boys" , which testifies to the presence of the youngest human group in age of the cathedral musical institution and protagonists of simple roles in the interpretation of polyphony.

The documents present great confusion when referring to this group of children, since they use the same terminology indistinctly when they point to those who have the mission of serving as acolytes, in charge of the censers and other functions at the altar, than when they refer to those who they interpret the superior voices of the polyphony, denominated sixes, cantorcicos or infantiles de choir in some cathedrals. The latter are the ones referred to, in the opinion of Father Samuel Rubio, by the expression "that he is obliged to show the six choir boys", previously shown in the Cordovan sources, and which we also find in the cathedral of León in 1548 by listing the duties of the chapelmaster (Mancilla, 2013) .

The number of choir boys destined for singing underwent variations over time: two until the middle of the 15th century, when it rose to four; again the documents enumerate two again until May 1482, when a third is received, a number that increases again to four in the first quarter of the 16th century.

The responsibility for them from their implantation until the beginning of the 16th century was in the hands of the sochantre or a singer referred to by sources as the "master of the young men", who gave them a room in his own house, took care of the food, dress and neatness in their personal hygiene, with the obligation to teach them from moral principles, Christian doctrine and good manners, to read and show them the musical skills of plain singing and organ singing, in daily morning and afternoon lessons . For its maintenance and cleaning the teacher received each month and for each one, and a bushel of wheat. Thus, "on the 10th day of the month of May (1482) the deán and cabildo received a small servant, who calls himself García, to serve in the choro as singer, and the gentlemen sent him a bushel for salary every month of wheat and sixty like each of the other boys who is in charge of Pero Fernández, sochantre, and that he is in charge of him as similar to the other two boys, and where they hear and receive him" .

There are exceptional circumstances, such as the extreme poverty of the parents, in which the child was not under the guardianship of his teacher, but lived under the family roof and with his modest salary he contributed to the sustenance of the paternal home. Such is the commandment of the Chapter Act of March 27, 1523, which grants "to Juan, the boy of the Choir, the bushel of wheat in three reales that they give him as salary each month and he is at his father's house and not at home. of the teacher and this because of the poverty and need that his father has" .

The performance of the functions of these children related to the tasks of helping at the altar and choir, together with the important role played in the practice of polyphony, is notorious in this testimony of September 1548: "this day, talking In the good service of the Choir and in that there is a lack of children who sing with the organ, -that is, who sing the polyphony-, they agreed that four children be designated as cantorcicos, and that they be obliged to serve the office of responseros for a month , and another of censers, so that they alternate, and that in

addition to the salary of cantorcicos, they earn the salary of the office that they serve that month (of responderos, censors, dressing rooms and booksellers)".

The need for these boys becomes more peremptory at the lectern during the treble faults that frequently haunt the chapel, such as the one referred to in a chapter agreement of December 1550: "This day, in view of the great need that there is in the Choir Thus, in order to serve the offices, such as cantorcicos in the facistor because they did not see tiples, they agreed, after seeing many other conversations near it, that Alonso de Vieras, master of the Chapel, should be in charge of all the young men of the Choir that he owns, and I taught them to sing and read and the others that are required, so that they are not lacking in the choir service" (Ruiz Vera, 2017).

From its institution in the Cordovan church, the sources reiterate the interest and concern of the council in taking advantage of their learning, even assigning some deputies in charge of monitoring the smooth progress of their studies: "talking about how the teacher of young men from Choir would take more advantage of In teaching the said young men to sing and read, they agreed that each month a beneficiary should be there in the afternoons to see how it is done, and for this month of January they appointed the racionero Alfonso Ruiz Moyano".

Since the second quarter of the 16th century, the guardianship of children destined for singing will fall to the chapel teacher, a responsibility that sometimes will be the cause of great conflicts in the stability of the chapel magisterium, originating, at worst of the cases, the resignation of the teacher and the vacancy of his place. For the performance of the thankless task, an important economic sum was added to his salary for the maintenance, clothing and cleaning of the children.

From 1563, once again, the obligation of the chapelmaster to have two boys with good voices is emphasized. On the other hand, at this time the functions of the choir and cantorcicos waiters appear perfectly delimited in the documents, in addition to their care, the mandatory blood cleansing test to take possession of the square and the liturgical dress, opaque and surplice of which they clothed themselves for their service. This was stipulated in December 1563 when presenting "Pedro de Blancas, master of the young men, a young man for the service of the Choro, and his grants committed to me, the rationer Melchior de Pineda, so that he can see the information of old Christian, and if it is good, they take it for granted and order it to be given an opa and overweight".

On September 3, 1577, the terminology "seise" was used for the first time in the Cathedral of Córdoba. Once again it was the lack of a treble voice that forced the council to seek the service of children who would sing this tessitura before the lectern. Almost a month later, Jerónimo de Alarcón, contralto singer commissioned by the council to search for five children in the lands of Castile, returned to Cordoba accompanied by "the five well-trained boys that he brought from Castile for six of this church. And having sung in the presence of the said gentlemen, it was

determined that Jerónimo de la Cueva, master of the chapel, should have them in charge of his home so that he would teach them what was necessary for the lectern service and provide them with food and clothing and other things. other necessary” .

In addition to the eloquence of what has been stated so far by the document, he adds that “write to Seville, send the order that is held in that church in the government of the said mochachos and what service they do in the church and what they are wearing , with whatever else is necessary close to it” Parella Rubio (2005). Of course, the cathedral of Seville in the government of the sixes had much to advise the Cordovan council, a guide that guided many cathedrals in Spain when they had to face an unprecedented initiative, so the customs and the cathedral organization are characterized for its great mimicry.

To differentiate the sixes from the choir boys, they are dressed in red cassocks and those in purple cassocks. In any case, in Córdoba we observe that the presence of the sixes is related to the lack of treble voices. Once the need has been satisfied, probably due to the problems and headaches that the council the children, who are not strangers, the refusal of the chapelmaster to put up with them, the documents of these little singers stop talking. Again at the end of 1596 the concern to take control of the six arises, after almost fifteen years in which the sources are silent about their presence. The reason for this interest could be found in the high age of at least one of the multiple holders of the chapel and the impossibility of providing the square without producing the vacancy.

In the first decade of the century of the five hundred, although Professor Sancho alludes to testimonies from the early fifteenth century, the minutes register annually until 1562 the bypassings for the Feast of the Innocents or Saint Nicholas, an endearing celebration that has its roots in the Middle Ages and closely linked to the group of young men.

Among the children of the choir the youngest was chosen as bishop, who, wearing a miter and crozier, parodied the true bishop, went up to the choir with his companions, who acted as canons, prayed mockingly in imitation of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, a ceremony not exempt from incidents and scandals that cost the protagonist more than one punishment.

Finally, the provisions of the Council of Trent forbidding everything irreverent in the churches put an end in 1563 to this medieval celebration.

Another festivity ancestrally celebrated by the choir boys was that of Corpus Christi, in which adorned with garlands they sang and danced before the altars that adorned the route of the Blessed Sacrament. At the same feast we are also presented in a chapter commandment of 1555 singing the Christmas carols , as well as the singing and reciting of the "hors d'oeuvres on the night of Easter on Christmas" (Noone, 2006).

7. THE MUSIC CHAPEL

Up to this moment, using documents that barely exceed the first half of the 15th century, we have recorded the existence in the first Cordovan temple of the positions and groups that make up the most elementary cathedral musical organization, that is, what we will later know as « Chapel of Music », although this name as such does not appear in Cordovan sources until 1455 in a text already discussed.

Following Father Samuel Rubio, this appellation comes from the medieval Latin "cappa". In the palace of the Merovingian kings the name of "chapel" was given to the oratory where a relic of the *cape* of Saint Martin of Tours was kept .

Music was called "chapel" to stay or classroom of the temple where the musical rehearsals took place (Parella Rubio, 2005) .

The same meaning of the term is found in Córdoba in 1450, when "the council ordered that no one, in the entire noble body of the church (enlargement of Al-Hakan II), be daring to teach any person to sing plain chant, but rather in the general school where the said council has its main teacher, in the customary chapel where the said teacher kisses the young men .

Again the same voice, used with the meaning of place of rehearsal or study, appears a short time later in a chapter agreement ordering "that the choir boys continually go twice every day to take their lesson to the chapel of Alfonso Ruiz, singer, his teacher ... " .

By extension, the chapel came to name the group of musicians in charge of singing or playing, with all the relative accompaniment of song, music roles, instruments, clothing and badges, at the service of the church and in order to interpret polyphony in celebrations of worship .

All the testimonies that we have presented up to now only reaffirm the establishment of the music chapel of the Cathedral of Córdoba in the years of the first half of the 15th century, documenting with very eloquent samples the inveterate musical practice that they served in this Church, that is, the interpretation of the "organ song" in the increasingly lavish celebrations of the Roman liturgy.

It is true that the Cordovan musical institution did not have until 1563 a regulation that regulated all organizational and operational aspects, collected in a statutory corpus, a circumstance not necessarily essential for the strict fulfillment of its purposes, because as Father Rubio affirms, they were alike in almost all the cathedrals and transmitted orally .

Once we have crossed the transition period that takes us from the experimental restlessness of the *ars nova* to the moments of classical serenity advocated by the Renaissance, which constitutes the so-called Golden Age, and which is none other than the time of greatest exuberance in the musical creation that Spain has known throughout its history, where the

consolidation and development of the great polyphonic musical forms. Consequently, this general atmosphere of impetuous creative vitality in Spanish music is going to exert an enormous influence on our cathedral chapels, even more so from the Cisnerian reform movement of the Hispanic Church, which will propitiate a greater solemnity in worship. To do this, he makes special use of the powerful value of music as a vehicle for transmitting the word and religious doctrine, at the same time that it serves to enhance the sumptuous liturgical ceremonies.

This context allows us to understand the evolution of the musical organization in the cathedral of Córdoba throughout the sixteenth century, whose fundamental elements we leave perfectly outlined moments before comedying the previous century.

In the same way that culture since the High Middle Ages takes refuge and grows in the heat of monastic life, the Spanish music of the Renaissance is going to be cultivated and reaches its highest degree of splendor under the vaults of cathedrals, monasteries, collegiate churches, ecclesial foundations, fostered by the creation, improvement and evolution within its bosom of an organization of professionals (teachers, singers, sochantres, choir boys, twentysometers, choir chaplains, minstrels and organists) that is costly to maintain, only possible in schools with a great economic capacity.

The prolific musical creation that is manifested through composers and writers, more than in the royal salons, has its genesis in the Church, because, with the exception of the organist Antonio de Cabezón, none of the great musicians of the time was formed in the bustle palatial, but under the teachings of the cathedral temples.

In Renaissance Spain, cathedrals will constitute the most economically important legal entities in the city and jurisdiction in which they have their headquarters, both for the assets and income they hold, as well as for their enormous secular privileges. This financial capacity is what fosters the creation of increasingly well-endowed musical institutions and the struggle between some cathedrals and others to attract the most excellent teachers, have the best singers and the most skilled groups of minstrels, as a way of exhibiting their supremacy and spiritual and economic prestige, which on the other hand required a professional improvement of the ministers of this art. These same concerns to provide the first Cordovan temple with a musical organization worthy of its rank and to emulate the best of its time, they are present in chapter documentation throughout the sixteenth century.

The first Cordovan temple is at this time one of the most important in Spain due to the growing economic power that translates into substantial income. The economic wealth of its factory and of the so-called chapter table is based on the numerous rustic and urban properties, as well as on the perception of voluminous rents for different concepts, which allows from very early on the consolidation of a musical chapel well endowed with all the necessary elements, whose development and evolution we are going to try to approach.

In 1563 a momentous event took place in the subsequent evolution of the music chapel of the Cathedral of Córdoba: the increase in financial resources for its provision and the regulation of the rules of its operation embodied in a statutory corpus. These circumstances should not have been alien to the guidelines issued by the Council of Trent and the musical practice itself in Hispanic cathedrals.

8. THE CHAPEL MASTERS

The first time we find the title of "chapel master" in our cathedral is on November 12, 1515, when "Martín de la Fuente, master of the Chapel and young men, is paid a thousand mrs. and eight bushels of wheat from his salary "for three months .

This character, considered by Saldoni a disciple of the University of Salamanca (Mitjana, 1918) , takes office as singer and teacher of the young men, -a function that we already find referred to before the sochantre or a singer-, on September 5, 1505, with the obligation to "Let him teach plain singing and organ singing" for which he receives a salary of three thousand maravedis, in addition to the allowance per singer that amounts to 6,000 mrs. and two peanuts of wheat each quarter. He died in the first days of November 1522, as 30 reales are paid to a messenger who goes to Guadalajara to call a singer "to be the teacher of the Chapel of this Church" , whose name we do not know. The messenger must not have reached a good agreement with the anonymous singer, because at the beginning of January of the year.

Next, the council orders that skilled people be sought to oppose the vacant teaching profession, testimony that refers to the first known opposition call to fill a position in music (Ruiz Vera, 2017). The musical organization is not neglected during the time that elapses until the provision of the place by a new rector, since the direction of the same is taken over by the chaplain Juan de Castro .

Coming from Granada, the priest Luis de Can de Roa was appointed "by the cantor and teacher of the Chapel of this church" in mid-January 1523 with a salary of 20,000 mrs. and four peanuts of wheat (a measure that was worth 12 bushels in Castile), with the obligation that free of charge "teach the beneficiaries, chaplains and choir boys to sing" in two daily sessions, choir attendance and chapel direction "Every Sunday, party and Saturday of Our Lady" .

Shortly played his craft teacher Can Roa, because in the first days of February are doing the teaching to the singer Pedro de Vega with the same responsibilities as his predecessor . Although the Malaga musicologist Rafael Mitjana indicates the march to Valencia of the teacher Can de Roa three months after taking office in Córdoba, the Chapter Act of April 14 gives news of his death after he granted his last will in the Hospital de San Sebastián, asking to be buried in the Corral de los Muertos (today Triumph of San Rafael de la Puerta del Puente) where the poor of this hospital were buried .

Without mediating other previous circumstances or knowing the fate of Pedro de Vega, singer who we left in the job of teacher, on December 30, 1524 the council ordered the posting of edicts for opposition to the magisterium of a vacant chapel, expressing the condition that be skilled in the "singing of organ and counterpoint", specifying the provision of the square for next February 15 and the economic endowment of 20,000 mrs. and 4 annual wheat peanuts.

Two days before the end of the scheduled period, Álvaro de Cervantes, teacher of the Cathedral of Granada, takes office, on the condition that he teach plain singing, Organ singing and counterpoint to all the beneficiaries, chaplains, sacristans and choir boys of this church, for which the functions of the position of chapel master are firmly established, except the compositional work (Adan, et al., 1998).

The patient and difficult coexistence with some rioters of the same age and under the same roof must have been a stranger to his departure in 1529, trying to remedy the mischief and devilish occurrences of the choir boys that in most cases frightened the the muses disturbed the peace of the teacher, breaking even his health if he did not find a more peaceful destiny.

The bishop and council called him again in May 1530, considering his considerable value and "because it will be very useful to honor the choir and to arrange the singers", exempting him this time from the custody of the young men who are in charge of the chaplain. The teacher's relationship with the town hall must have caused some disagreements, since in 1531 he asked for leave to return to Granada, the capitulars wishing him "to come in good time".

The absence of Álvaro de Cervantes is occupied by his brother, the priest Alonso de Vieras, a teacher to whom the council will resort twice more to fill other vacant periods, a character to whom the documentary sources attribute for the first time, in November 1538, the work creator of a chapel master in the cathedral of Córdoba, by exempting him for fifteen days from some charges "to make certain songs for the night of the Nativity of Our Lady. Lord Jesuchristo", thus verifying the transition in the functions of the magisterium from the master singer to the master composer.

Undoubtedly, the figure that arouses the most interest of those who occupied the Cordovan teaching profession in the first half of the 16th century, is the one that appears named in the sources by the brief surname "Morales", which could be the great polyphonist Cristóbal de Morales to carry out, although briefly, the teaching in the Cathedral of Córdoba.

The gap in his biography is known, between 1531 when he left the Cathedral of Plasencia (Stevenson, 1993), and 1535, the date of his entry into the Sistine Chapel of Rome, and being on March 12, 1532 when he appears occupying the address of the Cordovan chapel a certain Morales. On December 2, 1532, the town council gives license "for the singers to go to Marchena to a party that the House usually holds for the festival of the Purification of Our Lady". Years later, after his stay in Toledo, Maestro Morales spent a few years in Seville and

Marchena at the service of the Duke of Arcos . Due to his Sevillian origin, did he already have a relationship with the Duke of Arcos before his stay in Córdoba? I do not want to venture any conclusion from this fact.

Prior to October 20, 1533, Morales must have requested a license from which he did not return, since the act of this day orders that he be paid for the time he served, discounting the time of the leave from which he did not return .

Once again, Alonso de Vieras served the magisterium uninterruptedly until June 10, 1556, when with the arrival of Rodrigo de Ceballos to the Cordovan temple we find the extraordinary circumstance of two chapel masters governing the institution, an anomaly that was resolved in 1557 removing Vieras from the lectern, "seeing the inconvenience of having two Capilla masters" . Ceballos exercised the teaching profession in solitude until 1561, when he took up the post of teacher of the Royal Chapel of Granada (Cacace & Gonzalez Lopez, 1994) .

Diego Jiménez succeeds him in the vacancy, who barely stays for five months , because again we meet again the teacher Vieras occupying the interim on February 26, 1562 . After a brief period of just over three years in the chapel magisterium of Andrés de Villalar and new interim parentheses of maestro Vieras, the music chapel was taken over in 1567 by the Granada-born Jerónimo Durán de la Cueva who its mandate dates back to the first decade of the seventeenth century.

9. THE SINGERS

During these years of consolidation and definition of the functions of the magisterium in the Cordovan cathedral, we also witness the consolidation and greater prominence of the figure of the singer, as contemporary testimonies reveal to us. Thus, at the beginning of the 16th century, the council granted "40 reales to Baltasar, singer, so that he could bring his clothes from Seville (and) give a seat in his state". There are also individuals like Antón de Lucena who are rewarded by the council for "sometimes coming to the Choir to sing with the singers" .

The council tries to take the carefree and festive behavior of some singers like Antón García on a better path, to whom each year they are going to pay 9,000 mrs. and three cahíces wheat, "on condition that henceforth reside in the choir rather than until today, and live honestly, not walking at night or Wedding Crashers, unless as a cleric" (Ros-Fábregas, 1998) .

The first allusion to the tessitura of a voice is from 1512 in which they assign the aforementioned "Antón García, singer of Las Posadas, bermejo, tiple, six thousand mrs. and two peanuts of wheat, paid for thirds of the year, because the Choir sang and honored the Choir and because it was poor ... " (Rubio, 1969) . In addition to offering news of their place of origin, physiognomy, voice quality and economic status, in the text we can intuit the warning attitude of the council to avoid the absence of the tiple, given the scarcity of this vocal register. On the

other hand, the expression that "honor the Choir" and other phrases of the same idea expressed earlier in the chapter document, are a reflection of that reformist mentality regarding worship, which began with the Catholic Monarchs. The double bass voice, as the bass is called at the time, is documented around 1518, as well as the alto and tenor in 1524.

One more proof of the much discussed role of instruments in the music of the time, replacing one of the voices of the polyphony, is found in 1557, since "given the lack of double bass in the Chapel of Music, they ordered that buy a bassoon that can be used as a double bass, and thus for now the lack that exists is made up, while no voice is found" (Verdu, 2019). The instrument was not needed, because within a month we found in the chapter acts the solution of the problem with the incorporation of a double bass, which gives us an idea of the pressing problem of shortage of certain voices that cathedrals had to face.

10. THE MINISTRIES

During the teaching of Álvaro de Cervantes, specifically on Christmas Eve 1527 according to sources, the music chapel of our cathedral was attended by a group of minstrels for the greater solemnity of the Nativity liturgy. Four months later, the bishop proposal, the council decided to hire a couplet minstrels "for the honor of the Church". Apart from the fact that their salaries would be paid half by the factory, and the other half between the cabildo and the bishop in equal parts, nothing else adds the relationship of the agreement, but we can intuit a group consisting of at least three shawms (tiple, alto and tenor) and a sackbut, an instrument that would perform the function of bass.

Not even one year did these minstrels remain at the service of the cathedral, since the fame of quarrels that has been attributed to these instrumentalists; a series of rather risque words in the chorus against some capitulant; The contempt for the council and the devaluation of its members with respect to those of the capital of Seville, has as a consequence their forced dismissal: "On this day the contempt that the minstrels had inside the Choir was proposed in the council, saying superb words, and that he had nothing to do with the council, and that the canons of Seville, etc. And all the gentlemen voted to be fired, given the list of the gentlemen who were deputies, they gave, that the will of His Honor was that".

We will not find them again performing in the Cordovan cathedral until February 1550, when with the unanimity of the council "they received Diego López de Mora, his three children and Juan Baptista, his nephew", forcing the head of the group "to always have two that strike sackbut, so that there are always five minstrels". Once again the documents behave in a stingy way, denying the relationship of the remaining instruments, so we suppose that they were shawms, although it is known that these officers played more than one instrument such as the cornet or the bass.

Again at the end of August 1551 the group of high minstrels was again fired , with the group of Diego Rodríguez and his Companions at Christmas 1554 96 . From this moment the instruments will be present in the Cathedral of Córdoba with a stable character, until the different ecclesiastical confiscations of the first half of the 19th century put an end to their musical organization.

The chapel of minstrels will constitute a group differentiated from what is known as the music chapel, including with its own rehearsal place, private participation in parties, music books and repertoire of its own, a teacher of its own, even at the beginning of the Baroque period. , who used to be the oldest or the best gifted and to whom they had to keep "great respect and obedience" (Verdu, 2019).

The minstrels were obliged to play in the choir at mass, first and second vespers, and in the processions of all feast days, in addition to solemnities that were not considered feast days. Also they have a duty to serve the general processions where the council may, on Christmas matins every day and parties contained in the Ceremonial of the Choir and every time the bishop and the council would mandaren.

The teacher ordered each instrument had to ring in the office, doing without putting excuse, no sound or tune pudiendolo while involving the organ or sing the singers .

Every Monday and Wednesday, starting at three o'clock in the afternoon, they would gather for an hour "to be prepared in some mixtures of instruments and to be skilled to play them in the choir, with a penalty of half a real for each one who is missing".

The place of the church from where they acted in their interventions was located in the organ platform, conceived for this purpose, a location where they had their own lectern. With this, being a high place, the sound was more spectacular. They were not allowed to perform in the choir if it was not with the permission of the President of the same, holding the teacher responsible for this fact.

Known for the fame of quarrels and provocateurs of the minstrels, the council keeps them from going up to the rostrum to serve their trade with weapons. On the other hand, they were not allowed to perform with their heads covered in the choir or in the processions that took place inside the church, in addition to other forms of composure such as putting on elbows on the railing of the rostrum or remain seated and watched from the choir, except for listening to sermon.

We have heard sometime, justifying the polyphony performance of the Renaissance with the accompaniment of instruments, that the idea of the "a cappella" practice of the music of this time was an invention of the Baroque. In the light provided by the documents, rather the Baroque made use of this practice looking for the timbral contrast and the effects of

the *concertato*, contrasting the *a cappella* voices against the vocal and instrumental sound masses. One of the rules of action that the minstrels must observe once again affects the interpretive ideal of the Renaissance when they are ordered, "under penalty of fault, and to the teacher the sentence doubled, they will follow the order that the master of the chapel gives them in what that touches the tone of those things that the minstrels and singers have to ring and sing alternately".

The presence and other vicissitudes of the groups of minstrels in the mosque-cathedral during the second half of the 16th century have been studied in a well-documented work by Professor María Teresa Dabrio (Gonzalez, 1991).

Up to now the documents have spoken writing the evolution of the musical organization of the Cathedral of Córdoba entering the middle of the 16th century. If at the beginning we read in a classic of Spanish Golden Age literature the interest of its protagonist to listen to the music of the Cordovan headquarters, let's now see, finally, another testimony closer to the daily reality of the town, praising the splendor of Cathedral music, in the account of the Auto de Fe celebrated by the Inquisition of Córdoba on December 2, 1625: "most advantageous of Spain ...".

C. CONCLUSION

At the same time that after the reconquest the cathedral institution was established, acquired a body and was endowed with organization, with the primary purpose of celebrating divine praise at masses and during the hours of divine office, the different protagonists of the musical interpretation of plain chant and polyphony for the solemnity and splendor of liturgical celebrations: sochantres, chaplains in their twenties, choir boys, organists and singers.

Although the practice of polyphonic interpretation in the cathedral of Córdoba could be cultivated together with plain chant since the origins of the cathedral institution, the first documentary testimonies about this musical endeavor are found shortly before the middle of the 15th century, under the responsibility of the sochantre, who presented by the sources as the "cantor" par excellence, as opposed to the term "choir chaplain", which designates the minister consecrated to divine praise in the hours of office by means of plain chant, would arrange the other singers in the interpretation of the "organ song."

Likewise, at the same time we find the meaning of the term "chapel" as the space of the temple and meeting place for the concertation of the singers, where they keep the books and supplies of their trade and a teacher of this art gives a lesson to all the want to receive, although the title of "chapel master" will not appear in our cathedral until the end of 1515 in the person of Martín de la Fuente, a singer who previously was already exercising the functions of that magisterium, with the exception of the work compositional. The protagonist of the transition from these responsibilities of the master singer to the creative work of the master composer is Alonso de Vieras, who composes the chanzonetas for the Matins of the Nativity of the Lord in 1538.

Although the references to the singers, as opposed to the choir chaplains, are much earlier, the first allusion to the tessitura of a treble voice is from 1512; the double bass, as the bass is known at the time, is documented around 1518, as well as the contralto and the tenor in 1524.

The instruments not only alternate with the voices in the antiphonal musical forms of the mass and the office, but they make up for the lack of these by executing the melodic line of those absent in the polyphony. In the Cordovan headquarters we observed a certain reluctance to this practice, because in the absence of double bass in 1557 they ordered that a bassoon that serves this voice be bought, but before resorting to the instrument, in less than a month they solve the problem with the hiring of a singer. Likewise, the interest in the sixes in our cathedral is related to the lack of treble voices, rather than supplying them with instruments, and, once the need is satisfied, the concern for the singing children disappears in the documentation.

Starting in 1563, in relation to the spirit and directives emanating from the Council of Trent, together with the musical practice itself in Hispanic cathedrals, a momentous event took place in the subsequent evolution of the music chapel of the Cathedral of Córdoba: the increase of the economic resources for its endowment and the embodiment of the norms and customs of operation in a statutory *corpus*.

During the teaching of Álvaro de Cervantes, specifically on Christmas Eve 1527 according to the sources, our cathedral had the assistance of a group of minstrels that initially were eventually hired for the greater solemnity of the great festivities, until Christmas of In 1554, five minstrels are definitively and permanently incorporated: shawm, alto, tenor and two sackbuts that affirm from this early moment the future preponderance of the melodic bass line.

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