

**EARLY MUSIC PRINTING IN SALAMANCA, 1494-1512**

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## **Abstract**

From 1494 until 1512, around a dozen securely datable prints containing or relating to music were published in the city of Salamanca in present-day Spain. To date, these works have not been considered as a group. This thesis takes the perspective of the Salmantine printers to examine this corpus. To do so, the study gathers methods and secondary sources from a variety of fields, particularly combining history of the Iberian book with musicology. The thesis establishes Juan de Porras as the dominant printer in Salmantine music printing production with prominent connections to the Fonseca family, particularly the Archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, Alfonso II de Fonseca. Music production was also motivated by liturgical reforms sweeping across the Peninsula, as well as related language reforms occurring at the University of Salamanca. While liturgical prints had pre-established markets and patrons, marketing techniques in the music treatises show that these works were targeted to different segments of Iberian society. The thesis includes three appendices which 1) collate all identifiable persons in the prints, 2) present a catalogue of Salmantine music prints from 1494 to 1512, and 3) compare music types used in the liturgical books of the corpus.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

In a 2011 monograph concerning new evidence for Juan de Urrede's activities in Salamanca, Tess Knighton noted that "...a tradition for the publication of music treatises sprang up in Salamanca, presumably to meet the market for such works among music students," going on to define four treatises printed from 1491 until 1504.<sup>1</sup> The "tradition" remains an oft-noted phenomenon, repeated in Dámaso García Fraile, Ascensión Mazuela-Anguila, and Pilar Ramos López.<sup>2</sup> Despite the assertion that music treatises were printed for the University of Salamanca, Ramos López contends that "...it is difficult to establish direct links between that institution and Spanish music treatises from around 1500."<sup>3</sup> Focus on early Iberian music printing revolves around two poles, music treatise publication and liturgical music publication, with little overlap between the two.<sup>4</sup> Musicological studies, likewise, tend to focus on the musical contents of the book, noting apparatus and format only when required.

Upon examining early prints from Salamanca, a series of music books, both liturgical and theoretical, appear to be dominated by one printer: Juan de Porrás. Book historians such as Luisa Cuesta Gutiérrez and Antonia Varona García note Juan de Porrás' seminal contribution to early printing in Salamanca, though often focusing on his sum output without discussing music print in

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<sup>1</sup> Tess Knighton, "Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500," *Revista de Musicología* 34, no. 1 (2011): 15, <https://doi.org/10.2307/41959343>.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 3, section 3.b., "Current Scholarship," for a summary of current scholarly opinion. Dámaso García Fraile, "La vida musical en la Universidad de Salamanca durante el siglo XVI," *Revista de Musicología* 23, no. 1 (2000): 14, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20797633>; Pilar Ramos López, "Spanish Treatises on Musica Practica c. 1480-1525: Reflections from a Cultural Perspective," in *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs*, vol. 1, Brill's Companions to the Musical Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Europe (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2017), 482.

<sup>3</sup> Ramos López, "Spanish Treatises on Musica Practica c. 1480-1525: Reflections from a Cultural Perspective," 482.

<sup>4</sup> For example, see Tess Knighton, *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

particular.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, several scholars, including Frederick Norton,<sup>6</sup> suggest the other printer of music, Juan Gysser, was perhaps financially reliant on Porrás.<sup>7</sup> As such, Juan de Porrás emerges as an important early music printer on the Peninsula, a position underemphasized in musicological scholarship. This thesis aims to understand why Juan de Porrás moved into music publishing through an examination of the surviving exemplars themselves and understanding their cultural nexus.

## 1. Overview

### a. Research Questions

Instead of conducting a market or printing study of Salmantine music production, this thesis seeks an understanding of the books through the goals of their creators. This thesis asks three questions:

1. Who was involved in Salmantine music production,
2. What markets did Salmantine printers and authors expect, and
3. Why were patrons invested in music printing?

The primary source of information to answer these questions comes from the books themselves. To understand the first, it becomes imperative to delineate the agents involved in print production. Likewise, the format of the books tells us much about the habits of the printer(s), as well as the intended markets of their authors. Moreover, achieving an understanding of Porrás' music prints relies on knowledge of the surrounding music culture. Secondary sources provide

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<sup>5</sup> Luisa Cuesta Gutiérrez, *La Imprenta En Salamanca: Avance al Estudio de La Tipografía Salmantina (1480-1944)* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad Salamanca, 1981), 16–18; M. A. Varona García, “Identificación de La Primera Imprenta Anónima Salmantina,” *Investigaciones Históricas* 14 (1994): 30.

<sup>6</sup> F.J. Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 194.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix A: “Biographies,” “Juan Gysser,” for the exact nature of their professional relationship.

valuable information on cultural trends and personal relationships between significant figures involved in Salmantine print production.

### **b. Scope of the Thesis**

This thesis examines prints produced in Salamanca containing music notation, from the first appearance of such a book in 1494 up until Porrás' death in 1527. While Porrás published the large majority of music prints in Salamanca, two other printers also appear: a) Juan Gysser for two of Durán's treatises, and b) Rodrigo Escobar: Vicente Bécares Botas has wondered whether the *Introduccion de canto llano* by Cristóbal de Escobar may be his publication.<sup>8</sup> The large majority of music publications still remain the responsibility of Porrás, especially if we regard Gysser as financially dependent.<sup>9</sup> No books containing music were printed in Salamanca from 1511 until 1532, when a *Manuale Salmanticensis* left the presses of Juan de Junta.<sup>10</sup> For the sake of clarity, this thesis refers to the Porrás Press for the entire corpus.

During the middle stages of this project, I came to realize how large the study was, based on the volume of literature found in other fields of study such as book history. In musicology, many of these prints, especially as regards the treatises, are found embedded in larger studies, or used in support of an argument on an adjacent topic. Based on the limited time and resources available for the project, chapter 3 focuses on identifying the potential markets and motivations for music treatises and prints potentially related to the Fonseca dynasty: the *Missale Auriense*, the *Missale Compostellanum* and *Manuale Chori*. I make no attempt to culturally situate the *Missale [Legionensis]*, *Missale Placentine*, *Missale Abulense*, nor the *Missale*

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<sup>8</sup> Vicente Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)," *Titivillus* 2 (2016): 91.

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix A: "Biographies," "Juan Gysser."

<sup>10</sup> Alexander S. Wilkinson, ed., *Iberian Books: Books Published in Spanish or Portuguese or on the Iberian Peninsula before 1601* (Boston: Brill, 2010), no. 6646.

*Bracharensis*. I will leave these for further research, which will likely emend and clarify some of the conclusions of this thesis. Nevertheless, the four later missals are fully incorporated into the Appendices, Chapter 2, and the discussion of format in Chapter 3. Appendix C also investigates music type in all the liturgical prints.

### c. Salmantine Music Prints, 1494-1520

Juan de Porras' general biography must be sketched and inferred from colophons, contracts, and the minutes of the chapter (*cabildo*) of the Cathedral of Salamanca.<sup>11</sup> As such, scholars conflict on major elements of his life.<sup>12</sup> As a basic sketch, Juan de Porras was likely born in the 1450s,<sup>13</sup> if we believe, as he states, that he was under 25 upon the death of his father.<sup>14</sup> In his first years of printing activity, likely under his father, Alfonso, Porras acted as bookseller and financier. By 1491, though likely earlier, Porras was in full control of the Porras Press and began printing his own material. Exemplars from Juan de Porras continue up until about 1520, and he died sometime before 22 November 1527.<sup>15</sup>

All of the music prints, with, perhaps, the exception of the *Introduccion de canto llano*, are securely attributable. Catalogues continue to refer to the “printer of Nebrissensis,” in essence the printer of Antonio de Nebrija's *Introducciones latinae* (16 January 1481) or his *Materies*

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<sup>11</sup> The minutes are transcribed and/or summarized in Bécades Botas, “Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510).”

<sup>12</sup> Scholars have questioned, for example, Juan de Porras' ethnicity. Various studies have attributed Salmantine, Zamorensis, or Italian backgrounds. Fernando de la Fuente Arranz, “Juan de Porras,” Real Academia de la Historia, accessed October 13, 2020, <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/49380/juan-de-porras>; Varona García, “Identificación de La Primera Imprenta Anónima Salmantina,” 30.

<sup>13</sup> Bécades Botas, “Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510),” 102.

<sup>14</sup> See Appendix A: “Biographies,” for the uncertainty around Porras' date of birth. Varona García, “Identificación de La Primera Imprenta Anónima Salmantina,” 31.

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix A, “Biographies,” for a biography of Porras. I refer the reader also to the biographies from Luisa Cuesta Gutiérrez, Frederick Norton, and Alfonso Prada Allo. Cuesta Gutiérrez, *La Imprenta En Salamanca: Avance al Estudio de La Tipografía Salmantina (1480-1944)*, 16–18; Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 165; A. Prada Allo, “Os Libros de Juan de Porras,” *Porta Da Aira* 5 (1992): 1–2.

*grammaticae* (18 August 1492).<sup>16</sup> Varona García, in 1994, attributed the first anonymous press to the partnership of Alonso de Porrás and Diego Sánchez de Cantalapiedra, whose type was later acquired by Alfonso's son, Juan de Porrás.<sup>17</sup> Julián Martín Abad affirms that both typesets were the property of Porrás.<sup>18</sup> This anonymity affects the music treatises in particular, none of which contain printer attributions in their respective colophons. Porrás also appears involved in the production of two additional books, the *Missale Auriense* and *Missale Compostellanum*, as financial intermediary. This catalogue, presented here in Table 1.1. below and in full in Appendix B, "Catalogue," counts nine works with music notation solely and securely attributable to Porrás. Two further missals have no surviving exemplars, while another two are the result of Porrás' collaboration with Gonzalo Rodríguez de la Passera, and are listed here.<sup>19</sup> Two treatises, the *Sumula de canto de organo* and the second edition of *Lux bella*, are the responsibility of Juan Gysser.<sup>20</sup>

Table 1.1.: Music prints produced in Salamanca with surviving exemplars, 1490-1512

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Responsibility</b>	<b>Author</b>
<i>Missale Auriense</i>	3 February 1494	Gonzalo Rodríguez de la Passera; Juan de Porrás	[Ourense]
<i>Missale Compostellanum</i>	1495	Gonzalo Rodríguez de la Passera; Juan de Porrás	[Santiago de Compostela]
<i>Introducción de canto llano</i>	1490-1501	Juan de Porrás	Cristóbal de Escobar

<sup>16</sup> Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 165; Varona García, "Identificación de La Primera Imprenta Anónima Salmantina," 25; Julián Martín Abad, "La Llegada de La Nueva Técnica a España: Nombres Propios y Acontecimientos Hasta 1520," in *Los Primeros Tiempos de La Imprenta En España (c. 1471-1520)* (Laberinto, 2003), 68.

<sup>17</sup> See Appendix A, "Biographies."

<sup>18</sup> Martín Abad, "La Llegada de La Nueva Técnica a España: Nombres Propios y Acontecimientos Hasta 1520," 68.

<sup>19</sup> Chapter 3, section 2.f., "*Missale Auriense*," describes the nature and implication of this partnership. Porrás was also involved in other missals, including the *Missale Legionensis* (1501-1520) and *Missale Salmanticensis*, the latter of which does not survive, if, indeed, it was ever printed. Juan de Porrás also appears in a society of Salmantine booksellers involved in the financing of the *Missale Segobiensis*.

<sup>20</sup> Juan Gysser's press was associated with and/or subsumed by Porrás' own. Before 1510, Porrás and Gysser frequently shared typographic and xylographic material. See Appendix A, "Biographies."

<i>Comento sobre lux bella</i>	17 June 1498	Juan de Porras	Domingo Marcos Durán
<i>Manuale Segobiense</i>	4 February 1499	Juan de Porras	Ed. Diego de Castro
<i>Missale [Legionense?] (León)</i>	1501-1520	Juan de Porras	[León] <sup>21</sup>
<i>Sumula de canto de organo</i>	1502-1503	Juan Gysser	Domingo Marcos Durán
<i>Portus musice</i>	30 August 1504	Juan de Porras	Diego de Puerto
<i>Manuale chori</i>	19 November 1506	Juan de Porras	[Franciscans]
<i>Lux bella</i> (2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.)	16 July 1509	Juan Gysser	Domingo Marcos Durán
<i>Missale Placentine</i>	1509-1510	Juan de Porras	[Plasencia]
<i>Missale Abulense</i>	1 February 1510	Juan de Porras	[Ávila]
<i>Missale Brachareense</i>	8 March 1512	Juan de Porras	[Braga]

Despite renewed musicological focus on Salmantine music treatises, the corpus retains a much greater proportion of liturgical books, particularly missals.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, music prints account for a fraction of Porras and Gysser’s sum output, likely exceeding 200 known works combined.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Fragmentary. See Appendix B, “Catalogue.”

<sup>22</sup> Chapters 2 and 3 explore the reasons behind the large proportion of missals.

<sup>23</sup> López-Varea, writing in 2021, states that “Juan de Porras was solely responsible for more than a hundred editions in the incunabula age” out of “at least one hundred and seventy different editions.” Early on in my research, I created a document of all of Porras’ and Gysser’s publications catalogued in Iberian Books, the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue, the Universal Short Title Catalogue, F.J. Norton, and Julian Martin Abad for the Biblioteca Nacional de España. These catalogues, among others, are listed in Appendix B, “Catalogue.” I assembled 279 separate entries, though some are likely to be duplicates, including any print ascribed to the “Printer of Nebrissensis.” María Eugenia López-Varea, “Typography and Illustration in Fifteenth-Century Salamanca: The Porras Press,” in *Illustration and Ornamentation in the Iberian Book World, 1450-1800*, Library of the Written Word 91 (Brill, 2021), 173, 168.

This thesis seeks to analyze these works as a single genre and to understand why Porrás and Gysser printed them in the first place.

#### d. Music treatises

Porrás and Gysser published a total of five music treatises, or *artes de canto*, all falling within the tradition of *música práctica*.<sup>24</sup> Monographs exist for Domingo Marcos Durán<sup>25</sup> and Diego de Puerto.<sup>26</sup> All three theorists – Durán, Puerto, and Cristóbal de Escobar – often appear in studies with wider scopes, either separately<sup>27</sup> or as a set. Pilar Ramos Lopez’ chapter on *música práctica* treatises encompasses the Porrás and Gysser prints,<sup>28</sup> while monographs of these works focus on their theoretical content, drawing comparisons and conclusions from the *música práctica* tradition as a whole.<sup>29</sup> Of late, these treatises have been connected with courses at the

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<sup>24</sup> Durán touches on *música teórica*, referred to here as *musica speculativa*, in the *Sumula de canto de organo*. However, his examination occurs largely under the auspices of *música práctica*. Domingo Marcos Durán, *Sumula de Canto de Organo: Contrapunto y Composición Vocal y Instrumental: Práctica y Speculativa*. (Salamanca: Hans Gysser?, 1503).

<sup>25</sup> Roger C. Vogel, “The Musical Wheel of Domingo Marcos Durán,” *College Music Symposium* 22, no. 2 (1982): 51–66; M<sup>a</sup> del Pilar Barrios Manzano, “Domingo Marcos Durán. Un teórico musical extremeño del renacimiento. Estado de la cuestión.” *Revista de Musicología* 22, no. 1 (June 1999): 91–127; Santiago Galán Gómez, “La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la Sumula de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Durán como modelo” (Doctoral, Barcelona, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2014).

<sup>26</sup> Juan José Rey Marcos and Carlos Romero de Lecea, *Portus musice de Diego de Puerto* (Madrid, Spain: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1978).

<sup>27</sup> Bernabé Bartolomé Martínez, “Enseñanza de La Música En Las Catedrales,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, no. 21 (January 1, 1991): 607–27; Giuseppe Fiorentino, “Canto llano, canto de órgano y contrapunto improvisado: el currículo de un músico profesional en la España del Renacimiento,” in *Francisco de Salinas. Música, teoría y matemática en el Renacimiento*, 1.a (Salamanca, Spain: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2014), 147–60.

<sup>28</sup> Ramos López, “Spanish Treatises on Musica Practica c. 1480-1525: Reflections from a Cultural Perspective.”

<sup>29</sup> Rey Marcos and Romero de Lecea, *Portus musice de Diego de Puerto*; Galán Gómez, “La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la Sumula de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Durán como modelo.”

University of Salamanca<sup>30</sup> and improvised counterpoint.<sup>31</sup> Other studies examine the potential markets for *artes de canto*, suggesting ecclesiastical or university markets in turn.<sup>32</sup>

### e. Missals and Breviaries

At least 8 music prints are liturgical in nature. Missals comprise the majority, while two are liturgical manuals.<sup>33</sup> While the sustained scholarly attention focuses on the *Missale Auriense* and *Missale Compostellanum*,<sup>34</sup> perhaps due to the status of the *Missale Auriense* as the first print in Galicia, the other missals and manuals appear to lack the same level of notice. Benito Rial-Costas examines the Galician breviaries and missals in their economic context.<sup>35</sup>

Like the treatises, the missals sometimes appear in studies with wider scope. Mercedes Castillo-Ferreira's chapter, "Chant, Liturgy, and Reform," provides context for the myriad of breviaries and missals printed under the reigns of Ferdinand (r. 1479-1516) and Isabella (r. 1474-1504).<sup>36</sup> These works were the product of several cultural phenomena: the success of the Reconquista, the subsequent creation of new dioceses, as well as the idiosyncrasies of each

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<sup>30</sup> For example, see García Fraile, "La vida musical en la Universidad de Salamanca durante el siglo XVI," 14.

<sup>31</sup> For example, see Fiorentino, "Canto llano, canto de órgano y contrapunto improvisado: el currículo de un músico profesional en la España del Renacimiento," 151.

<sup>32</sup> See Chapter 3, section 3.b., "Current Scholarship," for a sample of scholarly opinions on markets for *artes de canto*. Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita, "Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista" (Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, 2012), 43, 537.

<sup>33</sup> Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta defines both *Manuale sacramentorum* and *Manuale chori* in his catalogue of liturgical prints in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. See also Chapter 3. Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, "Spanish Plainchant Publications to 1601," *Inter-American Music Review* 16, no. 2 (2000): 3–16.

<sup>34</sup> Antonio Odriozola, "El Misal Compostelano Impreso En 1495: La Singular Historia de Un Incunable Del Que Sólo Quedan Hojas Sueltas," in *Varia Bibliographica: Homenaje a José Simón Díaz* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1988); Ignacio Cabano Vázquez and Xosé M<sup>a</sup>. Díaz Fernández, *Missale Auriense: 1494*, Bibliofilia de Galicia 6 (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1994); Benito Rial Costas, *Producción y Comercio Del Libro En Santiago (1501-1553)*, Biblioteca Litterae 14 (Madrid, Spain: Calambur Editorial, 2007).

<sup>35</sup> Rial Costas, *Producción y Comercio Del Libro En Santiago (1501-1553)*.

<sup>36</sup> Mercedes Castillo-Ferreira, "Chant, Liturgy, and Reform," in *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs*, vol. 1, Brill's Companions to the Musical Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Europe (Brill, 2017), 282–322; Margarita Restrepo, "German-Speaking Printers and the Development of Music Printing in Spain (1485-1505)," in *Early Music Printing in German-Speaking Lands*, ed. Elisabeth Giselbrecht, Grantley McDonald, and Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 1st ed. (London, England: Routledge, 2018), 46, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315281452>.

diocese. Castillo-Ferreira expounds on the socio-cultural context of these works and examines the relationship between the printed liturgical works and the reforms of the Catholic monarchs, which generated a need for these books. Porras and Gysser were active participants in this burst of activity.

As many of the patrons in the corpus were high-profile bishops in the Iberian courts, a superfluity of information exists concerning these figures and their activities. To avoid getting lost in the sea of religious and secular politics, this thesis focuses on Galician reform,<sup>37</sup> the Fonseca dynasty,<sup>38</sup> and their relationship to the musical corpus, as Alonso II and III de Fonseca recur as patrons of both print and the University of Salamanca.

#### **f. Timeline**

As the primary sources provide a wealth of date information for a relatively short period, a timeline may be helpful to uninitiated readers. Dates are limited to main protagonists and institutions in the study. For the sake of clarity, dates which remain insecure are left out of the timeline. Where possible, these muddier events are appended in a footnote. The printing dates for the following publications are currently insecure or otherwise unknown: *Missale Compostellanum* (after 1496), *Missale [Legionense]* (1501-1520), *Esta es una introduccion de canto llano* (1490-1501), *Sumula de canto de órgano* (1503?), and the *Missale Placentine* (1509-1510). Though outside the bounds of the current study, the list includes the publications of Juan del Encina's *Cancionero de todas las obras*, a seminal poetic text of which parts were meant to be sung.

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<sup>37</sup> María Luz Ríos Rodríguez, "La Preparación de La Reforma En Galicia. Alonso Carrillo de Albornoz y La Diócesis Auriense En 1489.," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III, H.<sup>a</sup> Medieval* 13 (2000): 325–39.

<sup>38</sup> Eduardo Pardo de G. y Valdes, "El Arzobispado de Santiago En Tiempos de Don Alonso II de Fonseca.," *Hispania Sacra* 30, no. 59 (1977): 183–200.

Table 1.2.: Timeline of Prints and Major Events Discussed in the Thesis

1401	The Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé founded as the first <i>colegio mayor</i> in Iberia <sup>39</sup>
1444	Antonio de Nebrija born in Nebrija, Castile
1458?	Nebrija enrolls at the University of Salamanca, aged ~14
1460	Nebrija receives a scholarship from Seville to study in Bologna, aged ~16
1463	Pedro de Osma receives the Chair for Theology at the University of Salamanca <sup>40</sup>
1465	Approximate birth date for Domingo Marcos Durán <sup>41</sup>
1465	Approximate birth date for Juan de Porras <sup>42</sup>
28 January 1465	Martín González de Cantalapiedra competes for the Chair of Music at the University of Salamanca
1470	Alfonso II de Fonseca (or Alonso de Fonseca y Acevedo) <sup>43</sup> calls Nebrija back to Seville, in part to tutor his nephew, Alfonso III de Fonseca (Alfonso de Fonseca y Ulloa)
1473	Nebrija receives the Chair for Grammar at Salamanca, aged ~29
1478 (~)	Domingo Marcos Durán begins study of music (at Salamanca), aged ~13 (?) <sup>44</sup>
1479	Pedro de Osma expelled from the Chair of Theology <sup>45</sup>
1479	The Colegio del Arzobispo de Toledo opens in Salamanca <sup>46</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Opened by bishop Diego de Anaya y Maldonado. The only secular *colegio mayor* to precede San Bartolomé was San Clemente in Bologna. Dámaso de Lario, *Escuelas de imperio. La formación de una elite en los Colegios Mayores (siglos XVI-XVII)*, Historia de las Universidades 48 (Madrid, Spain: Dykinson, 2019), 97, 369.

<sup>40</sup> Giuseppe Fiorentino, “Un Estudio Sobre Cultura Musical En El Renacimiento Temprano: La Sumula de Domingo Marcos Durán (Nuevamente) Desvelada,” *Revista de Musicología* 40, no. 2 (July 2017): 597, <https://doi.org/10.2307/26250054>.

<sup>41</sup> Galán Gómez, “La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la Sumula de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Duran como modelo,” 19.

<sup>42</sup> See Appendix A, “Biographies,” “Juan de Porras.”

<sup>43</sup> Three Alfonso/Alonso de Fonsecas held the seat of the archbishopric of Santiago de Compostela in a row, from 1460 until 1523: Alonso de Fonseca y Ulloa (reigned 1460-1486), Alonso de Fonseca y Acevedo (1486-1508), and Alfonso de Fonseca y Ulloa (1507-1523). Some authors differentiate between the three with roman numerals I, II, and III. To avoid any possible confusion, I adopt this convention, especially given that both Alfonso II de Fonseca and Alfonso III Fonseca are present in the study. See Chapter 2, section 3.b. “Galician Reforms,” and section 3.3., “Patrons,” for a full analysis and their relationship with music in Salamanca. “Archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela,” Catholic Hierarchy, December 8, 2021, <https://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dscom.html>.

<sup>44</sup> See Appendix A, “Biographies,” for more about this date. Deduced from Galán Gómez, “La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la Sumula de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Duran como modelo,” 19.

<sup>45</sup> Fiorentino, “Un Estudio Sobre Cultura Musical En El Renacimiento Temprano: La Sumula de Domingo Marcos Durán (Nuevamente) Desvelada,” 597.

<sup>46</sup> Opened by the archbishop of Toledo, Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña. de Lario, *Escuelas de imperio. La formación de una elite en los Colegios Mayores (siglos XVI-XVII)*, 97, 193, 373.

29 October 1479	Martín González de Cantalapiedra dies, leaving the Chair for Music vacant; announcement of vacancy affixed 30 October <sup>47</sup>
1482	Juan de Urrede disappears from the historical record <sup>48</sup>
1487	Nebrija marries Isabel Montesino de Solís, moves to Badajoz for his new patron, Don Juan de Zúñiga, aged ~43
5 May 1487	Catalina González de Valdivieso files suit against Juan de Porras; Alonso de Porras' and Juan de Porras' first appearance in the historical record
1491	Juan de Porras now in full control of the Porras press
1492	Durán's <i>Lux bella</i> printed in Seville, Durán aged ~27 <sup>49</sup>
3 February 1494	Printing of the <i>Missale Auriense</i> <sup>50</sup>
13 January 1496	<i>Cabildo</i> of Santiago de Compostela commissions Porras with the <i>Missale Compostellanum</i>
20 June 1496	Juan del Encina's <i>Cancionero</i> printed by Juan de Porras; Encina aged ~28 <sup>51</sup>
1497	Prince Juan dies in Salamanca <sup>52</sup>
4 October 1497	Printing of Juan del Encina's <i>A la dolorosa Muerte del principe Don Juan (?)</i>
17 June 1498	Printing of the <i>Comento sobre lux bella</i> , Durán aged ~33
1499	Nebrija hired by Cardinal Cisneros as part of the team working on the Complutensian Polyglot Bible
4 February 1499	Printing of the <i>Manuale Segobiense</i> <sup>53</sup>
24 July 1500	Printing of the <i>Missale Segobiense</i> in Venice
8 July 1502	Toledo decrees: Ferdinand and Isabel ban the printing and sale of books without a royal assent <sup>54</sup>
1503	Nebrija returns to Badajoz
1502-1503	Printing of the <i>Sumula de canto de organo (?)</i> , Durán aged ~37-38 <sup>55</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Dámaso García Fraile, "La Cátedra de Música de La Universidad de Salamanca Durante Diecisiete Años Del Siglo XV (1464-1481)," *Anuario Musical* 46 (January 1, 1991): 98.

<sup>48</sup> Knighton, "Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500," 31.

<sup>49</sup> Domingo Marcos Durán, *Lux Bella* (Seville: Cuatro compañeros alemanes, 1492), Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/2165(3), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000063535>.

<sup>50</sup> *Missale Auriense* (Monterrey: Gonzalo Rodríguez de la Passera and Juan de Porras, 1494), Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/1128, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh000017635>.

<sup>51</sup> García Fraile, "La vida musical en la Universidad de Salamanca durante el siglo XVI," 56.

<sup>52</sup> Tess Knighton, "Urrede [Urreda, Urede, Vreda, Vrede, Wreede], Juan de [Johannes]," in *Grove Music Online*, January 20, 2001.

<sup>53</sup> Bonifacio Bartolomé to Nicolas de Groot, "Manuale Segobiense," November 15, 2021; Bonifacio Bartolomé, "Manuale Segobiense," January 25, 2022.

<sup>54</sup> Juan de la Reguera Valdelomar, *Novísima recopilación de las leyes en España*, vol. IV (Madrid: Julián Viana Razola, 1805), bk. VIII, section xvi, law 1, page 122.

<sup>55</sup> Fiorentino, "Un Estudio Sobre Cultura Musical En El Renacimiento Temprano: La Sumula de Domingo Marcos Durán (Nuevamente) Desvelada," 598.

30 August 1504	Printing of Diego de Puerto's <i>Portus musice</i>
1505	Nebrija returns to the Chair for Grammar at the University of Salamanca
19 November 1506	Printing of <i>Manuale chori</i>
1507	Juan Gysser prints the second edition of Encina's <i>Cancionero</i>
4 August 1507	Alfonso III de Fonseca appointed Archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, <sup>56</sup> remains in Salamanca <sup>57</sup>
1509	Juan Gysser prints the third edition of Encina's <i>Cancionero</i>
16 July 1509	Printing of <i>Lux Bella</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.
30 November 1509	Alfonso III de Fonseca moves to Santiago <sup>58</sup>
1 February 1510	Printing of the <i>Missale Abulense</i>
26 August 1511	Printing of the <i>Missale Bracharense</i>
31 Dec 1523	Alfonso III de Fonseca appointed Archbishop of Toledo <sup>59</sup>
1525	Domingo Marcos Durán hired as <i>maestro de capilla</i> at the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela <sup>60</sup>
22 November 1527	Juan de Porras dies <sup>61</sup>

## 2. Literature Review

### a. Music Print Economies

Study of other regions provides insight into printing practices at Porras' time, allowing a standard picture which Porras might be compared to. John Kmetz is the pioneer of interdisciplinary music and economic studies in the Renaissance. His publications on the relationship between 16<sup>th</sup>-century print and economics are foundational to this thesis. The most relevant are as follows: a) "250 Years of German Music Printing (c. 1500–1750): A Case for a

<sup>56</sup> "Archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela."

<sup>57</sup> Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music In The Age Of Columbus* (Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), 64, <http://archive.org/details/spanishmusicinth002030mbp>.

<sup>58</sup> Robert Stevenson, 64.

<sup>59</sup> "Archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela."

<sup>60</sup> The archbishop of Santiago at this time was Juan Pardo de Tavera. Barrios Manzano, Galán Gómez, and López Calo consider the attribution Domingo Marcos Durán erroneous, with the Santiago Durán representing a Lorenzo attested in the *Cancionero Musical de Galicia*. For the same reason, (Domingo Marcos) Durán's date of death remains unknown. See Appendix A, "Biographies." Fiorentino, "Canto llano, canto de órgano y contrapunto improvisado: el currículo de un músico profesional en la España del Renacimiento," 151; "Archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela."

<sup>61</sup> See Appendix A, "Biographies," "Juan de Porras."

Closed Market” in *NiveauNischeNimbus: Die Anfänge des Musikdrucks nördlich der Alpen*,<sup>62</sup> b) “The Music Books of Christian Egenolff” in *Early Music Printing in German-Speaking Lands*,<sup>63</sup> and c) “Blowing Your Horn in the New Economy, c.1550” in *Tielman Susato and the Music of his Time: Print Culture, Compositional Technique and Instrumental Music in the Renaissance*.<sup>64</sup> These studies provide a framework for discussing economic and cultural practices surrounding early music print.

Kmetz shows, in evaluating Christian Egenolff’s music prints, that pursuing a last-in, first-out model allowed Egenolff and other printers to sell prints at higher profits during a historical period of rampant inflation.<sup>65</sup> Focusing on Porras’ other publications, as Kmetz does with Egenolff, delineates Porras’ methods of marketing and printing. In other words, this type of analysis determines why Porras may have printed these works in the first place.

In “The Case for a Closed Market,” Kmetz cites Johannes Petreius as an example of portfolio diversification.<sup>66</sup> Petreius’ ratio of 21 music prints to 775 other works corresponds to Porras’ own output.<sup>67</sup> While a full catalogue remains to be published, generally speaking, Porras’ music prints count as a minor percentage of his total corpus. Kmetz argues that Petreius and other German printers of polyphony engaged in “...two fundamental business principles which drive today’s capitalist, free-market system, namely portfolio diversification and risk management.”<sup>68</sup> This conception is the starting point for understanding Porras’ business

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<sup>62</sup> John Kmetz, “250 Years of German Music Printing (c. 1500-1750): A Case for a Closed Market.,” in *NiveauNischeNimbus: Die Anfänge Des Musikdrucks Nördlich Der Alpen*, ed. Lodes Birgit (Hollitzer Verlag, 2010), 167–84.

<sup>63</sup> John Kmetz, “The Music Books of Christian Egenolff: Bad Impressions = Good Return on Investment,” in *Early Music Printing in German-Speaking Lands*, 1st Edition (London, England: Routledge, 2018), 135–52.

<sup>64</sup> John Kmetz, “Blowing Your Horn in the New Economy, c. 1550,” in *Tielman Susato and the Music of His Time: Print Culture, Compositional Technique and Instrumental Music in the Renaissance*, ed. Keith Polk (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2005), 133–41.

<sup>65</sup> Kmetz, “The Music Books of Christian Egenolff: Bad Impressions = Good Return on Investment.”

<sup>66</sup> Kmetz, “250 Years of German Music Printing (c. 1500-1750): A Case for a Closed Market.”

<sup>67</sup> Kmetz, 173–74.

<sup>68</sup> Kmetz, 173.

practices, not only due to the similarity with Petreius, but also for marked similarities in print exchange.

Kmetz notes that German polyphonic print did not readily travel outside German-speaking lands, though foreign polyphonic prints certainly made their way in.<sup>69</sup> Many scholars of Iberian printing notice an analogous situation. At the time of the Porrás prints, a plethora of music treatises came into Spain via the Italian Peninsula, as evidenced by Tess Knighton in *Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500*.<sup>70</sup> However, the treatises in Salamanca seem confined to especially closed markets, as Iberian theorists were rarely, if ever, reprinted outside Iberia.<sup>71</sup> Indeed, across the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Iberian music printers avoided the polyphonic partbook market entirely. The result was highly insular circulation, one similar to the German one proposed by Kmetz. These similarities in circulation allow a view of Juan de Porrás in an already established scholarly context: if we can say the circulation patterns were roughly analogous – with relative idiosyncrasies for Iberia and decade – then we have a better idea of what Juan de Porrás could expect of his own markets and circulation patterns. Indeed, Porrás exploited both, as evident from his involvement in multiple areas in Iberia from his base in Salamanca. As such, I adopt the conclusions on circulation patterns and business practices proposed by Kmetz, and use them as an analytical tool with which to derive close comparisons of the Porrás prints.

Furthermore, in “Blowing Your Horn in the New Economy,” Kmetz argues for a marked similarity, broadly speaking, between how capitalists conducted business in the 21<sup>st</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Kmetz, 170.

<sup>70</sup> Knighton, “Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500.”

<sup>71</sup> In consulting a variety of catalogues and databases, I have yet to come across an example of any music print done in Spain which was subsequently reprinted somewhere else. Like Kmetz, I am cautious to make the rule absolute, but certainly Spanish-origin reprints seem fairly rare. Wilkinson, *Iberian Books*; “ISTC (Incunabula Shorttitle Catalogue),” Database, accessed October 30, 2020, [https://data.cerl.org/istc/\\_search](https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search); “USTC,” accessed March 30, 2022, <https://ustc.ac.uk/>.

centuries. He takes the example of Hans Georg Neuschel and the Neuschel-Schnitzer dynasty of instrument manufacturers, though he briefly mentions Tielman Susato and the burgeoning print economy as well.<sup>72</sup> Certainly, the economic contexts for Kmetz' analysis are relevant to Porras, who negotiated several ways to make music printing profitable.<sup>73</sup> Whereas Kmetz argues for a largely analogous capitalist situation for the music industry, idiosyncrasies of Porras' period and place may demand acknowledgment of other economic structures: keeping in mind, for example, Kate van Orden's discussion of patronage systems and other forms of accruing monetary and social value.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, I adopt Kmetz' terminology and understanding: that a merchant printer such as Juan de Porras was concerned with how to increase profit within a market.

### **b. The Book in Iberia**

Much scholarly work on the history of the book, when it includes Iberian print, emphasizes Iberia's poor production quality.<sup>75</sup> Alexander S. Wilkinson notes, in an article discussing the online catalogue, *Iberian Books*, that "Scholars of Spanish and Portuguese printing have been struck by the low level of production, its poor material and intellectual quality, and a concomitant reliance on foreign exports."<sup>76</sup> Views such as Lucien Febvre and

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<sup>72</sup> Kmetz, "Blowing Your Horn in the New Economy, c. 1550."

<sup>73</sup> For a summary of Porras' business practices, see Chapter 4, section 2, "Analysis of Juan de Porras' Business Practices."

<sup>74</sup> In this example, pertaining to Antico, van Orden argues for a gift economy, rather than a market economy. Kate van Orden, "Music Books and Their Authors," in *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA; London, England: University of California Press, 2013), 35–37.

<sup>75</sup> Maurice Esses' chapter titled "Publishing and Music Printing in Spain," for example, comprises a litany of the difficulties faced by music printers; other descriptions of Iberian printing employ similar rhetoric. Esses' work remains invaluable, and I do not wish to disqualify the quality of the work, but rather point to a bias against Iberian prints. Maurice Esses, "Publishing and Music Printing in Spain," in *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias In Spain During the 17th and Early 18th Centuries*, vol. 1, Dance and Music Series 2 (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 1992), 81–83; Andrew Pettegree, "Centre and Periphery in the European Book World," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6, 18 (2008): 106, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0080440108000674>.

<sup>76</sup> Alexander S. Wilkinson, "Exploring the Print World of Early Modern Iberia," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 89, no. 4 (June 18, 2012): 491, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14753820.2012.684919>.

Henri-Jean Martin's 1958 assessment have historically dominated the scholarship on Iberian language prints. The narrative frames Iberian prints as a contrast to more successful central-European ventures, characterizing the region as a curious failure and empty receptacle for foreign imports.<sup>77</sup> Margarita Restrepo stresses that printing began later in Iberia than in the traditional centers, "mainly due to the lack of expertise of native printers."<sup>78</sup> Tess Knighton mentions that "Financial support, and to some extent, distribution were as sporadic and variable as other aspects of music printing in the Iberian Peninsula."<sup>79</sup> This perception has branded Iberian printing as a pale facsimile of healthier areas, particularly in anglophone scholarship.

However, recent catalogues and musicological studies have nuanced this picture. Frederick J. Norton's 1978 work, *A descriptive catalogue of printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, remains an important authority.<sup>80</sup> Wilkinson commented on the evolving state of Iberian book bibliography in 2010, noting a focus on regional centers.<sup>81</sup> Wilkinson elucidates the state of Iberian book industries, looking at Iberian language titles published on the Peninsula and elsewhere.<sup>82</sup> Indeed, this thesis would not be possible without *Iberian Books* and other online catalogues. The proliferation of archival studies, catalogues, and online databases now allows for a more complete understanding of trends in Iberian book markets. In musicology, Iain Fenlon's

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<sup>77</sup> Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'apparition Du Livre* (Paris: Les Éditions Albin Michel, 1971). "Pendant ce temps, en Espagne, l'imprimerie ne progresse guère. Longtemps, on continue à y utiliser d'anciens caractères gothiques d'aspect lourd. Jusqu'au milieu du siècle on s'y sert encore de bois de style archaïque et d'inspiration étrangère... Mais, seuls les trois centres de Salamanque, de Barcelone et de Séville, où les Cromberger multiplient les éditions de romans de chevalerie, font preuve d'une réelle activité ; ce n'est que dans la seconde partie du siècle que l'on voit les ateliers typographiques se multiplier à Madrid, où l'industrie du livre se développera surtout au siècle suivant sans que l'Espagne cesse pour cela d'apparaître comme un marché pour les librairies étrangères. Aussi continue-t-on bien souvent à utiliser en Espagne des livres imprimés à l'étranger, à Lyon et Anvers surtout."

<sup>78</sup> Restrepo, "German-Speaking Printers and the Development of Music Printing in Spain (1485-1505)," 46.

<sup>79</sup> Tess Knighton, "Preliminary Thoughts on the Dynamics of Music Printing in the Iberian Peninsula during the Sixteenth Century," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 89, no. 4 (June 18, 2012): 529, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14753820.2012.684921>.

<sup>80</sup> Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*.

<sup>81</sup> Wilkinson, *Iberian Books*, vii–viii.

<sup>82</sup> Wilkinson, "Exploring the Print World of Early Modern Iberia."

article, “Printed Polyphonic Choirbooks for the Spanish Market,” is a typical example of a newer style of analysis on Iberian print.<sup>83</sup> Though not refuting Febvre and Martin’s basic thesis, Fenlon analyzes the trade networks in Iberia. Diego Pacheco and Griffiths note that many books collected by cathedrals were printed abroad.<sup>84</sup> Likewise, in looking at the Juan de Junta store catalogue, Wilkinson concludes that a great diversity of titles, both local and international, would have been available to consumers.<sup>85</sup> Works imported from places such as the Italian peninsula continued to play an important role on the Iberian music market, much more so than in other locations in Europe, particularly with respect to the collection of printed material by book sellers and cathedral collections.<sup>86</sup> Aguirre Rincón provides a detailed analysis of the collections at Valladolid Cathedral, including how and where books were acquired.<sup>87</sup> She notes the relative international status of its book collection, including titles printed on the Italian peninsula and in the Low Countries.<sup>88</sup> The books are mainly Latin or Italian titles.<sup>89</sup> In a separate study, Fenlon gives a description of choirbook imports into Spain (distinguished from Portugal), outlining several routes, both domestic and international, destined for “Spanish ecclesiastical institutions.”<sup>90</sup> Chapter 2 examines these pan-European contexts.

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<sup>83</sup> Iain Fenlon, “Printed Polyphonic Choirbooks for the Spanish Market,” in *Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World*, vol. 31, The Handpress World (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2015).

<sup>84</sup> Cristina Diego Pacheco and John Griffiths, “Beyond Church and Court: City Musicians and Music in Renaissance Valladolid,” *Early Music* 37, no. 3 (August 2009): 376.

<sup>85</sup> Wilkinson, “Exploring the Print World of Early Modern Iberia,” 506.

<sup>86</sup> Nancy F. Vogan, “Review of ‘Music and the Book Trade: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century,’” *Papers of The Bibliographical Society of Canada* 47, no. 2 (January 2009): 275.

<sup>87</sup> Soterraña Aguirre Rincón and John Griffiths, “The Formation of an Exceptional Library: Early Printed Music Books at Valladolid Cathedral,” *Early Music* 37, no. 3 (August 2009): 379–99, <https://doi.org/10.1093/em/cap038>.

<sup>88</sup> Aguirre Rincón and Griffiths, 382–83.

<sup>89</sup> Aguirre Rincón and Griffiths, 388–95.

<sup>90</sup> Fenlon, “Printed Polyphonic Choirbooks for the Spanish Market,” 199; Fenlon, 218.

### c. Music Printing in Iberia

Despite the increased attention paid to the early Iberian book, music prints remain a neglected category. Tess Knighton's 2012 article "Preliminary Thoughts on the Dynamics of Music Printing in the Iberian Peninsula during the Sixteenth Century" remains one of the most relevant studies.<sup>91</sup> Knighton emphasizes the "niche role of the Iberian printing and book trade," detailing the international status of Iberian printing and importation. Music printed with woodblocks appeared by the last years of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; the Salamanca treatises likewise favor xylographic notation. Knighton further concludes that Iberian music printers never succeeded in competing with larger printing dynasties in places like Germany or Italy.<sup>92</sup> While Iberia certainly has a conspicuous absence of music printers, the nature of publication present, in spite of obstacles, deserves sustained commentary.

Just as with books themselves, print businesses within Iberia had a distinct international note. German-speaking printers (and their later competitors) produced many of the early music prints, focusing on a demand for music treatises and an ecclesiastical appetite for liturgical books, of which missals and breviaries form the chief musical expression.<sup>93</sup> Restrepo's study examines the nascent German-speaking printing community in Iberia and its printing output.<sup>94</sup> These printers<sup>95</sup> came from various locations within Germany and settled on the Peninsula (sometimes at the express request of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella), responding to high competition in their homeland and the enticing potential of the Iberian market.<sup>96</sup> Like the

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<sup>91</sup> Knighton, "Preliminary Thoughts on the Dynamics of Music Printing in the Iberian Peninsula during the Sixteenth Century."

<sup>92</sup> Knighton, 544.

<sup>93</sup> *Missale Auriense; Missale Secundum Consuetudinem Cathedralis Ecclesiae Civitatis Abulensis* (Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1510), Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/1044, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000098498>.

<sup>94</sup> Restrepo, "German-Speaking Printers and the Development of Music Printing in Spain (1485-1505)."

<sup>95</sup> Including Hans Gysser, who came from Silgenstadt.

<sup>96</sup> Restrepo, "German-Speaking Printers and the Development of Music Printing in Spain (1485-1505)," 49.

printing of books in general, music printing had a later start in Iberia than in Germany, Italy, or France. The *Antiphonarium Ord. S. Hieronymi* of 1491 is the earliest exemplar of music type in Iberia; this work comes some twenty-one years after music type's inception in German-speaking areas.<sup>97</sup> Likewise, the preliminary organization of music printing was diffuse: Margarita Restrepo traces the history of printed musical notation in Iberia and notes that “religious and monastic orders printed their own liturgical books...volumes of polyphonic music destined for practical performance began to appear after 1530 and were the work of Spanish printers.”<sup>98</sup> Even after printing by movable type began, many music incunabula, including those of Juan de Porras and Hans Gysser, continued to be printed with a combination of letter type and xylographic music notation.

#### d. Music Printing in Salamanca

Several factors define Salamanca's music prints during the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century: these include the presence of the University of Salamanca, the cultural influence of humanism, as well as the production of theory books and missals. Monographs on the works produced in Salamanca include Juan José Rey Marcos' commentary and translation of *Portus Musice*, as well as Santiago Galán Gómez' study on the *Sumula de canto de órgano*.<sup>99</sup> Recent trends in musicological scholarship have also lead to a more precise definition of what Giuseppe Fiorentino describes as the *estilo popularizante*, which originated in extemporized polyphony

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<sup>97</sup> Stanley Boorman, Eleanor Selfridge-Field, and Donald W. Krummel, “Printing and Publishing of Music,” Grove Music Online, accessed November 20, 2020, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040101>.

<sup>98</sup> Restrepo, “German-Speaking Printers and the Development of Music Printing in Spain (1485-1505).”

<sup>99</sup> Rey Marcos and Romero de Lecea, *Portus musice de Diego de Puerto*; Galán Gómez, “La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la Sumula de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Duran como modelo.”

and was cultivated at the University of Salamanca; Dámaso García Fraile's examination of student life at the University also touches on this style.<sup>100</sup> The Salmantine treatises existed therefore in this social context: indeed, both studies make use of Porras' output.

Alexander S. Wilkinson, in his essay *Exploring the Print World of Early Modern Iberia*, shows that Salamanca, though far behind Seville in the period from 1500-1540, was still one of the biggest centers of print production.<sup>101</sup> Print, Wilkinson mentions, was not dominated by one location, but spread over multiple cities.<sup>102</sup> In Salamanca's case, its rise as a print center was a function of its status as a university city. 42% of the output in Salamanca was in Latin, one of the highest percentages in Spain, reflecting the educational market and demand for professional knowledge. Other cities with similar percentages from 1500-1550 were also university centers: Alcalá's Latin-language production sat at 56%, Zaragoza's at 49%, and Barcelona's at 39%.<sup>103</sup> Other areas of print production were dominated by Iberian-language output: indeed, Iberia as a whole was a prominent center of vernacular production. Porras' works were done in both Latin and Castilian: his breviaries and missals are, expectedly, completely in Latin, whereas his music treatises are functionally bilingual. Chapter 3 explores language reform and its effects on music printing in Salamanca.

#### **e. Pre-existing literature on Porras**

The past two decades have seen growth in scholarship on the Porras Press. First and foremost, Antonia Varona García provides invaluable information concerning Porras' early life

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<sup>100</sup> Giuseppe Fiorentino, "La Música de 'Hombres y Mujeres Que No Saben de Música': Polifonía de Tradición Oral En El Renacimiento Español," *Revista de Musicología* 31, no. 1 (2008): 32, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20797908>; Fiorentino, "Canto llano, canto de órgano y contrapunto improvisado: el currículo de un músico profesional en la España del Renacimiento"; García Fraile, "La vida musical en la Universidad de Salamanca durante el siglo XVI."

<sup>101</sup> Wilkinson, "Exploring the Print World of Early Modern Iberia," 497.

<sup>102</sup> Wilkinson, 498.

<sup>103</sup> Wilkinson, 500.

in printing in *Identificación de la primera imprenta anónima salmantina*. The article details the lawsuits between Juan de Porrás and Catalina González de Valdivieso, widow of Salmantine printer Diego Sánchez de Cantalapiedra.<sup>104</sup> Varona García was able to trace the incunabula discussed in the suits, identifying Alfonso de Porrás, Juan de Porrás' father, and Sánchez de Cantalapiedra as the first anonymous Salmantine press. Alfonso Prada Allo's *Os libros de Juan de Porrás* provides a biographical sketch and a catalogue of Porrás' prints through 1500.<sup>105</sup> A typographical assessment of the Porrás Press was published last September in 2021.<sup>106</sup> Crucial to the current study, the work of Vicente Bécares Botas in the Salamanca archives provides several points of Porrás' biography.<sup>107</sup> The Salamanca music incunabula have also been subjects in several catalogues, such as those of F.J. Norton, Julián Martín Abad, and Lorenzo Ruiz Fidalgo.<sup>108</sup> These studies, taken together, are crucial to understanding Porrás, but are, as yet, isolated attempts which would benefit from an overarching study.

#### **f. Porrás as Businessman**

Diana Poulton's work on John Dowland may elucidate Porrás' relatively different economic strategies.<sup>109</sup> Whereas the lute repertoire, she argues, sprung up based on the needs of the gentry class, the Porrás and Gysser prints do not follow the same pattern. Instead, Porrás and Gysser worked for markets that were partially created via institutions, namely, the University and the Church. In this sense, Porrás worked in a manner similar to university scribes as

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<sup>104</sup> Varona García, "Identificación de La Primera Imprenta Anónima Salmantina."

<sup>105</sup> Prada Allo, "Os Libros de Juan de Porrás."

<sup>106</sup> López-Varea, "Typography and Illustration in Fifteenth-Century Salamanca: The Porrás Press."

<sup>107</sup> Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)."

<sup>108</sup> A list of catalogues can be found in Appendix B, "Catalogue." Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*; Julián Martín Abad, *Post-incunables ibéricos* (Madrid: Ollero & Ramos, 2001); Lorenzo Ruiz Fidalgo, *La imprenta en Salamanca*, 3 vols. (Arco/Libros, 1995).

<sup>109</sup> Diana Poulton, "The Song-Books," in *John Dowland: His Life and Works*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1972), 181–320, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.32106001368429>.

described by John and Mary Rouse.<sup>110</sup> Therefore, though I do not dispute the market context for these works, I will consider the potential influence of patronage, as well as social currency present in a burgeoning professional service sector. Porrás printed music during an economic turn: David Fisher Hackett, in *The Great Wave: Price Revolutions and the Rhythm of History*, argues that Spain and Portugal experienced the (so-termed) price revolution of the 16<sup>th</sup> century sometime after 1490.<sup>111</sup> This rise in prices and rapid inflation comes after a century of European stability which, in turn, was a result of the volatile and painful collapse of the economy following the Black Death and its aftershocks. In the Castilian-Aragonese context, the empire began to feel the rise in prices around the turn of the century; likewise, “...the largest proportionate increases in Spanish prices occurred during the first half of the sixteenth century...”<sup>112</sup> However, it was also a period of significant economic spending on the part of the monarchy after the success of the Granadine campaign.<sup>113</sup> This shift may have affected niche genres like music printing, which were risky at the best of times. Porrás’ focus on printing as his sole trade represents a departure from the German printers who preceded him: as an example, Pablo Hurus, a contemporary music printer in Aragón, likely supplemented his printing activities with saffron trading.<sup>114</sup> The difficulty of niche printing, combined with proportional price, increases the need to understand how Porrás made music printing a financially profitable venture.

The nature and difficulties of printing music in Spain meant that several interlocking economic institutions were required to successfully bring a book to fruition. Kate van Orden’s work, *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print* primarily concerns the

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<sup>110</sup> Richard H. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500*, vol. 1, *Illiterati et Uxorati* (Turnhout: H. Miller, 2000).

<sup>111</sup> David Hackett Fischer, *The Great Wave: Price Revolutions and the Rhythm of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 45–90.

<sup>112</sup> Fischer, 81.

<sup>113</sup> Castillo-Ferreira, “Chant, Liturgy, and Reform,” 284.

<sup>114</sup> Restrepo, “German-Speaking Printers and the Development of Music Printing in Spain (1485-1505),” 56.

nature of fame for Renaissance composers. As a matter of course, her work discusses the economic networks printers drew on.<sup>115</sup> Van Orden concludes that music printers relied on gift economies as much as market economies, perhaps even more so in music print's nascency. Porras' connections to the University and other aspects of Church hierarchies demonstrates the risky and pluralistic nature of printing these works.

Several studies on other locations provide basis for how printers tended to run their businesses. Andrew Pettegree's *The Book in the Renaissance* provides ample foundation pertaining to the formation and perpetuation of markets in Germany.<sup>116</sup> He mentions that printing non-mainstream publications was a method wherein a printer could sidestep an overrun market.<sup>117</sup> Music prints fit into this category, particularly in the incunabula period. His description of general business practices, combined with Kmetz' conclusions for music printing, provides a broad picture of how printers ran their businesses at the turn of the century, allowing an analysis of how Porras fits or goes against the German mold. Following the German printing portfolio outlined by Kmetz, a printer in good financial standing could use niche publications as a source of steady income, especially if they were the only printer available within a given catchment area.<sup>118</sup> The works of Pettegree and Kmetz provide insight into Porras' decision to enter music printing.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> van Orden, "Music Books and Their Authors."

<sup>116</sup> Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven, CT; London, England: Yale University Press, 2010), <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ottawa/detail.action?docID=3421019>.

<sup>117</sup> Pettegree, 69.

<sup>118</sup> Chapter 2 examines this line of inquiry.

<sup>119</sup> As examined in Chapter 4, section 2, "Analysis of Juan de Porras' Business Practices," Porras appears to fit the profile set forth by Kmetz and Pettegree. Porras appears to have waited until he had full control of the business and a solid financial footing, only then moving into music printing.

### 3. Methodology

#### a. Archival Research

In-situ archival research occurred during the summer of 2021 upon the re-opening of the European Union to foreign travelers. The national libraries of Portugal and Spain, as well as the Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha in Toledo, graciously allowed examination of their materials. I was able to consult the following documents:

Table 1.3.: Consulted Archives

Library	Prints Viewed
Lisbon, Portugal. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal.	RES 381 P: <i>Sumula de canto de organo</i> RES 151 V: <i>Missale Bracharense</i>
Madrid, Spain. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Sala Cervantes.	INC/2165: <i>Sumula de canto de organo, Portus musice, Lux bella, Comento sobre lux bella, Arte de canto llano, Introduccion de canto llano</i> INC/1128: <i>Missale Auriense</i>
Toledo, Spain. Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, Sala Castilla-La Mancha.	signatura 1-6890: <i>Missale Placentine</i>

I did not consult the fragmentary missals, the *Missale [Legionense]* and *Missale Compostellanum*. Moreover, as I only belatedly became aware of the significance of the *Manuale Segobiense*, I missed the opportunity of consulting it in person.<sup>120</sup> INC/2165 and INC/1128 of the Biblioteca Nacional also have digital copies available through the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica. The ability to see the undigitized prints allowed a comparative study of Porrás' entire corpus, while having seen the works in Madrid revealed several format and

<sup>120</sup> Sr. Bonifacio Bartolomé, technician of the Archivo de la Catedral de Segovia, graciously supplied the pages appended in this thesis.

practice considerations unnoticed by digital formats. As such, my examination of these works significantly improved the thesis research.

### **b. Person Index**

An essential part of the research process, given the increased attention to format and motivation, was the collection and identification of all persons, institutions, and locations, named or unnamed, in the Salmantine music corpus. The result, loosely following prosopographical models, was a person index of some 46 entries, including anonymous annotators. The document resulted from a previous index of names, encompassing all forms of a person's name and their occurrences, if necessary, across publications, forming 88 entries. The person index forms the main spring of primary source information in Chapter 2. Appendix A includes the results of the person index excepting anonymous annotators.

### **c. Format**

This thesis applies an interdisciplinary approach drawn from previous articles, monographs, and books, including Julie Cumming's 2007 study "From Chapel Choirbook to Print Partbook and Back Again."<sup>121</sup> Cumming analyzes Petrucci's potential markets through his printing decisions, focusing on the construction and printing methods of the books, and arrives at satisfactory explanations for Petrucci's methods and audience. "Petrucci's Publics for the First Motet Prints" adopts a similar methodology.<sup>122</sup> Cumming arranges her chapter into two main

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<sup>121</sup> Julie E Cumming, "From Chapel Choirbook to Print Partbook and Back Again," in *Cappelle Musicali Fra Corte, Stato e Chiesa Nell'Italia Del Rinascimento : Atti Del Convegno Internazionale : Camaiore, 21-23 Ottobre 2005*, *Historiae Musicae Cultores* 108 (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 2007), 373–403.

<sup>122</sup> Julie E. Cumming, "Petrucci's Publics for the First Motet Prints," in *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 96–122.

sections: one for Petrucci’s imagined market and a second for his actual consumers. In the first section, Cumming takes evidence for imagined markets from “comparable printed products,” “Latin humanist writings,” “manuscript sources,” and format, including size and layout.<sup>123</sup> In drawing on Roger Chartier,<sup>124</sup> who argues textual meaning hinges on form, Cumming looks at the format of the motet books and concludes that Petrucci aimed for a wider public, based on the oblong quarto and partbook format of his publications. Investigating the forms of the Porrás corpus allows a similar look into Porrás’ imagined readers. Given that printing in Iberia was still in its nascency around 1500, and that musical polyphonic printing would not arise until the middle of the century, “comparable printed products” and the format of the existing texts constitute the major portion of analysis. The most important sources of information are likewise the printed works themselves. To paint a portrait of Porrás’ business practices, the research focuses on the print apparatus – the colophons, introductions, cover pages, size, layout, and format – rather than the text body. Collecting this type of information allows comparison with other Peninsular incunabula, including Porrás’ own non-musical output.<sup>125</sup> Format allows a significant, and frequently overlooked, view into print markets.

#### 4. Thesis Outline

The thesis follows the large-scale analyses of persons and institutions captured by the name index and consulted secondary sources, leading into the discussion of book formatting. **Chapter 2** establishes Juan de Porrás’ catchment area and examines related individuals and institutions. It further establishes the culture of music in Salamanca, and the role

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<sup>123</sup> Cumming.

<sup>124</sup> Ramos López also employs Chartier. Ramos López, “Spanish Treatises on Musica Practica c. 1480-1525: Reflections from a Cultural Perspective,” 469.

<sup>125</sup> See Chapter 3.

of University and Cathedral in it. **Chapter 3** presents the format of the prints, establishing publishing standards for music and proposing imagined markets for music treatises. It connects these imagined markets with wider-reaching cultural changes. **Chapter 4** concludes the study, summarizing key points and establishing motivations behind the prints. **Appendix A**, corresponding to **Chapter 2**, provides updated biographies of the Porrás family and reference biographies for other key figures in the study. **Appendix B** accompanies **Chapters 2** and **3**, providing a catalogue of Salmantine music prints from 1494 until 1511. **Appendix C** accompanies **Chapter 3**, part 1, “Missals,” providing examples of music type employed in the liturgical prints. Images of the books are embedded throughout to avoid needless page-flipping.

## Chapter 2: Places, People, and Institutions

To understand Porras and Gysser's role in music printing, it becomes necessary to establish who used their services, broadly defined. While previous studies have focused on the music treatises, these studies only focus on half the books which employ music printing services. This focus has led to a lopsided view of what Salamanca offered, placing emphasis on the University of Salamanca as the primary economic driver.<sup>126</sup> Considering liturgical output which uses music allows analysis of music printing services. This chapter seeks to establish a catchment area for music printing services in Salamanca: in other words, what music printing services Salamanca offered and to whom. To do so, it gathers all the names, places, and institutions which appear in the treatises and liturgical prints associated with Juan de Porras. Appendix A gathers these names. It also adds the same type of information from the *actas capitulares* when the names are pertinent to the musical corpus. Moreover, the chapter suggests associated persons and institutions which have known associations to the corpus.

Section 1, from the collection of place names in the corpus, establishes a catchment area for Porras and music prints in Salamanca. Section 2 examines the role of the University of Salamanca, while section 3 does likewise with ecclesiastical influence. The chapter seeks to position Salmantine music production within its cultural context.

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<sup>126</sup> Rather than an overemphasis, the current study suggests that this view is too narrow, placing weight onto the institution itself, rather than the attraction of the university.

## 1. Places

### a. Music Printing in Iberia, 1485-1520

Though an early center of printing, Salamanca was but one of many centers. While the Iberian Books database defines Salamanca as the most productive center for the century as a whole,<sup>127</sup> for the period of 1500-1520, Salamanca is only third in print production for the Peninsula (9% of all books), superseded by Seville in Castile, and Barcelona in Aragón. Valencia, also in Aragón, also had a 9% print output for the period. To further complicate matters, centers of Iberian music printing are even more diverse. From 1485-1520 (inclusive), the major centers of music production were Seville, Zaragoza, Salamanca, Toledo, and Burgos, though smaller centers were not far behind. These smaller centers of music production included Venice, Barcelona, Monserrat, and Alcalá de Henares. A selected list appears below:

Table 2.1.: Music Printing in Iberia, 1485-1512<sup>128</sup>

Date	Author	Title	Printer	City
1485		<i>Missale Cesaraugustanum</i>	Pablo Hurus	Zaragoza
1488		<i>Missale Oscense et Jacense</i>	Juan Hurus	Zaragoza
<b>1490-1501?</b>	<b>Cristóbal de Escobar</b>	<b><i>Introducción de canto llano</i></b>	<b>Juan de Porras?</b>	<b>Salamanca</b>
1492	Domingo Marcos Durán	<i>Lux bella de canto llano</i>	Quatro alemanes compañeros	Seville
1493		<i>Missale Gerundense</i>	Juan Rosenbach	Barcelona
1494		<i>Processionarium Predicatorum</i>	Meinardo Ungut and Estanislao Polono	Seville
1494		<i>Manuale Toletanum</i>	Tres Compañeros Alemanes	Seville

<sup>127</sup> Wilkinson, *Iberian Books*, xvi.

<sup>128</sup> Salmantine publications appear in bold. Works compiled from catalogues noted in Appendix B, “Catalogue,” and cross-referenced with de la Cuesta, “Spanish Plainchant Publications to 1601”; Ascensión Mazuela-Anguila, “Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista. Volumen II: Apéndices” (Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, 2012), 1.

<b>1494</b>		<i>Missale Auriense</i>	<b>Gonzalo Rodriguez de la Passera y Juan de Porras</b>	<b>Monterrey</b>
1495	Guillermo de Podio	<i>Ars musicorum</i>	Peter Hagembach & Leonardus Hutz	Valencia
<b>1495</b>		<i>Missale Compostellanum</i>	<b>Gonzalo Rodriguez de la Passera y Juan de Porras</b>	<b>Monterrey</b>
1496		<i>Missale Vicense</i>	Juan Rosenbach y Juan Luschner	Barcelona
1498		<i>Missale Predicatorum</i>	Meinardo Ungut and Estanislao Polono	Seville
<b>1498</b>	<b>Domingo Marcos Durán</b>	<i>Comento sobre Lux bella</i>	<b>Juan de Porras</b>	<b>Salamanca</b>
1498		<i>Missale Caesaraugustanum</i>	Pablo Hurus	Zaragoza
1498		<i>Missale Barcinonense</i>	Diego de Gumiel	Barcelona
1499		<i>Missale Giennense</i>	Meinardo Ungut and Estanislao Polono	Seville
1499		<i>Missale Benedictinum</i>	Juan Luschner	Montserrat
1499		<i>Missale Tarraconense</i>	Juan Rosenbach	Tarragona
1499		<i>Missale Toletanum</i>	Pedro Hagenbach and Melchor Gorrício, ed.	Toledo
<b>1499</b>		<i>Manuale sacramentorum (Segobiense)</i>	<b>Juan de Porras</b>	<b>Salamanca</b>
1500		<i>Processionarium Benedictinum</i>	Juan Luschner	Montserrat
1500		<i>Officia Defunctorum</i>	Juan Luschner	Montserrat
1500		<i>Hymnorum Intonationes</i>	Juan Luschner	Montserrat

1500		<i>Missale mixtum secundum regulam B. Isidori, dictum Mozarabes</i>	Pedro Hagenbach and Melchor Gorrício, ed.	Toledo
1500		<i>Missale Tirasonense</i>	Arnaldo Guillen de Brocar	Pamplona
1501		<i>Manuale Burgense</i>	Fadrique Biel de Basilea	Burgos
1501		<i>Passionarium Burgense</i>	Fadrique Biel de Basilea	Burgos
1501?		<i>Missale Pampilonense</i>	Arnaldo Guillen de Brocar	Pamplona
1502		<i>Processionarium Cesaraugustanum</i>	Jorge Coci and Leonardo Hutz	Zaragoza
1502		<i>Ordinarium Gerundense</i>	Juan Rosembach	Perpignan
1503	Bartolomé de Molina	<i>Arte de canto llano Lux videntis dicha</i>	Diego de Gumiel	Valladolid
1503		<i>Manuale Toletanum</i>	Pedro Hagenbach's workshop	Toledo
<b>c.1503</b>	<b>Domingo Marcos Durán</b>	<b><i>Sumula de canto de organo</i></b>	<b>Juan Gysser</b>	<b>Salamanca</b>
1504	Alonso Españón	<i>Non es cosa nueva</i>	Pedro Brun	Seville
1504		<i>Missale Legionense</i>	Jacobo Cromberger	Seville
1504		<i>Missale Oscense et Jacense</i>	Jorge Coci	Zaragoza
1504		<i>Passionarium Cesaraugustanum</i>	Jorge Coci	Zaragoza
<b>1504</b>	<b>Diego de Puerto</b>	<b><i>Portus musice</i></b>	<b>Juan de Porras</b>	<b>Salamanca</b>
1505		<i>Himnario Valentino</i>	Leonardo Hutz	Valencia
1505-1508?		<i>Passionarium Bergense</i>	Fadrique Biel de Basilea	Burgos
1506		<i>Missale Maioricense</i>	Venice	L. A. de Giunta
<b>1506</b>		<b><i>Manuale Chori</i></b>	<b>Juan de Porras</b>	<b>Salamanca</b>
1506	Bartolomé de Molina	<i>Arte de canto llano Lux videntis dicha</i> [2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.]	Diego de Gumiel	Valladolid

c.1506	Alonso Españón	<i>Non es cosa nueva</i> [2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.]	Pedro Brun	Seville
1507		<i>Missale Hispalense</i>	Jacobo Cromberger	Seville
1507		<i>Missale secundum consuetudinem fratrus beate Marie de mercede redemptionis captivorum</i>	Johann Luschner	Barcelona
c. 1507		<i>Graduale Granatense</i>	Juan Varela de Salamanca	Granada
1508	Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui	<i>Arte de canto llano</i>	Jorge Coci	Zaragoza
1508		<i>Antiphonarium Granatense</i>	Juan Varela de Salamanca	Granada
1508		<i>Manuale Burgense</i>	Fadrique de Basilea	Burgos
1509	Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui	<i>Arte de canto llano</i> [2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.]	Fadrique de Basilea	Burgos
<b>1509</b>	<b>Domingo Marcos Durán</b>	<b><i>Lux bella de canto llano</i></b> [2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.]	<b>Juan Gysser</b>	<b>Salamanca</b>
1509	Bartolomé de Molina	<i>Arte de canto llano Lux videntis dicha</i> [3 <sup>rd</sup> ed.]	Diego de Gumiel	Valladolid
1509/1516?		<i>Pontificale Barcinonense</i>	Juan Rosembach	Barcelona
<b>1510</b>		<b><i>Missale Abulense</i></b>	<b>Juan de Porras</b>	<b>Salamanca</b>
1510	Francisco Tovar	<i>Libro de música practica</i>	Juan Rosembach	Barcelona
1510		<i>Missale Romanum</i>	Jorge Coci	Zaragoza
1510		<i>Passionarium Caesaraugustanum</i>	Jorge Coci	Zaragoza
1511	Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui	<i>Arte de canto llano</i> [3 <sup>rd</sup> ed.]	Fadrique de Basilea	Burgos
1511		<i>Missale Elnensis</i>	Juan Rosembach	Barcelona
<b>1512</b>		<b><i>Missale Brachareense</i></b>	<b>Juan de Porras</b>	<b>Salamanca</b>

1512		<i>Missale Toletanum</i>	Fadrique de Basilea	Burgos
1512		<i>Psalterium Palentinum</i>	Arnaldo Guillen de Brocar	Logroño

Centers of music printing typically were major centers of printing in general, including Salamanca, Seville, Zaragoza, Toledo, and Burgos. However, smaller centers of production such as Montserrat remain important sites of early music print, suggesting opportunities for music printing were even less integrated than general printing. Furthermore, all centers, city or town, of music production are largely the responsibility of one or two printers at any given time, corresponding to Pettegree's argument that niche printing was potentially profitable due to an absence of competition.<sup>129</sup> Salamanca conforms to this pattern, with Juan de Porras and Juan Gysser accounting for all music prints printed between 1490-1520. Likewise, Porras' partnership with Gonzalo Rodríguez de la Passera in Monterrey corresponds to other printers who set up temporarily in small civic centers such as Montserrat. In short, Salamanca followed the general trend of the Peninsula in music printing.

While Salamanca was certainly not unique, two phenomena make the city a fundamental case study for Iberian music production. First, from surviving exemplars, Salamanca constitutes the first center of music treatise production. The first treatise on the Peninsula, *Lux bella* by Domingo Marcos Durán, was printed in Seville. However, another Sevillian treatise would not appear until 1504, with Alonso Spáñon's *Non es cosa nueva*. Conversely, Salmantine treatise production spans both the 1490s and the 1500s in a more consistent manner. Second, while Sevillian prints show first the decline of the *cuatro compañeros*, then the publication of music books by several different printers including Meinardo Ungut and Estanislao Polono, Pedro

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<sup>129</sup> Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 69.

Brun, and Jacobo Cromberger, music production in Salamanca remains in the sole purview of Juan de Porras and Juan Gysser.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, Gysser remains the ascribed printer for only two treatises, with the rest of the musical works done by Porras. In essence, Porras emerges as the first consistent music publisher in Iberia.

### **b. Printing in Salamanca**

Printers in the study include Juan de Porras, Gonzalo Rodríguez de la Passera, and Juan Gysser. The Porras press and associated printers are more fully discussed in Appendix A. Only Porras and Passera identify themselves in the colophons. Gysser must be traced through typographical means. Moreover, the three treatises produced by Porras lack attributions. However, Porras remains attested in liturgical prints, the *Manuale chori*, *Missale Abulense*, *Missale Auriense*, and *Missale Bracharense*. The *Manuale Segobiense*, on the other hand, does not retain his name, though his responsibility is assured.

### **c. Cities and Towns**

Music prints drew on a range of civic areas around Salamanca. Aside from Salamanca, several cities and towns appear in the music prints. Missals were printed for the dioceses of Santiago de Compostela, Ávila, Ourense, Plasencia, León, and Braga. Music treatises further mention a variety of civic areas, including Santiago de Compostela, Burgos, Laredo, Garrovillas de Alconétar, Monterrey, Segovia, and Palmela. Salamanca thus attracted clients from a wide

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<sup>130</sup> The sharing of typographic and xylographic material suggests Gysser was financially reliant on Porras. See Appendix A, “Biographies.”

service area. Salamanca did so despite the presence of Valladolid and Segovia, both of which had higher populations in 1591.<sup>131</sup>

The first map (below) corresponds to all towns and cities mentioned in the prints. Palmela, found in the ex libris of *Lux bella* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), appears here as an outlier. Toponyms associated with names are not plotted. Current evidence suggests music printing in Salamanca relied on and enjoyed a wide geographic catchment area of clientele and consumers, extending from Laredo to Palmela. The bounds of this catchment area further correspond to Juan de Porras' conflict with Nicolás de Saxonia for the breviaries for Santiago de Compostela.<sup>132</sup> Juan de Porras relied on the ability of Salamanca to draw people from throughout the northwestern quadrant of the Peninsula. Evidence suggests Porras' regular catchment area corresponds roughly to the modern autonomous communities of Castile and León, Asturias, and Galicia, with limited entry into Portugal and Extremadura.

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<sup>131</sup> Valladolid also saw the printing of at least two editions of *Lux videntis* by Bartolomé de Molina. How much competition this treatise provided Porras, it does not seem to have hindered his catchment area. In addition, Diego de Gumiel, the printer of *Lux videntis*, does not seem to have pursued other treatises or liturgical prints, reducing his threat to Porras' activities. Certainly, though, it may have made marketing treatises to Valladolid a more difficult prospect. See Table 2.1.

<sup>132</sup> This dispute is discussed later in this section. Benito Rial Costas examines the litigation in full. Rial Costas, *Producción y Comercio Del Libro En Santiago (1501-1553)*, 36–38.

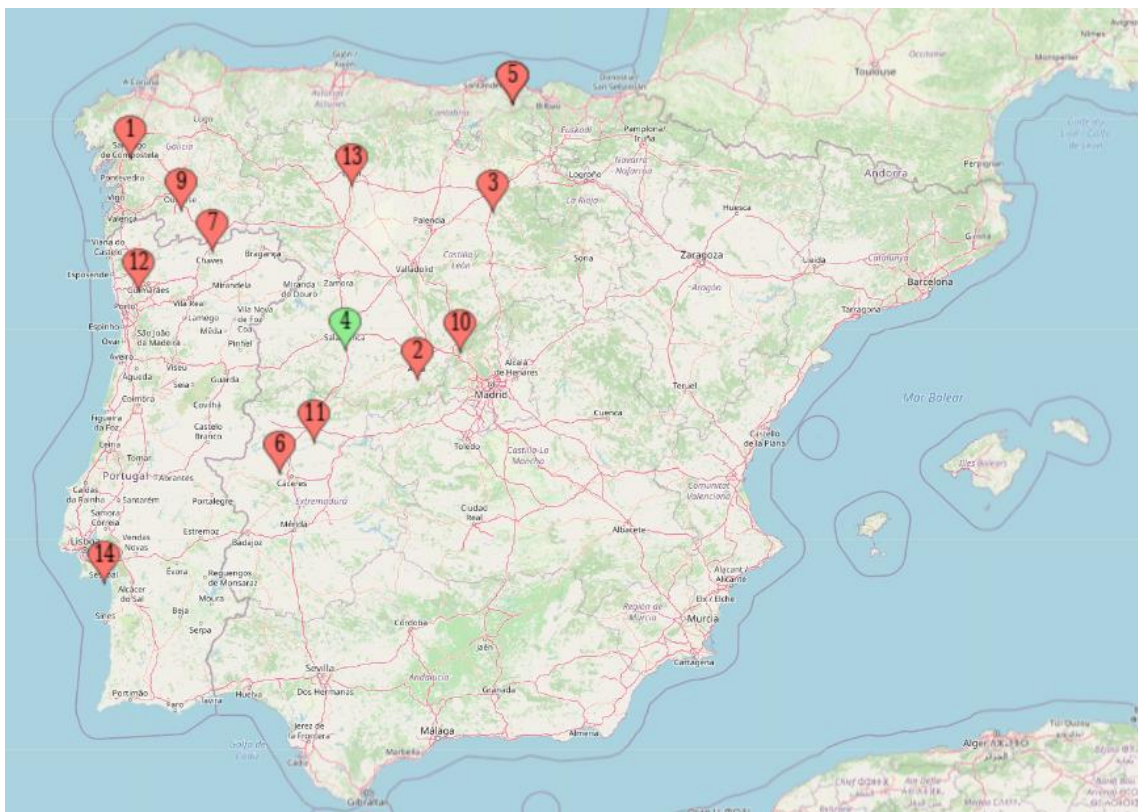


Image 2.1.: Towns and cities mentioned in Salmantine music prints. Salamanca is in green.<sup>133</sup>

The northwestern quadrant corresponds to the findings of several scholars. Urbanization studies point to the region of northern Castile, sometimes rendered Old Castile, as a loose network or networks of urban-civic entities in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>134</sup> This picture likewise corresponds to Wilkinson’s finding that printing in Iberia was relatively diffuse, dominated not by a single area, but by many.<sup>135</sup> In consequence, Juan de Porras traveled frequently outside of Salamanca to

<sup>133</sup> 1. Santiago de Compostela 2. Ávila 3. Burgos 4. Salamanca 5. Laredo 6. Garrovillas de Alconétar 7. Monterrey (Monterréi) 9. Ourense (Ourense) 10. Segovia 11. Plasencia 12. Braga 13. León 14. Palmela. Map made with “MapCustomizer,” accessed March 25, 2022, <https://www.mapcustomizer.com/>.

<sup>134</sup> For example, see Pablo Sánchez León, “European Provincial Towns: Demographic and Institutional Trends in Regional Networks, 1400-1600,” in *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 24, Library of the Written Word (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013), 27–29; Pablo Sánchez León, “El Campo En La Ciudad y La Ciudad En El Campo: Urbanización e Instituciones En Castilla Durante La Edad Moderna,” *Hispania* 58, no. 199 (1998): 439–70; Francisco Javier Vela Santamaría, “El sistema urbano del norte de Castilla en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI,” in *Ciudad y mundo urbano en la Epoca Moderna* (Madrid: Actas, 1997); Benito Rial Costas, “Santiago de Compostela: A Case Study of Bookselling in Peripheries,” in *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 363.

<sup>135</sup> Wilkinson, “Exploring the Print World of Early Modern Iberia,” 497.

secure and negotiate contracts during the 1490s and was able to extend his market into Galicia.<sup>136</sup> In essence, music printing in Salamanca was buoyed by the civic-urban network present in northern Castile. The position of Salamanca as an already established printing center further buoyed the production of niche genres such as music.

Finally, establishing a catchment area for Porras may also be accomplished by considering other producers, i.e., significant competition. Galicia, lacking a significant printing center, provided Porras with clientele, notably the archbishops Alfonso II de Fonseca and Alfonso III de Fonseca, as well as Francisco de Zúñiga. Santiago de Compostela, the regional center of Galicia and seat of the archbishop, lacked the population to adequately fund printing.<sup>137</sup> Benito Rial Costas, in a chapter on the evolution of printing in Santiago, maintains that Salamanca intermittently exerted major influence over the city.<sup>138</sup> In this light, the second edition of *Lux bella* in 1509 is can be seen as a partial attempt to complete the Durán set for northern Spain, and to exploit the market there. Porras' feud over publishing breviaries for the archdiocese, however, must qualify this assertion. During the printing of these breviaries, the cathedral chapter of Santiago signed a new contract with Nicolás de Saxonia for 300 breviaries, "...or more if [the chapter] would desire more."<sup>139</sup> Saxonia's position in Lisbon likely limited Porras' catchment area in northern Portugal: indeed Saxonia printed a *Missale Bracharense* in

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<sup>136</sup> See Appendix A, "Biographies," "Juan de Porras," for a list of currently known travels.

<sup>137</sup> Rial Costas, "Santiago de Compostela: A Case Study of Bookselling in Peripheries," 363.

<sup>138</sup> Rial Costas, 372–73.

<sup>139</sup> "Primeramente q[ue] dentro de un año desde esta data [del 28 de julio de 1496] aya de faser y faga myll (*sic*) bribiarios compostelanos, o más si más quisiere..." We do not know why the Chapter decided to switch printers in the middle of Porras' print run, though it may have something to do with the ongoing reform movements led by Fonseca. Notably, Fonseca affirmed that the Porras breviaries were the ones to be distributed. Rial Costas, *Producción y Comercio Del Libro En Santiago (1501-1553)*, 36–37.

1498.<sup>140</sup> For liturgical prints and treatises, Porras was also likely impacted by treatise production in Seville and in Burgos.<sup>141</sup>



*Image 2.2.:* Proposed catchment area for Juan de Porras over a map of modern Iberia. Lisbon, Seville, and Burgos are traced from Salamanca.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>140</sup> The *Missale* represents the last of Nicolás de Saxonia's extant prints. Wilkinson, *Iberian Books*, 240.

<sup>141</sup> See Table 2.1., "Muisic Printing in Iberia, 1485-1512."

<sup>142</sup> Made with Google Maps. "Google Maps," Google Maps, accessed March 26, 2022, google.com/maps.

The resulting plot (in blue) corresponds to the catchment area of place names. As such, the secure catchment area for Salmantine music prints corresponds to the northwest of Iberia.<sup>143</sup>

#### d. Other Locations Linked to Musical Instruction

Salamanca hosted several institutions which would have provided markets for music prints. Several ecclesiastical institutions existed in the city, the most prominent being the Cathedral. Importantly, the Cathedral retained several hundred employees and taught music courses: the University of Salamanca represented a far smaller potential market. In 1546, Juan de Oviedo's classes were attended by 40 to 50 students. However, this number appears to be a limit: in 1567, only about a dozen students attended Francisco de Salinas' course in *música especulativa*. His course in "cantar," or "singing," appears to have been more popular at about two dozen students.<sup>144</sup> In contrast, Drelichman and González Agudo note that the Cathedral of Toledo, the primatial see of Castile, maintained 14 dignitaries, 60 canons, 50 prebendaries, 200 chaplains, 40 clerics, and 4 lectors.<sup>145</sup> While yearly turnover of university students would certainly have increased this market, it would have taken at least four years to match the potential market represented by the Cathedral of Salamanca. Furthermore, the Cathedral, though

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<sup>143</sup> The current study makes no attempt to equate catchment area with area of distribution, as only two ex libris show any proof of distribution. Of these, the ascription to "Fray Juan" is currently untraceable. However, the catchment area might show where distribution might be expected; indeed, distribution areas could be much larger than catchment areas later in the century, as shown by Juan Bermudo's *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*, sold in Burgos in 1556.

<sup>144</sup> The relative increase in courses in "*cantar*" likely a reference to the second hour of the course, may further demonstrate the practical emphasis of the curriculum discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.b., "Musical Education at the University of Salamanca." García Fraile, "La vida musical en la Universidad de Salamanca durante el siglo XVI," 72–73.

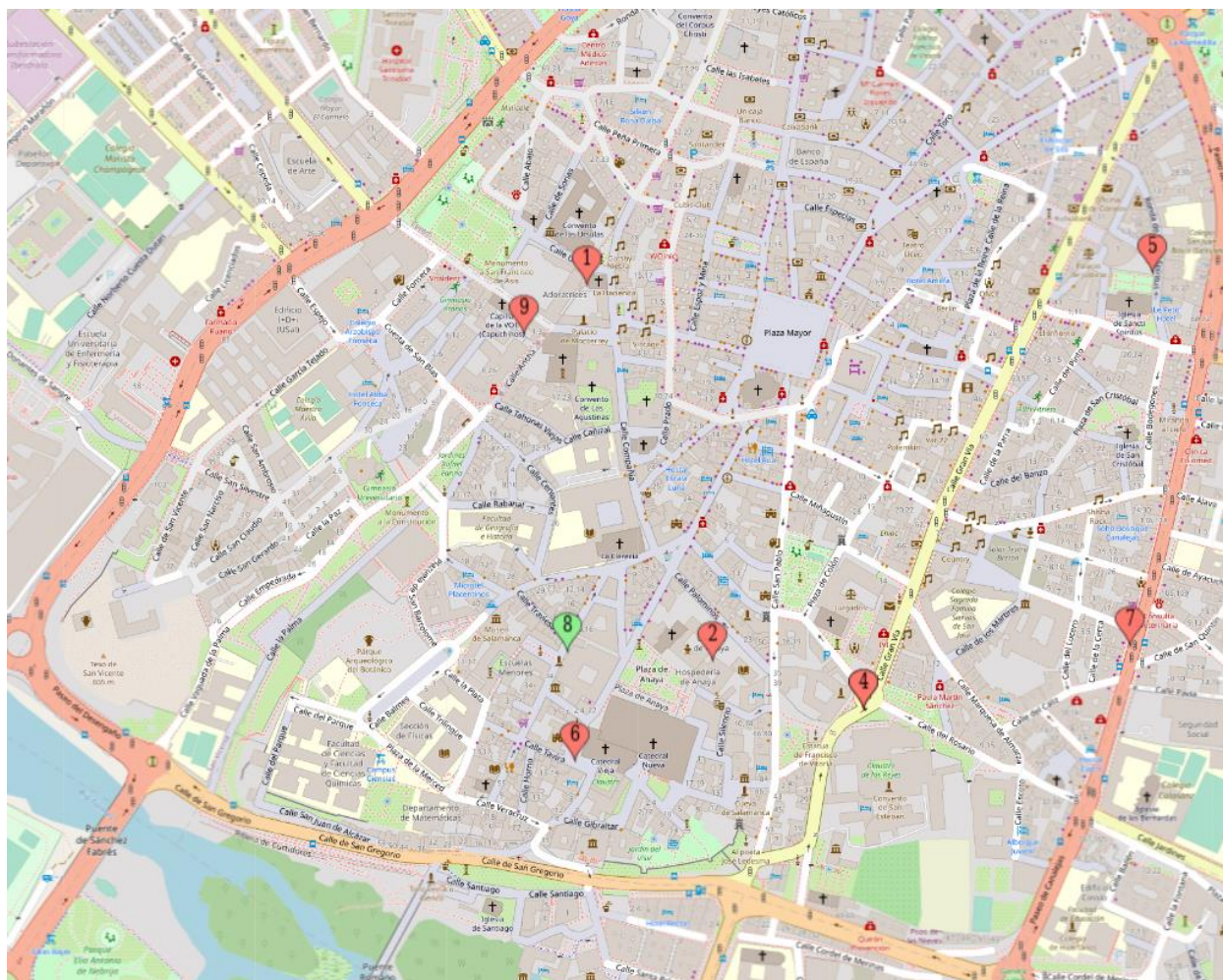
<sup>145</sup> While the Cathedral of Salamanca was certainly not the primatial see, the number of employees represented by Toledo serves to give a general idea of how many employees Salamanca Cathedral might have had. Mauricio Drelichman and David González Agudo, "Housing and the Cost of Living in Early Modern Toledo," *Explorations in Economic History* 54 (2014): 7.

the preeminent ecclesiastical institution in the city, was not alone. Outside of the cathedral, numerous other ecclesiastical institutions maintained clergy who potentially would have required or wanted music books.<sup>146</sup> Santiago de Compostela, another ecclesiastical center, though one of much smaller population, had 427 clerics in 1591.<sup>147</sup> While the demographic constitution of late 16<sup>th</sup>-century Santiago does not necessarily reflect that of turn-of-the-century Salamanca, the comparison demonstrates that urban clergy, including monks and parish priests, constituted a major force of city life and a significant market for music books. Ecclesiastical institutions in Salamanca are mapped below:

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<sup>146</sup> See Chapter 3, section 4.d., “Clergy.”

<sup>147</sup> Rial Costas, “Santiago de Compostela: A Case Study of Bookselling in Peripheries,” 363.



*Image 2.3.:* Map of Salamanca. The houses owned by Juan de Porras and Leonor Alonso<sup>148</sup> are represented by the green "8."<sup>149</sup>

Needless to say, the major music markets presented by cathedral and urban clergy in other centers Porras served would also form a major impetus for printing books of music. As it stands, the potential markets imagined by Porras may have included students, but the potential rewards of serving the clergy would have been an enticing prospect to say the least.

<sup>148</sup> Juan de Porras transferred the title of at least two of his houses to Leonor Alonso, his wife, in 1491. See Appendix A, "Biographies."

<sup>149</sup> 1. Convento de la Anunciación 2. Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé 4. Convento de San Esteban and Convento de Santa María de la Consolación (de las Dueñas) 5. Monasterio de Sancti-Spiritus 6. Cathedral of Salamanca (Old) 7. Convento de las Claras 8. Houses of Juan de Porras and Leonor Alonso, approximate (located on the Rúa Nueva and Calle Traviesa) 9. Convento de los Capuchinos. Made with "MapCustomizer."

## 2. The University of Salamanca

### a. Authors

Nevertheless, the University of Salamanca exerted significant cultural influence in the urban space, an influence represented most heavily in the music treatises printed by Porras and Gysser. All of the music treatises have ascribed authors. Cristóbal de Escobar and Diego de Puerto each appear in one treatise each, while Domingo Marcos Durán appears as the author of three treatises. The University of Salamanca retains mention in the *Glosa sobre lux bella* and *Portus musice*. The Colegio Mayor<sup>150</sup> de San Bartolomé figures prominently in *Portus musice*, both mentioned in the proemium and its coat of arms displayed on the title page.<sup>151</sup> Moreover, Cristóbal de Escobar describes himself as *bachiller* in his *Introduccion muy breve*: scholarship currently assumes he attained his degree at Salamanca.

### b. Musical Education at the University of Salamanca<sup>152</sup>

In 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century Iberia, musical knowledge generally fell into one of two camps, *música teórica* or *música práctica*.<sup>153</sup> Statutes for the University of Salamanca in 1529 provide explicit evidence for how the course in music was expected to be conducted. The statutes give an

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<sup>150</sup> *Colegios mayores* were the higher-degree-granting institutions in Iberia. The Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé was the oldest such institution on the Peninsula. For more on the *colegios mayores*, see de Lario, *Escuelas de imperio. La formación de una elite en los Colegios Mayores (siglos XVI-XVII)*; Wolfgang Freis, “Becoming a Theorist: The Growth of Bermudo’s Declaración de Instrumentos Musicales,” *Revista de Musicología* 18, no. 1/2 (1995): 32–33, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20797043>.

<sup>151</sup> Francisco Ruiz de Vergara y Álava, *Vida Del Illustrissimo Señor Don Diego de Anaya Maldonado* (Madrid: Diego Diaz de la Carrera, 1661).

<sup>152</sup> Much of the information presented here is reproduced and reordered from García Fraile, “La Cátedra de Música de La Universidad de Salamanca Durante Diecisiete Años Del Siglo XV (1464-1481)”;

García Fraile, “La vida musical en la Universidad de Salamanca durante el siglo XVI”;

Knighton, “Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500.”

<sup>153</sup> Ramos López, “Spanish Treatises on Musica Practica c. 1480-1525: Reflections from a Cultural Perspective,” 469.

hour to music,<sup>154</sup> during which “The chair of music will dedicate (“*leerá*,” literally, “will read”) a part of his hour to music speculation (“*especulación de música*”), and another part will engage (“*exercite*”) the students (“*oyentes*,” lit. “listeners” or “auditors”) in singing...”<sup>155</sup> Account books for the University from 1518-1524 give equal weight to *teórica*, or *música especulativa*, and *música práctica*.<sup>156</sup> Printed Iberian treatises from the period also tend to divide along these lines: works on *música especulativa* tend to be long and in Latin, while works of *música práctica* tend to be short and employ the vernacular.<sup>157</sup>

From this broad division, the University of Salamanca statutes for 1529 describe the music classes as divided between plainchant (*canto llano*), counterpoint (*contrapunto*), and polyphony (*canto de órgano*), taught on a trimester system, as seen in Table 2.2.<sup>158</sup> Prior to this date, the account books from 1518-1524 also mention the tripartite division.<sup>159</sup>

Table 2.2.: University schedule for music courses

Subject	Trimester
Plainchant ( <i>canto llano</i> )	18 October – March
Polyphony ( <i>canto de órgano</i> )	March – 24 June
<i>Contrapunto</i>	24 June – mid-September

<sup>154</sup> For the specific hours, see Knighton, “Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500,” 13; García Fraile, “La Cátedra de Música de La Universidad de Salamanca Durante Diecisiete Años Del Siglo XV (1464-1481),” 66–67.

<sup>155</sup> García Fraile, “La Cátedra de Música de La Universidad de Salamanca Durante Diecisiete Años Del Siglo XV (1464-1481),” 61.

<sup>156</sup> García Fraile, 60.

<sup>157</sup> For *música especulativa*, see Guillermo de Podio, *Ars Musicorum*, ed. Jaime de Vila (Valencia: Pedro Hagenbach and Leonardo Hutz, 1495), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000176998>; Pedro Ciruelo, *Cursus Quattuor Mathematicarum Artium Liberalium* (Zaragoza: Arnao Guillén de Brocar, 1516), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000079001>.

<sup>158</sup> García Fraile, “La vida musical en la Universidad de Salamanca durante el siglo XVI,” 12.

<sup>159</sup> García Fraile, “La Cátedra de Música de La Universidad de Salamanca Durante Diecisiete Años Del Siglo XV (1464-1481),” 60.

Moreover, the tripartite division mentioned in 1529 resembles music pedagogy taught at Iberian cathedrals.<sup>160</sup> As such, the divisions delineated in 1529 likely apply for 1490-1520. Indeed, both García-Fraile and Knighton take the division as applicable to the earlier period.<sup>161</sup> However, given that the terms dedicated to *canto llano* and *canto de órgano* covered the professor's requirement to teach eight months per year, the term dedicated to *contrapunto* was often given to a substitute.<sup>162</sup>

Only two treatises can currently be definitively tied to classroom education at the University. One of these is Boethius' *De musica*, the standard music theory text for the medieval period. Ramos de Pareja, in his *Musica practica*, mentions Boethius twice in relation to the University of Salamanca.<sup>163</sup> The other, Gaffurius' *Practica musica*,<sup>164</sup> includes a table of acceptable intervals for improvised counterpoint.<sup>165</sup> Though lacking a direct connection to university education in Salamanca, Giuseppe Fiorentino also provides a convincing case that the works of Guilelmus Monachus were well known on the Peninsula and may have influenced Urrede, Puerto, and Durán.<sup>166</sup>

*Portus musice*, in particular, displays a relationship with the University schedule. The work has a printing date of 31 August 1504. As such, it would have been available just ahead of classes beginning in October. Internal evidence suggests the work was printed in haste, an

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<sup>160</sup> Bartolomé Martínez, "Enseñanza de La Música En Las Catedrales," 619; Knighton, "Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500," 13.

<sup>161</sup> Knighton also acknowledges the similarity between cathedral and university music curricula. Knighton, "Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500," 13.

<sup>162</sup> García Fraile, "La Cátedra de Música de La Universidad de Salamanca Durante Diecisiete Años Del Siglo XV (1464-1481)," 61.

<sup>163</sup> Ramos mentions Boethius first in a passage regarding his theoretical dispute with Pedro Martínez de Osma, the second in the context of a mass Ramos composed for the Cathedral. See García Fraile, "La vida musical en la Universidad de Salamanca durante el siglo XVI," 12.

<sup>164</sup> See Knighton, "Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500."

<sup>165</sup> See Chapter 3, section 3.i., "Counterpoint and Polyphony."

<sup>166</sup> Fiorentino, "La Música de 'Hombres y Mujeres Que No Saben de Música': Polifonía de Tradición Oral En El Renacimiento Español," 25–39.

opinion shared by Juan José Rey Marcos.<sup>167</sup> On folio a5r, the “Sec” in “*Seculorum*” is printed half a line lower than the rest of the text of the fourth instance of “*Seculorum amen*” (3<sup>rd</sup> stave from the top).<sup>168</sup> The woodblock at the bottom of 35r, while not the only one, becomes nigh unreadable toward the end of the line; and the vihuela section on the final page not only feels tacked on as an afterthought, but is, in fact, also incorrect. Given the rather convenient printing date, the possible hasty assembling of the print, and the frequent echoes to the Colegio de San Bartolomé, *Portus musice* appears to have been printed between the two academic years, just in time for the beginning of the next year in October. This timing would partly explain the use of the term “*nuevos*,” given the new crop of students attending the music courses at Salamanca.

Beyond this general outline of music education at the University, scholarly opinions diverge on the point of emphasis. Table 2.3. provides a summary of some of the opinions offered on the nature of classes at the University:

Table 2.3.: Sample of current opinion concerning the curriculum at the University of Salamanca

Author	Year	Publication	Opinion
Juan José Rey Marcos	1978	<i>Portus musice de Diego de Puerto: introducción, comentario y traducción</i>	“University courses were, in any event, fundamentally theoretical...” <sup>169</sup>
Dámaso García Fraile	1991	<i>La cátedra de música de la Universidad de Salamanca durante diecisiete años del siglo XV</i>	Account books prior to 1529 mention separate times for theoretical and practical courses <sup>170</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Rey Marcos and Romero de Lecea, *Portus musice de Diego de Puerto*, 17.

<sup>168</sup> Diego de Puerto, *Portus Musice* (Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1504), fol. av(r), Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/2165(2), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000176808>.

<sup>169</sup> Rey Marcos goes on to claim that composition occurred in palace and cathedral chapels: “Las enseñanzas universitarias eran, de todos modos, fundamentalmente teóricas, por lo que no es extraño que los estudiantes anduviesen necesitados de los consejos de un músico práctico para completar su formación. De hecho, el aprendizaje de la técnica compositiva se hacía más en las capillas catedrales o palaciegas que en el recinto universitario.” Rey Marcos and Romero de Lecea, *Portus musice de Diego de Puerto*.

<sup>170</sup> García Fraile, “La Cátedra de Música de La Universidad de Salamanca Durante Diecisiete Años Del Siglo XV (1464-1481),” 60.

Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita	2012	<i>Artes de canto y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo ibérico renacentista</i>	Notes theoretical and practical elements of the courses <sup>171</sup>
Santiago Galán Gómez	2014	<i>La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: La Sumula de canto de órgano como modelo</i>	Music at the University of Salamanca, dating back to the times of Alfonso X, was intended to produce practical musicians for the singing of plainchant <sup>172</sup>

The format of the treatises would suggest a high investment in practical musical education: in essence, the training of professional singers rather than intellectual theorists. The titles and content of the treatises reflect the divisions in place at Salamanca, with only one, the *Sumula de canto de órgano*, devoted to any subject outside the jurisdiction of *música práctica*: Durán uses the term “*especulativa*.” None of the treatises come close to the style and content Pedro Ciruelo’s 1516 *Cursus quattuor mathematicarum atrium liberalium* or Podio’s *Ars musicorum*, lengthy tomes conducted entirely in Latin and focused solely on musical abstracts. The founding treatise of the Salmantine tradition, Ramos’ *Musica Practica*, is dedicated to instrumental practice, performance, and pedagogical concerns, and Gaffurius’ *Musica Practicae* remains the only treatise, other than Boethius, which we know was employed at the University during this period. In short, the treatise authors, whether representing the emphasis of the curriculum of the University or not, appear to have placed great emphasis on training professional singers, a goal corresponding to the large numbers of students destined for ecclesiastic positions in secular and religious government.

<sup>171</sup> Mazuela-Anguita, “Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista,” 288.

<sup>172</sup> Galán Gómez, “La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la Sumula de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Duran como modelo,” 116.

### c. Language Reforms

Several language works appeared in the 1480s emanating from the Porrás-Cantalapiedra and Porrás Presses. Most of these works were by Antonio de Nebrija, described as “the most important grammarian and lexicographer of the Spanish Middle Ages.”<sup>173</sup> Prior to 1481, Nebrija received the chair for Grammar at the University of Salamanca in 1476,<sup>174</sup> remaining at the post until 1487. The Porrás Press was an early printer of many of Nebrija’s works.

Table 2.4.: Grammars published by the Porrás-Cantalapiedra Press

Date	Title	Author
16 January 1481	<i>Introductiones latinae</i>	Antonio de Nebrija <sup>175</sup>
13 October 1482	<i>Introductiones latinae</i>	Antonio de Nebrija <sup>176</sup>
5 July 1483	<i>Introductiones latinae</i>	Antonio de Nebrija <sup>177</sup>
Ca. 1485	<i>Compendium grammaticae</i>	Juan de Pastrana <sup>178</sup>
3 January 1485	<i>Materies grammaticae</i>	Ferdinandus Nepos <sup>179</sup>
Ca. 1486	<i>Introductiones latinae</i>	Antonio de Nebrija <sup>180</sup>
1487-1490	<i>Sententarium variationes</i>	Stephanus Fliscus <sup>181</sup>

The Porrás association with Nebrija would continue through the 1480s and 90s, even after he left the city in 1487. On 18 August 1492, the *Gramática castellana* left the Porrás Press; that same year saw the publication of Nebrija’s *Dictionarium hispano-latinum*. The hyper-focus on the works of Nebrija, as well as Pastrana, Nepos, and Fliscus, coincides with a series of attempted

<sup>173</sup> José Perona, “Antonio de Nebrija (1442 or 1444 - 3 July 1522),” in *Castilian Writers, 1400-1500*, Dictionary of Literary Biography 286 (Detroit, MI: Gale, 2004), 145.

<sup>174</sup> Nebrija was present at the University three years before, in 1473, as a lector. Perona, 146.

<sup>175</sup> Antonio de Nebrija, *Introductiones Latinae [Texto Impreso]* (Salamanca: Diego Sánchez de Cantalapiedra and Alonso de Porrás, 1481), Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/2652, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnsearch/detalle/bdh0000174116>.

<sup>176</sup> ISTC ia00902700.

<sup>177</sup> ISTC ia00903000.

<sup>178</sup> ISTC ip00147800.

<sup>179</sup> ISTC in00011500.

<sup>180</sup> ISTC ia00907000.

<sup>181</sup> Julián Martín Abad, *Catálogo Bibliográfico de la Colección de Incunables de la Biblioteca Nacional de España*, vol. I (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2010), 353.

Latin reforms conducted at the University. Indeed, José Perona also acknowledges the poor level of Latin among the nobility, an issue Antonio de Nebrija was particularly sensitive to, given the “increasing political and social engagement of Spaniards in Italy, where Latin had become a revolutionary tool of the middle class.”<sup>182</sup> One of the Porras’ early mainstays was the publication of grammars and dictionaries, related to a contemporary concern for language reform.

Indeed, evidence suggests not only that Latin was to be reformed along humanist lines, but that the University struggled to enforce its use. A recent study by Katherine Elliot van Liere suggests Latin was in a poor state at the University of Salamanca.<sup>183</sup> Van Liere describes the repeated attempts to coax the student body and faculty into the practice of Latin.<sup>184</sup> In 1527, the situation remained unresolved, with Alfonso III de Fonseca, then-archbishop of Toledo, complaining to university officials that Latin was nearly non-existent.<sup>185</sup> Van Liere notes the significant resistance put up by the student body and the *claustró* of the University, concluding that “By the 1560s the most ambitious plans to reform the grammar curriculum were virtually abandoned.”<sup>186</sup> The strain between the would-be reformers and the significant pushback from student body and faculty created an atmosphere of linguistic tension, finding expression in Latin primers issued by Porras.

Use of Latin also impacted potential markets for music treatises. As noted by Mazuela-Anguita, language proved a barrier to accessing musical books, with Latin *artes de canto* effectively cutting access to the artisan class and the general public.<sup>187</sup> In the Porras music

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<sup>182</sup> Perona, “Antonio de Nebrija (1442 or 1444 - 3 July 1522),” 148.

<sup>183</sup> Katherine Elliot van Liere, “After Nebrija: Academic Reformers and the Teaching of Latin in Sixteenth-Century Salamanca,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 34, no. 4 (2003): 1065–1105.

<sup>184</sup> van Liere, 1076.

<sup>185</sup> See Chapter 2, section 3.c., “Patrons,” for the concern for Latin declamation and singing. van Liere, 1078.

<sup>186</sup> van Liere, 1069.

<sup>187</sup> Mazuela-Anguita, “Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista,” 164.

corpus, the only prints to use Latin exclusively are all liturgical works destined for markets with discrete geographic borders. Likewise, inclusion of Latin content suggests a proportionate exclusion of potential market groups. Language use provides an indicator of a music treatise's potential reach.

Likewise, inclusion of high amounts of Latin in the Salmantine treatises also indicates sympathy with associated Latin reforms. Works specifically meant to appeal to more scholarly audiences contain higher amounts of Latin, capturing the attention of scholars and intellectuals. Most notably, though the Porras Press certainly published Latin titles, often for the University, the music treatises all employ significant amounts of Castilian. By way of example, the first printing of *Lux bella*, done in Seville in 1492, included an introductory paragraph conducted in Latin.<sup>188</sup> It also retains a Latin title, despite its Castilian body. Both the title and proemium contrast sharply with Durán's Salamanca publications: the *Comento*, the *Sumula*, and the second edition of *Lux bella* employ Castilian titles and proemia.<sup>189</sup> The use of Castilian, especially for an established theorist such as Durán, displays concern with capturing an essentially non-Latinate market, perhaps encompassing students.

The only treatise in the corpus to dedicate most of its text to Latin, *Portus musicæ* provides a glimpse into turn-of-the-century language politics in the city. Puerto's position as chapel cantor for the Colegio San Bartolomé may have influenced his use of language as Latin fluency was required upon admission to the chaplaincy.<sup>190</sup> However, even this work still required a translation in Castilian: the text, unusually, employs a Latin body with a Castilian gloss, much of which is merely a translation, rather than commentary, of the Latin. Moreover, the final three

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<sup>188</sup> Marcos Durán, *Lux Bella*, fol. a2(r).

<sup>189</sup> See Table 3.8., "Proemia."

<sup>190</sup> "...suficientes grámaticos..." Passage also reproduced in section 1.3., "Musical Education at the University of Salamanca." García Fraile, "La vida musical en la Universidad de Salamanca durante el siglo XVI," 26.

pages of the treatise are done entirely in Castilian, suggesting a need to cater to a non-Latinate audience.<sup>191</sup> From the first section in practicing *contrapunto*, Puerto moves completely into Spanish and discards the Latin. This drop lowers the barrier to entry for the average reader, suggesting the desire to capture a wider audience. Likely, the polyphonic section constitutes the centerpiece of the treatise by providing native, Castilian polyphony in Castilian.

Seen in another light, Puerto's assemblage of multiple topics, including *canto llano*,<sup>192</sup> *canto de órgano*,<sup>193</sup> *contrapunto*,<sup>194</sup> the "*otra arte manual muy brevissima*" on calculating feast days,<sup>195</sup> and the inclusion of the vihuela,<sup>196</sup> suggests that the bilingual format of the book may have been intended also as a kind of applied grammar text. Indeed, *Portus musice* appears to share its format with the 1495 *Introductiones latinae* by Nebrija: the surviving fragments digitized by the Biblioteca Nacional de España display a similar gloss-text relationship to *Portus musice*.<sup>197</sup> The original manuscript of the *Introductiones latinae* employs a similar format.<sup>198</sup> Moreover, *Portus musice* shares its bilingual rendering of the text with the *Sententiarum variationes*, dated between 1487 and 1490.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> The Castilian section includes the portions on polyphony, measuring time, and a short paragraph identifying vihuela strings. See section 3., "Intent."

<sup>192</sup> Puerto, *Portus Musice*, fol. aii(r)-avi(v).

<sup>193</sup> Puerto, fol. avi(v)-b(r).

<sup>194</sup> Puerto, fol. b(r)-biii(v).

<sup>195</sup> Puerto, fol. biii(v)-biv(r).

<sup>196</sup> Puerto, fol. biv(v).

<sup>197</sup> Antonio de Nebrija, *Introductiones Latinae* (Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1495), Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/2710/7, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000181038>.

<sup>198</sup> Antonio de Nebrija, "Introductiones Latinae [Manuscrito]" (1486), Biblioteca Nacional de España, VITR/17/1, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000049004>.

<sup>199</sup> Stephanus Fliscus, *Sententiarum variationes, sive Synonyma* (Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1487), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000176271>.

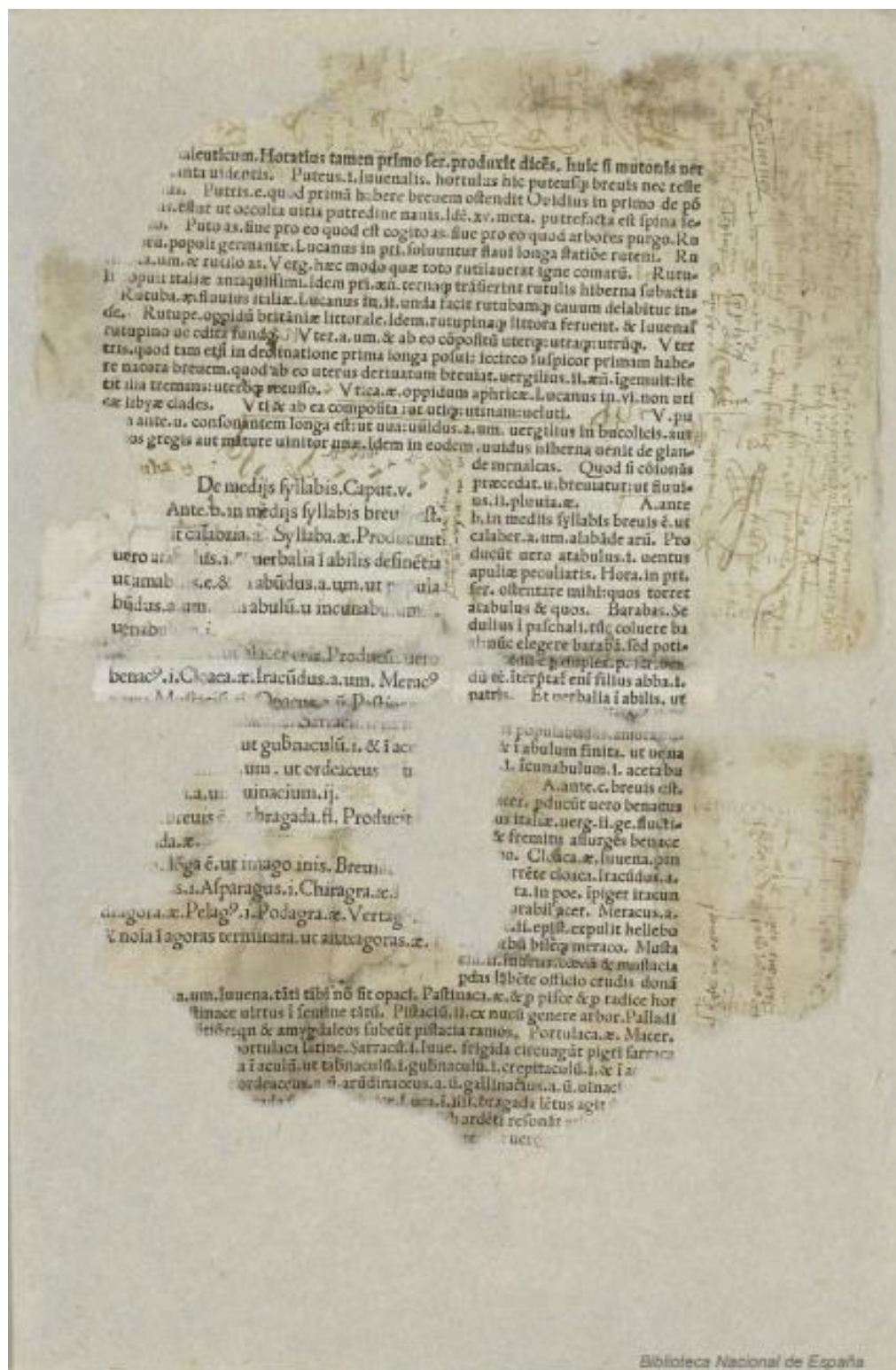


Image 2.4.: Antonio de Nebrija, *Introductiones Latinae*. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1495. IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>200</sup>

<sup>200</sup> Nebrija, *Introductiones Latinae*.

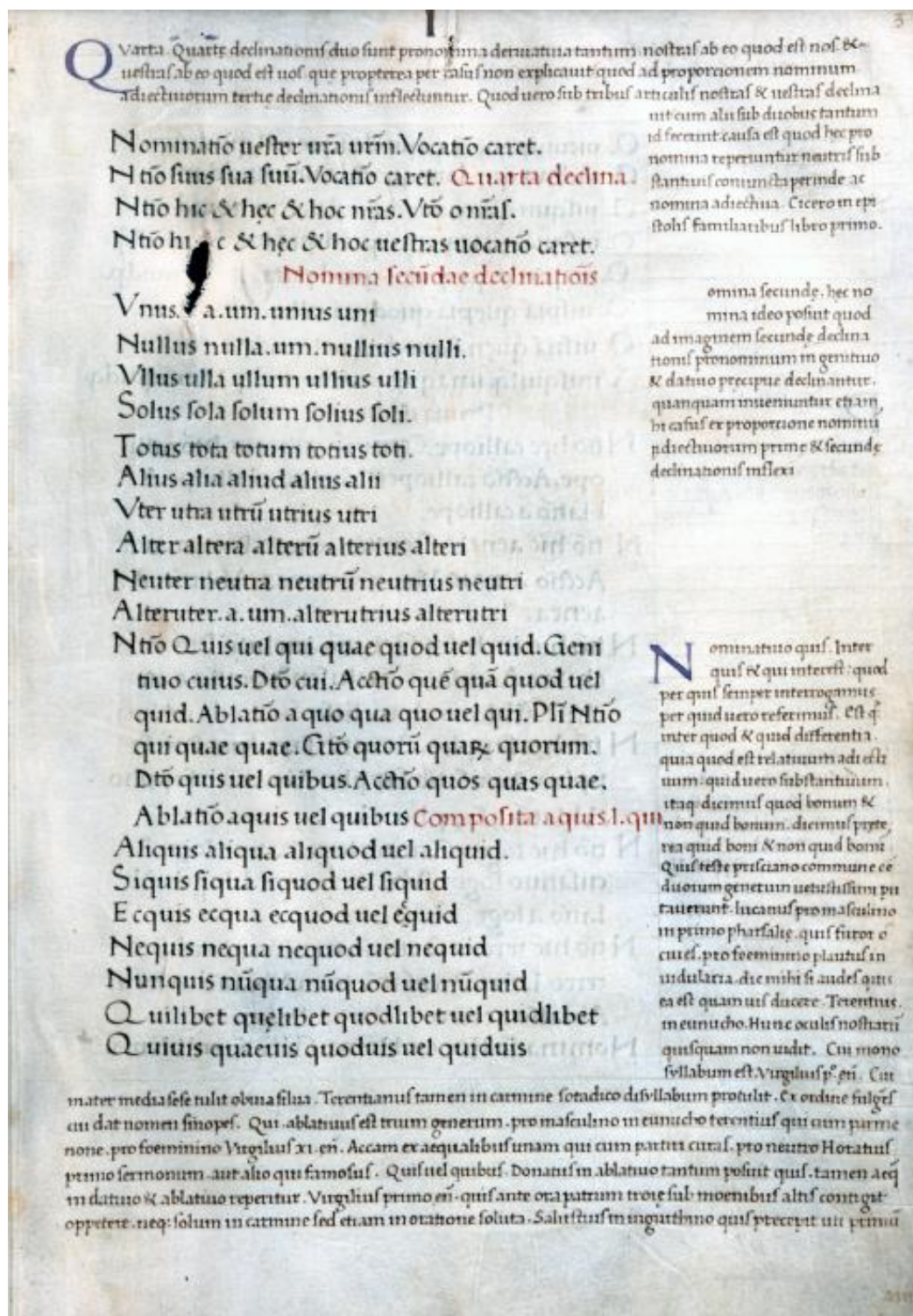


Image 2.5.: Antonio de Nebrija, *Introductiones Latinae* [manuscript]. Workshop of Juan de Carrión, 1486?

IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>201</sup> Nebrija, "Introductiones Latinae [Manuscrito]," fol. 3r.

**P**ltra que fueſe nota y clara a todos aſſ vulgares como latinos, a corde tomar a clarar algu- nos principios neceſſarios para los nuouos, y otro ſi otras duddas que en la latinidad ſe contienen,

**C**Las letras ſon, xx. y diuiden ſe en tres partes vt ſupra. y deſtas naſcen, xx. ſignos, los quales ſon diuididos en dos partes vt ſupra, y deſtos naſcen ſiete deduciones o ppriedades començâtes en

**P**incipiũ in muſica eſt vox. q̄ per lſam cognoſcif denotantẽ ſuũ ſonum: reperitũr ſcõm antiquos viginti littere in cantu plano: per modernos maxi me per guidũ in tertia ſua parte reperitũr vigin ti vne lſe que ſunt, g. a. b. c. d. e. f. g. a. b. c. d. e. f. g. a.

b. c. d. e. f. que in tres partes diuiſe ſunt: in grandes videlicet acu- tas y ſuperacutas. Grandes ſunt octo, g. a. b. c. d. e. f. g. acute ſũt ſeptem, a. b. c. d. e. f. g. Supacute ſunt ſex, a. b. c. d. e. f. oriũtur ex iſtis, xxj. ſigna, ſ. gut. are. bmi. cfaut. dſolre. elami. ffaut. gſolreut. alamire. bſabmi. cſolfa. dſaſolre. elami. ffaut. gſolreut. alamire. bſabmi. cſolfa. dſaſolre. elami. ffaut. Oriũtur ex iſtis: ſcõm anti. quos ſeptem deduciones, y alie due ſcõm dictũ guidum quas cauſa reductionis cantus reperit: q̄ ſunt, gut pma. cfaut. ij. ffaut. iij. gſolreut. iiii. cſolfa. v. ffaut. vi. gſolreut. vii. cſolfa. viij. Re. tro ſoles cum prima cõiuncta, ix. tres incipientes in. g. cantant per b. Alie tres incipientes in. c. cantatur per naturã, reliq̄ tres incipientes in. f. cantant per b. **C**Ex vnaquaq̄ iſtarũ ducũt ori- ginẽ ſex voces, vs. vt. re. mi. fa. ſol. la. quarũ tres prime aſcendũt alie tres deſcendunt.

**C**De ſignis loquendo: primũ vidcam? quid ſit ſignũ: y eſt loc? Determinat? qui docet nos id. ppt: r qd̄ ad agnitionẽ vocũ veniãmus quas vnum qd̄q̄ in ſe continet. **C**Gut are: y bmi habet ſingulas voces que ducũt originẽ a b prime deductiõis. **C**ſunt dſolre y elami habet binas voces. prime quoz cantatur per b prime deductiõis. ſecũde vero per naturã. ij. deductiõis. **C**ffaut habet duas voces: prima cantat per naturã. ij. deductiõis. ij. p b. iij. deductiõis. **C**gſolreut alamire habet ternas voces pme quoz cantant per naturã. ij. deductiõis. ſecũde per b. iij. dedu- ctionis: tertie per b quarte deductiõis. **C**In bſabmi ſũt due vo- ces prima cantat per b. iij. deductiõis: ſecũda per b quarte de- ductiõis. **C**ſolfa dſaſolre habent ternas voces. prime quo- rum cantatur per b tertie. ſecũde per b quarte. tertie per natu- rã quinte. **C**elami habet duas voces prima cantat per b q̄rte ij. per naturã quinte. **C**ffaut habet duas voces. prima cantatur per naturã quinte. ij. per b ſexte. **C**gſolreut alamire habent ter- nas voces. prime quoz cantatur p naturã quinte. ij. per b ſexte tertie. per b ſeptime. cetera alia ſicut dictam eſt.

**C**De mutatiõibus.

**C**Mutatio eſt cõiunctio duarũ vocũ equaliũ diuerſarum pro- prietatum in vno ſigno exiſtentium tam aſcendendo quã deſcẽ- dendo. In ſignis ſingularibus y in ſequalibus nulla ſit mutatio **C**In cfaut ſunt due mutatiões faut utfa. y accipiẽdo primas. ij.

vt: por las quales ſon regt- dos. y cantantẽ por tres p- priedades .ſ. por: natura y bemol vt ſupra: y de cada vna naſcen ſeis voces.

**C**El guido pone otras dos deduciones a cauſa dila re- dució delo qual latamente veras baxo y ſe cõtine ãla figura que arriba eſta. y q̄ ſe an las letras, xx. el franchi- no gaſoro de laude in pmo capite lo tiene con otros mu- chos quel refiere.

**C**Signo es vn lugar ſeñala- do que nos demueſtra todo lo que en ſi cõtine. y õmuc- ſtra nos quel ut de gãmaut ſe canta por: b dela pmera deducion con arc y lmi.

**C**En cfaut ay dos voces. la primera ſe canta por: b dila primera. y la. ij. por: natura dela. ij. con elami y dſolre.

**C**En ffaut ay dos voces. la primera ſe canta por: natura dela. ij. la. ij. por: b mol dila. iij.

**C**En gſolreut ſon tres. **C**La p- mera ſe canta por: natura dila. ij. la. ij. por: b dela. iij. **C**La iij. por: b dela. iij. y aſi miſ- mo alamire: **C**En bſabmi. la pmera por: b dela. iij. la. ij. por: b dela. iiii. **C**En cſolfa ut. **C**La pmera por: b mol dela iij. la. ij. por: b dela. iiii. la. iij. por: natura dila. v. aſi miſmo en dſaſolre rẽ.

**C**Deducion o ppriedad, ſe- gun el marchero paduano ppriedad es derinacion del muchas voces de vno y de miſmo principio. **C**El timor di

a ij

Image 2.6.: Diego de Puerto, *Portus musicae*, fol. a2r. Salamanca: Juan de Porrás, 1504. IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>202</sup>

<sup>202</sup> Puerto, *Portus Musicae*, fol. a2r.

While searching for the exact origins of Puerto's formatting choice remains beyond the bounds of this study, it remains clear that, while music treatises tended to employ a gloss only for citation of other theorist's, language texts employed both bilingualism and body-gloss format. Puerto's treatise reflects this habit, indicating sympathy with the reformists.

Contrary to Puerto's Latin stance, musical education at Salamanca appears biased toward use of Castilian. Certainly, singing Latin verse likely formed part of the monodic portion of music education at the University, as shown by Tess Knighton through the inserted leaves in Gaffurius' *Practica musicae*.<sup>203</sup> However, the emphasis on *música práctica* correlates with use of the vernacular, as evidenced by Puerto's switch to Castilian to offer rules on three and four-voice polyphony.<sup>204</sup> Urrede's tables also display notes in Castilian, rather than Latin.<sup>205</sup>

The use of Castilian in treatises connects to musical culture in the city. Salamanca cultivated a strong secular polyphonic tradition, headed by Juan del Encina. Indeed, for the period under study, the Chairs for Music were not composers of sacred Latin polyphony, but of vernacular secular song. Composers who either occupied or competed for the chair include Juan de Urrede (candidate on 28 December 1479), Alonso de Córdoba (chair from 1480-1481), Diego de Fermoselle (chair from 1503-1521), Juan del Encina (candidacy lost to Lucas Fernández), and Lucas Fernández (chair from 1522-1542).<sup>206</sup> All these composers have songs in the *Cancionero de Palacio*.<sup>207</sup> Indeed, the only composition mentioned in any of the treatises is "De vos y de mi quexoso," cited by Domingo Marcos Durán in his *Sumula de canto de organo*.<sup>208</sup> Despite his

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<sup>203</sup> Knighton, "Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500," 30.

<sup>204</sup> Puerto, *Portus Musice*, fol. bii(v).

<sup>205</sup> Knighton, "Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500," 21, 34.

<sup>206</sup> Knighton, 14.

<sup>207</sup> Knighton, 16.

<sup>208</sup> Domingo Marcos Durán, *Sumula de Canto de Organo* (Salamanca: Juan Gysser, 1502), fol. aiiii(r), Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/2165(1), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000176807>.

admonition against the secular use of polyphony, Durán's citation demonstrates the close associations between treatises and vernacular polyphony. Puerto's sudden switch to Castilian may also reflect this association: indeed, Knighton has drawn a line between Puerto's polyphonic exemplum and the *Cancionero*. Furthermore, Puerto begins his Castilian gloss with an acknowledgment that non-Latin readers will need the translation.<sup>209</sup> Castilian appears to be the language of Salmantine *música práctica*.

### 3. The Church

The movements in liturgical reform and language reform intersected in Salamanca, creating demand for liturgical books within the city and outside its walls. Vicente Bécares Botas, in his work examining the archives of the Salamanca *cabildo*, finds that printing for neighboring dioceses was indeed common: "...as in the case of Salamanca, with those of Ávila, Ciudad Rodrigo, León, Zamora, Braga, and Ourense."<sup>210</sup> Porras appears to have leveraged a regional market for music. Missals were designed for and distributed throughout a given diocese. The missals in the Porras corpus cover Salamanca,<sup>211</sup> Santiago de Compostela, Ourense, Plasencia, Braga, and León. The *Manuale Segobiense* was also printed for the diocese of Segovia. The variety of dioceses accessible to Porras' business attests to the role of Salamanca as an urban node for northwestern Iberia. Likewise, authors, professors, and printers appear to arrive from a variety of places.

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<sup>209</sup> "Para que fuese nota y clara a todos asi vulgares como latinos, acorde tornar a clarar algunos principios necesarios para los nuevos, y otro si otras dudas que en la latinidad se contienen." Puerto, *Portus Musice*, fol. aii(r).

<sup>210</sup> "...como en el caso de Salamanca, con las de Ávila, Ciudad Rodrigo, León, Zamora, Braga u Orense." Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)," 84.

<sup>211</sup> Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*.

### a. Owners

Liturgical prints were printed for the cathedrals of the corresponding diocese. The only parish church in the study is St. Mary in Laredo, where Diego de Puerto held his benefice. Nonetheless, missals would have been distributed across the diocese, meaning Porrás' liturgical books were known across northwestern Iberia, and were distributed to every parish church there. Moreover, music treatises also appear tied to ecclesiastical institutions. Only two of the prints contain an ex libris, one of which remains untraceable. Both are connected to treatises by Domingo Marcos Durán. The first, a copy of the *Comento sobre lux bella* kept in the Huntington Library, belonged to a “[fray?] Juan de santo tomas...”<sup>212</sup> While we can only guess at the Santo Tomas mentioned, the book clearly belongs to a monk or other ecclesiastical official. The second is a copy of the *Lux bella* of 1509, owned by the monks of Santiago de Palmela, south of Lisbon.<sup>213</sup> As both are owners of plainchant treatises and both are members of the clergy, their ownership suggests two important points: 1) that the clergy constituted a market for plainchant treatises, and 2) the Porrás/Gysser had significant reach into Portugal. While that reach may be accounted for by Portuguese students at the University of Salamanca, the ex libris for *Lux bella* clearly shows that the work belonged to the church or monastery itself, rather than to the individual.

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<sup>212</sup> Domingo Marcos Durán, *Comento Sobre Lux Bella* (Salamanca: Juan Gysser, 1498), Huntington Library, 86907.

<sup>213</sup> Domingo Marcos Durán, *Lux Bella: De Canto Llano Aprobada Corregida & Emendada* (Salamanca: Juan Gysser, 1509), Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, RES. 378 P.

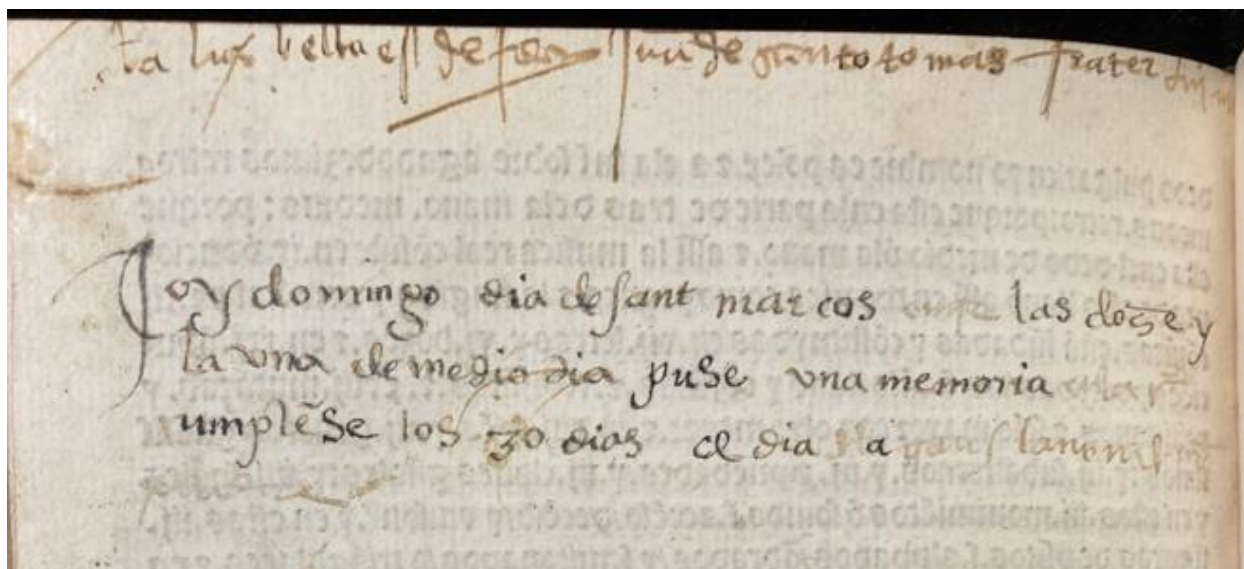


Image 2.7.: Domingo Marcos Durán, *Comento sobre lux bella*, fol. e6v [ex libris]. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1498.

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY.<sup>214</sup>

<sup>214</sup> Marcos Durán, *Comento Sobre Lux Bella*, 1498, fol. e6v.

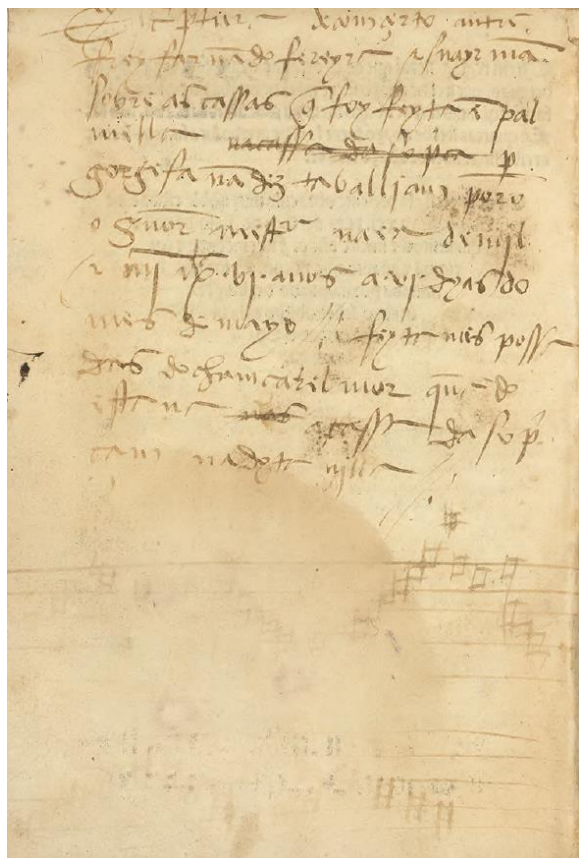


Image 2.8.: Domingo Marcos Durán, *Lux bella*, fol. b8v [ex libris]. Salamanca: Juan Gysser, 1509.

IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.

### b. Galician Reforms

Both phenomena, namely, the employment of Porrás for liturgical printing in Iberia's northwestern quadrant and the use of music treatises by the clergy, occur during a period of change in the Iberian Church. After the Reconquest of Granada, the Catholic Monarchs embarked on a period of ecclesiastical reform which a) promoted Iberian bishops over Italian ones,<sup>215</sup> b) raised cathedrals and monasteries across Iberia,<sup>216</sup> and c) resulted in the printing of liturgical books for every archdiocese in Iberia.<sup>217</sup> As seen in Table 2.1., liturgical prints with

<sup>215</sup> John Edwards, *Ferdinand and Isabella, Profiles in Power* (London: Routledge, 2013), 87.

<sup>216</sup> Castillo-Ferreira, "Chant, Liturgy, and Reform," 284.

<sup>217</sup> Castillo-Ferreira, 296.

music notation indeed make up the most significant percentage of music prints in early Iberian music printing. This production corresponds with Wilkinson's findings: during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, liturgical printing accounted for nearly half of all printing output.<sup>218</sup> Liturgical music output constitutes a significant subgenre of this overwhelming majority.

Pope Innocent sanctioned the reformation of Galicia on 11 December 1487.<sup>219</sup> The reformation followed the selection of Antonio Gentile Pallavicini as bishop of Ourense on 27 January 1486.<sup>220</sup> The appointment of an Italian to the diocese was the direct result of an exchange between the Pope and the Catholic Monarchs: they would accept Gentili as bishop of Ourense provided that the Pope accept the appointments of Diego de Fonseca, Gentili's predecessor in the Ourense seat, to the diocese of Coria and Juan de Ortega for Foncea Abbey, just outside Burgos. Gentili never occupied the seat.<sup>221</sup> For this reason, he likely had no role in the commission or execution of the *Missale Auriense*.

On the other hand, Alfonso II de Fonseca, archbishop of Santiago from 1486 until 1507, took particular pains to reform the liturgy in the region, ordering the printing of missals and breviaries for Santiago.<sup>222</sup> Castillo-Ferreira also notes the importance of Santiago in the role of royal image-making: St. James was portrayed as "securing victory over the Muslims." Moreover, the Monarchs linked Granada and Galicia, the extremities of the Peninsula, through "...a privilege that earned an annual part of the harvest in the recently regained lands in the Kingdom of Granada."<sup>223</sup> On a local scale, Alonso Carrillo de Albornoz, patron of the *Missale Abulense*, was one of the bishops sent by Pope Innocent VIIIth, on suggestion of the Catholic Monarchs, to

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<sup>218</sup> Wilkinson, "Exploring the Print World of Early Modern Iberia," 503.

<sup>219</sup> The Galician reform was one of the first. See Edwards, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, 93.

<sup>220</sup> Ríos Rodríguez, "La Preparación de La Reforma En Galicia. Alonso Carrillo de Albornoz y La Diócesis Auriense En 1489.," 330.

<sup>221</sup> Ríos Rodríguez, 330.

<sup>222</sup> Rial Costas, *Producción y Comercio Del Libro En Santiago (1501-1553)*, 35.

<sup>223</sup> Castillo-Ferreira, "Chant, Liturgy, and Reform," 309.

establish reform in Galicia in 1489.<sup>224</sup> The reform targeted, amongst other nobility, the Counts of Monterrey and their control of the parishes.<sup>225</sup>

Evidence exists to tie the *Missale Auriense* to these reforms. The patron of the *Missale Auriense* was not its bishop, but rather the lord of Monterrey, Francisco de Zúñiga. Francisco de Zúñiga maintained contact with both Isabel and Juana I.<sup>226</sup> Zúñiga's known activities and his family being a target of the Church reforms, suggests that there is more to the printing of the *Missale Auriense* than as a mere supply node for Ourense, as advanced by Benito Rial Costas.<sup>227</sup> Moreover, Porras had been previously commissioned to print a missal for Salamanca in 1487.<sup>228</sup> Whether he completed the commission is immaterial (no copy survives), as it demonstrates that the Cathedral Chapter believed he had the ability to do so.<sup>229</sup> Likewise, there must have been some significant reason to print the missal in Monterrey, perhaps to do with Francisco de Zúñiga's desire to save face in light of the damaging reforms.

The concern of the liturgical reforms, partly as a political motivation, informs our understanding of the print text underlay in common with printers in the south of the Peninsula. By tying neumes exactly with the syllable, Passera and Porras' joint missals encouraged correct pronunciation and emphasis.<sup>230</sup> Hence, the reformation in Galicia, and the attempt to bring the region into the effort to unify the Peninsula, corresponds with the musical attempt to consolidate pronunciation and to disseminate that version through the whole diocese.

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<sup>224</sup> Ríos Rodríguez, "La Preparación de La Reforma En Galicia. Alonso Carrillo de Albornoz y La Diócesis Auriense En 1489.," 325.

<sup>225</sup> Ríos Rodríguez, 331.

<sup>226</sup> Francisco de Zúñiga's role in the affairs of Monterrey remains insecure. See Appendix B, "Catalogue," no. 2, "Missale Auriense."

<sup>227</sup> The Cathedral Chapter notified Porras of the commission on 8 August 1487. Rial Costas, *Producción y Comercio Del Libro En Santiago (1501-1553)*, 34.

<sup>228</sup> Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)," 90.

<sup>229</sup> See Appendix A, "Biographies."

<sup>230</sup> See Chapter 3, section 1., "Shared Features," for more on text underlay.

### c. Patrons

Of all the works in the Porrás corpus, the *Introduccion muy breve* lacks a named patron in any sense. Of the patrons present in the study, two noblemen appear: Francisco de Zúñiga and Bernardino Manrique de Lara.<sup>231</sup> Alfonso de Castilla appears as the editor of the *Sumula de canto de organo* and *Portus musice*. Bishops constitute one of the largest groups in the Salmantine music corpus. Bishops commissioned all of the missals, with the exception of the *Missale Auriense* and the *Missale Bracharense*.<sup>232</sup> These include patrons Alfonso II de Fonseca (*Missale Compostellanum*) and Alfonso Carrillo de Albornoz (*Missale Abulense*). The coat of arms of Gutierre Álvarez de Toledo appears in the *Missale Placentine*, but he died before its completion.<sup>233</sup> Pascual Rebenga de Ampudia also appears in Diego de Puerto's *Portus musice*.<sup>234</sup> Juan de Castilla y Enríquez, bishop of Salamanca, appears in the 1509 *Lux bella* as examiner of the work in line with the 1502 Toledo Decrees, which commanded that all books had to pass royal inspection.<sup>235</sup> Above all, Alfonso II de Fonseca, in association with the *Missale Compostellanum*, *Comento sobre lux bella*,<sup>236</sup> and the *Sumula de canto de organo*, remains the most prominent of the music patrons.

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<sup>231</sup> Manrique de Lara was evidently an accomplished musician and instrumentalist, and was versed in music theory. He earned the epithet *el Músico*. Roger Boase, *Secrets of Pinar's Game*, vol. 1, Medieval and Renaissance Authors and Texts 17 (Brill, 2017), 375–76.

<sup>232</sup> The archbishop of Braga at the time was Diogo de Sousa. Nevertheless, the title page only shows the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Portugal, while the colophon lacks a dedicatee. “Braga (Archdiocese) [Catholic-Hierarchy],” accessed March 24, 2022, <https://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dbrgp.html>.

<sup>233</sup> See Appendix B, “Catalogue,” and Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 180.

<sup>234</sup> Puerto, *Portus Musice*, fol. ai(v).

<sup>235</sup> Juan de la Reguera Valdelomar, *Novísima recopilación de las leyes en España*, vol. IV, bk. VIII, section XV, law I.

<sup>236</sup> Considerable confusion exists in scholarship over the patrons for the *Comento* and the *Sumula*, due to the proximity in names of Alfonso II de Fonseca and Alfonso III de Fonseca; Durán only mentions “Alfonso de Fonseca” in the *Comento*. However improbable, this thesis assumes the patronage of Alfonso II de Fonseca for this print, despite the fact that Durán did not refer to him as archbishop, but merely as “*muy virtuoso cavallero magnifico señor don alfonso de fonseca*.” See Appendix A, “Biographies.”

The patrons of the corpus prints also correspond to the language reforms and pedagogical concerns. Antonio de Nebrija maintained several connections with the Fonseca family. He acted as tutor to Alfonso III de Fonseca as well as Juan de Zúñiga, Alfonso II de Fonseca's nephew.<sup>237</sup> Nebrija's concern for Latin reform may be intertwined with liturgical reform, and likewise musical reform. The synod of Ávila, presided over by Alfonso II, decreed that the clergy needed "to sing plainchant competently."<sup>238</sup> Pascual Rebenga de Ampudia, bishop of Burgos, displays similar ties to treatises. Diego de Puerto mentions the bishop in thanks in *Portus musice*: his involvement in the treatise, or lack thereof, remains unknown. However, Castillo Ferreira connects the patronage of Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui with Rebenga's reform program, tying the text to the liturgical books printed for that diocese.<sup>239</sup> As such, bishops required musical pedagogy to promulgate the very reforms they sought to establish. In the university sphere, chaplains, like Diego de Puerto, for the University of Salamanca were required to speak Latin as well as have "good voices" during this period.<sup>240</sup> In short, the musical and linguistic reforms were, at times, intertwined. The appearance of bishop-patrons in the music prints, and the relationship between Nebrija and the Fonseca family, displays a close relationship between concerns for Latin reform, exemplified by Nebrija, and musical reform, headed by the Fonseca. The ties between Nebrija and Porrás suggest further links between the Fonseca family and the Porrás Press, with the Press forming a significant mode of their reform programs, inextricably linked.

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<sup>237</sup> Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)," 103.

<sup>238</sup> Castillo-Ferreira, "Chant, Liturgy, and Reform," 289.

<sup>239</sup> Castillo-Ferreira, 296.

<sup>240</sup> "(1.) Item, queremos y mandamos que los trece capellanes que para el servicio de la capilla se hubieran de elegir sean presbíteros, honestos y de buenas costumbres, y suficientes gramáticos...y tengan buenas voces y habilidad en el canto, y en leer bien, y que a esto del canto..." García Fraile, "La vida musical en la Universidad de Salamanca durante el siglo XVI," 26.

Indeed, the Fonseca family may have been directly involved in the Porrás Press. Diego de Fonseca, bishop of Ourense prior to Antonio Gentile Pallavicini, maintained houses in Salamanca. In the *actas capitulares* for 22 December 1483, the chapter gave Catalina González de Valdivieso, wife of Diego Sánchez de Cantalapiedra,<sup>241</sup> 7,050 *maravedís* for repairs in the houses held by the “bishop of Ourense,” that is, Diego de Fonseca.<sup>242</sup> These minutes, combined with the publication of the *Statuta Albicellensia* for Alfonso I de Fonseca in 1481 and the continuing patronage activities of Alfonso II and III de Fonseca, suggest the active involvement of the Fonseca dynasty in the Porrás Press itself from its early years in Salamanca. The missals for Ourense and Compostela reflect not only the attempt to rectify the situation in Galicia, but also the Fonseca’s continuing association with Porrás. In short, Salmantine music print production is the direct result of the Fonseca’s patronage activities and their concern with the musical promulgation of the liturgy, particularly in Galicia.

#### 4. Synthesis of Chapter 2

In this chapter, evidence indicates that a) Porrás represents the first consistent music printer on the Peninsula, b) music prints mention, or are connected to, a wide range of cities and civic areas, suggesting the formation of an urban-civic music network and catchment area of northwestern Iberia for Porrás and Salamanca, c) linguistic and ecclesiastic reform exerted major influence in Salamanca during the study period, d) Nebrija and the Fonseca family headed the reforms, and e) the reforms directly affected the music prints.

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<sup>241</sup> See Appendix A, “Biographies,” “Juan de Porrás.”

<sup>242</sup> “Este dicho día e cabildo fiçieron graçia a la de Diego Sánchez de Cantalapiedra de siete mil e quinientos maravedís corrientes que fiço de mejoría en las casas que tiene cabe el señor obispo de Ourense, segund dieron fee Martín Añes, Arçediano de Medina e el canónigo Juan Martínez que lo avian ydo a ver.” Catalina González de Valdivieso also appears as the plaintiff in the series of suits against Juan de Porrás. See Appendix A, “Biographies,” “Juan de Porrás.” Bécares Botas, “Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510),” 88–89; Varona García, “Identificación de La Primera Imprenta Anónima Salmantina.”

The privileged position of Salamanca as a second-tier city, as host to the long-standing University and Cathedral, and as host to the peripatetic courts of the Catholic Monarchs made music printing feasible. However, the development of the music corpus depended entirely upon the urban-civic network around Salamanca which provided Porrás with clientele and necessary markets outside of the city walls. As it stands, easy access to distribution centers and local and regional markets, a healthy supply of funding and support from native Castilian bishops, and lack of regional competition allowed the trade in music print to flourish in the city.

### Chapter 3: The Corpus – Features and Formats

The urban-civic nature of the Porras' catchment area suggests new understandings of the physical attributes of the Salmantine corpus. Few musicological studies have looked in-depth at the format and layout of these works, with Juan José Rey Marcos and Carlos Romero de Lecea's work on *Portus musice* forming a notable exception.<sup>243</sup> As most studies have, historically, focused on the content of the treatises and missals and their place in wider geographic areas,<sup>244</sup> common regional elements, as well as significant choices made by printer and patron have gone unnoticed by scholarship. As such, this chapter seeks an understanding of the format of the music prints emanating from Salamanca, and to understand the presence of specific design elements. The chapter posits that music prints were the result of their cultural surroundings, particularly in the dual reform movements of Church and University established in the previous chapter; moreover, treatises appear aimed at a variety of markets.

Building on the geographic distribution identified in Chapter 2, this chapter first examines the formats of the liturgical books, followed by music treatises. Format analysis includes title pages, opening apparatus, type, woodblocks, and colophons. Section 3 collects the data outlined in sections 1 and 2 and provides plausible markets for the music treatises. Section 4 examines the motivations behind printing music during the period.

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<sup>243</sup> Rey Marcos and Romero de Lecea, *Portus musice de Diego de Puerto*.

<sup>244</sup> For example, see Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music In The Age Of Columbus*.

## 1. Shared Features

Several features unite the music books produced by Porrás: they were all printed material as opposed to manuscripts, though they nearly all exhibit annotations.<sup>245</sup> Furthermore, all of the music prints employ gothic typeface. The text, whether in Latin or Castilian, features frequent scribal abbreviations. Porrás printed all of his books with title pages, save for Escobar's *Introducción*. Sometimes extant copies in the corpus lack title pages but have corroborating copies which attest to their existence.<sup>246</sup> Otherwise, for all other complete, surviving prints (excepting the fragmentary *Missale Compostellanum* and *Missale [Legionense]*) retain title pages in at least one surviving copy.

Nearly all of the prints have music notation, the only exception being Cristóbal de Escobar's *Introducción muy breve de canto llano*.<sup>247</sup> The music types are all in square notation; likewise, the woodblocks also employ square notation for chant. Most conspicuously, all the music, either in woodblock or type, employs five-line staves and barlines. These barlines correspond in nearly every instance to the attached text. Each bar denotes a single word, often delineating even short words, such as "est," though 2 or 3-letter words are sometimes barred with another word, typically the one which precedes it. Moreover, text and music align exactly in Porrás' work, allowing for consistent rendering of vowels to assigned ligatures. An example of this practice appears in Image 3.1. from the *Missale Placentine*:

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<sup>245</sup> *Missale Secundum Ritum Bracharensis Ecclesie*. (Salamanca, Spain: Juan de Porrás, 1512), Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, RES. 151 V.

<sup>246</sup> *Missale Secundum Ritum Bracharensis Ecclesie*.; *Missale Secundum Ritum Bracharensis Ecclesie*. (Salamanca, Spain: Juan de Porrás, 1512), The British Library, C.62.d.8.

<sup>247</sup> Cristóbal de Escobar, *Esta Es Una Introduccion Muy Breve de Canto Llano*, *Viejos Libros de Musica* 12 (Madrid, Spain: Joyas Bibliograficas, 1978).



Image 3.1.: *Missale Placentine*, fol. 10r. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1509-1510.

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA CASTILLA-LA MANCHA, COLECCIÓN BORBÓN-LORENZANA.<sup>248</sup>

By the 1490s, the technique appears shared by other printers and reflects general Iberian practice: the 1494 *Processionarium ordinis praedicatorum*, printed by Meinardo Ungut and Estanislao Polono in Seville, as well as the *Missale Caesaraugustanum* printed by Pablo Hurus in Zaragoza, use barring to the word.<sup>249</sup> Robert Stevenson describes the practice as “a printing custom observed in nearly all later Andalusian musical imprints...” in his discussion of the *Processionarium ordinis praedicatorum* of 1494.<sup>250</sup> In accordance with Stevenson, Porras’ rendering of music to text appears fastidious, requiring special care on the part of the printer to ensure accuracy and alignment.<sup>251</sup> In the Salmantine case, the joint concerns of liturgy and

<sup>248</sup> Iglesia Católica, *Missale secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Placentine* (Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1509), fol. 10r, Colección Borbón-Lorenzana, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha (Toledo, España). Signatura: 1-6890.

<sup>249</sup> *Processionarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* (Seville: Meinardo Ungut and Estanislao Polono, 1494), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000038835>; *Missale Caesaraugustanum* (Zaragoza: Pablo Hurus, 1498), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000181046>.

<sup>250</sup> Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music In The Age Of Columbus*, 104–5.

<sup>251</sup> If, indeed, the barlines are indicative of Sevillian music practice, this element further suggests Porras’ involvement with and inspiration from Sevillian printers, further evidenced by his financing of the *Siete Partidas* and the *De consolatione philosophiae* in that city. In addition, Alfonso de Porras may have formed the partnership with Diego Sánchez de Cantalapiedra in Seville, suggesting Porras maintained old connections to the city, particularly with Ungut and Polono, in the first decade of his career. Alfonso Díaz de Montalvo, *Siete Partidas*

language reform influenced musical format. The separation of the syllables, the corresponding groupings of the neumes, and the barlines delineating each word result in a pronunciation aid. The controversy surrounding Latin at the University of Salamanca, the use of Castilian as a primary mode of instruction in music courses, the desire on the part of Church authorities to correctly pronounce chant and unify musical practice, may have resulted in the specificity in text-setting we see in both liturgical prints and music treatises.

Beyond these general similarities, liturgical books and music treatises appear to maintain separate formats. These aspects are more thoroughly investigated in sections 2, “Physical Characteristics of the Liturgical Books,” and 3, “Physical Characteristics of the Treatises.” In a general sense, however, liturgical books tend to be lengthy, employing music type and, in the case of the missals, double columns; the treatises share an emphasis on brevity and music woodblocks. Neither of these aspects show any sense of serious deviation from other Iberian music works from the early printing period.

From this point, publication genres emerge for liturgical books and treatises.

## **2. Physical Characteristics of the Liturgical Books**

### **a. Background and General Features**

Between 1494 and 1511, at least eight liturgical books with music left the Porras Press. Six of these prints are missals with extant exemplars, including the *Missale Auriense* (Ourense), *Missale Compostellanum* (Santiago de Compostela), *Missale [Legionensis]*<sup>252</sup> (León), *Missale*

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(Seville: Meinardo Ungut and Estanislao Polono, 1491), Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/1119, INC/1120, INC/766, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000005119>.; Anicio Manlio Torcuato Severino Boecio, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, trans. Jacobo de Benavente (Seville: Meinardo Ungut and Estanislao Polono, 1499), Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/2091, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000177183>; Bécares Botas, “Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510),” 88.

<sup>252</sup> The extant leaves of this missal were found in the Cathedral of León; it is presumed they belonged to a missal for its use.

*Placentine*, *Missale Abulense*, and *Missale Bracharense* (Braga). Of these, two exist in fragments, comprising the *Missale Compostellanum* and the *Missale Legionense*. Porras likely used missals as a production mainstay, as Margaret Restrepo notes of German printers from the same period: “These volumes represented a lucrative portion of the business, as the printing process was slow and laborious, which, to the benefit of the printer, kept the presses busy for long periods of time.”<sup>253</sup> Porras mirrors the practice of these German printers, with missals accounting for most of his musical output. Likewise, two of the liturgical books belong to different genres: the *Manuale Sacramentorum secundum consuetudinem Ecclesiae Segobiense* (Segovia), and a *Manuale chori*, printed for Franciscans. Both represent publications of significant length and were likely printed for the same reason as missals: their production was financed and kept the press running, making these otherwise niche publications a reasonable financial choice. From a music printing perspective, missals appear to have formed the bulk of Porras financial investment and remuneration. The short titles for these publications are included in the table below:

Table 3.1.: Table of Liturgical Books Produced by the Porras Press

<b>Title</b>	<b>Printer</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Recipient</b>
<i>Missale Auriense</i>	Gonzalo Rodríguez de la Passera, Juan de Porras	3 February 1494	Diocese of Ourense (Suffragan of Braga) <sup>254</sup>
<i>Missale Compostellanum</i>	Gonzalo Rodríguez de la Passera, Juan de Porras	After 13 January 1496	Archdiocese of Santiago
<i>Manuale Segobiense</i>	Juan de Porras	4 February 1499	Diocese of Segovia
<i>Missale [Legionensis?]</i>	Juan de Porras	1501-1520	Diocese of León?
<i>Manuale Chori</i>	Juan de Porras	19 November 1506	Franciscans

<sup>253</sup> Restrepo, “German-Speaking Printers and the Development of Music Printing in Spain (1485-1505),” 52.

<sup>254</sup> Castillo-Ferreira, “Chant, Liturgy, and Reform,” 289.

<i>Missale Placentine</i>	Juan de Porras	1509-1510	Diocese of Plasencia
<i>Missale Abulense</i>	Juan de Porras	1 February 1510	Diocese of Ávila
<i>Missale Bracharense</i>	Juan de Porras	26 August 1511	Diocese of Braga

Two other missals require mentioning. Juan de Porras was involved as a financier in both. The first, the *Missale Segobiense*, printed 24 July 1500 by Johannes Emericus Spira in Venice,<sup>255</sup> was partly the result of a coalition between Diego de Castro, Johannis Arias de Villar, Fernando de Jaén, Guido de Lavezaris,<sup>256</sup> and Lázaro de Gazanis. The second, a *Missale Salmantine*, exists only in the *Actas capitulares*; no copy survives. According to the *actas*, the chapter notified Porras and Juan de Montejo<sup>257</sup> of the agreement to print the missals 8 August 1487.<sup>258</sup>

The missals are all printed in folio, save for the *Missale Bracharense*, printed in quarto. Porras printed his missals with 35-36 lines of written text per page. All of the missals use two columns of text and music. The *Missale Auriense*, *Missale Legionensis*, *Missale Placentine*, and *Missale Abulense*, all printed in folio, use nine five-line staves to a column. On the other hand, the *Missale Compostellanum* and *Missale Bracharense* use six five-line staves to a column. The quarto size of the *Missale Bracharense* accounts for the limited number of staves. Both the *Missale Auriense* and the *Missale Compostellanum* employ 32 lines of text per page, a feature unique to these missals in Iberia and allows identification of the *Missale Compostellanum* with Gonzalo Rodríguez de la Passera.<sup>259</sup> For missals, the type was always arranged into two columns per page. The liturgical books are also united, unsurprisingly, by their consistent and dominant use of Latin, as well as significant rubrication. Music staves are printed in red, while notes

<sup>255</sup> See Appendix B, “Catalogue,” no. 6., “*Missale Segobiensis*.”

<sup>256</sup> See Appendix A, “Biographies.”

<sup>257</sup> See Appendix A, “Biographies,” “Juan de Porras.”

<sup>258</sup> Bécares Botas, “Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510),” 90.

<sup>259</sup> Odriozola, “El Misal Compostelano Impreso En 1495: La Singular Historia de Un Incunable Del Que Sólo Quedan Hojas Sueltas,” 507.

appear in black. These common elements, namely Latin use, rubrication, length, music type, and consistent layout, suggest a publishing standard for printing liturgical books with music, particularly for missals. It further sets them apart from the music treatises, which appear to have their own standards.<sup>260</sup>

### **b. Title Pages**

The copy of the *Missale Auriense* available at the Biblioteca Nacional de España lacks its title page.<sup>261</sup> The *Missale Compostellanum* and *Missale Legionensis* are likewise fragmentary. Images of the titles are included below:<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> See section 3.1., “Background and General Features.”

<sup>261</sup> *Missale Auriense*.

<sup>262</sup> Francisco Vindel reproduced the title page of the *Manuale Segobiense* in *El arte tipográfico*. Francisco Vindel, *El Arte Tipográfico En España Durante El Siglo XV: Salamanca, Zamora, Coria y Reino de Galicia*, vol. II (Madrid: Góngora, 1946), 169.

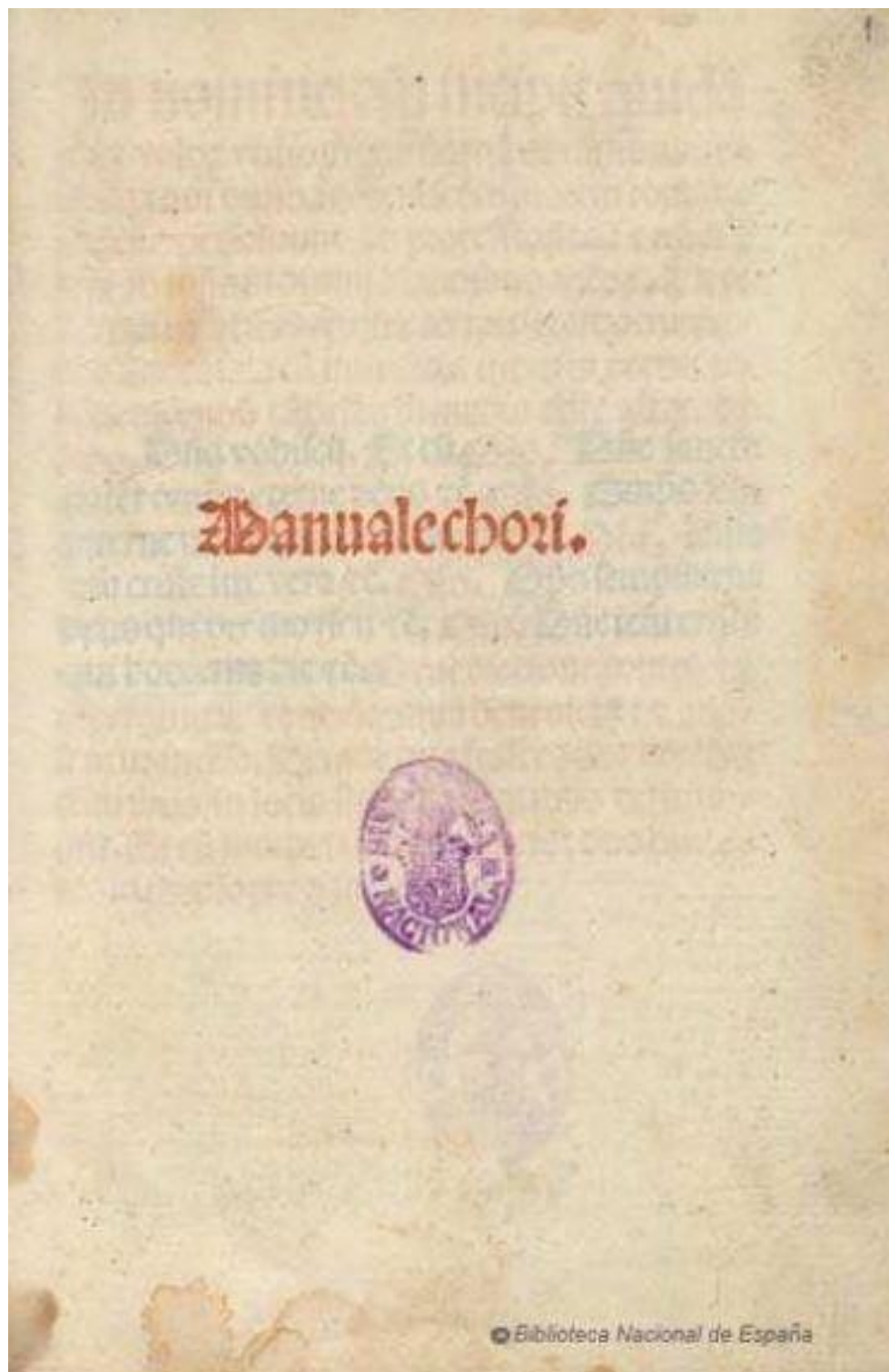


Image 3.2.: *Manuale chori*, fol. a1r [title page]. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1506.  
 IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>263</sup>

<sup>263</sup> *Manuale Chori* (Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1506), fol. a1r, Biblioteca Nacional de España, M/870, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000015709>.



*Image 3.3.: Missale Abulense, fol. 1r [title page]. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1510. IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.*<sup>264</sup>

<sup>264</sup> *Missale Secundum Consuetudinem Cathedralis Ecclesiae Civitatis Abulensis, fol. 1r.*

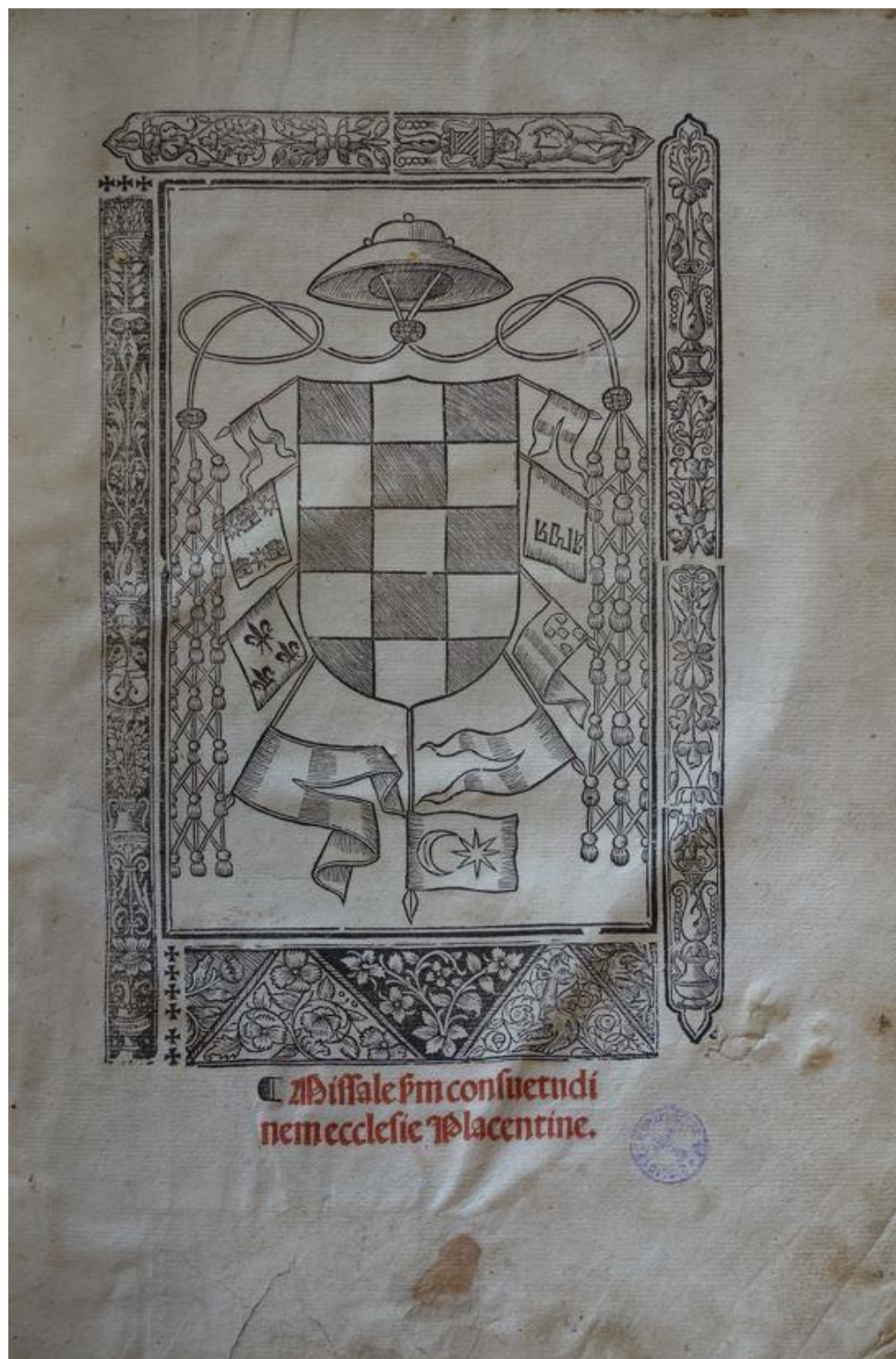


Image 3.4.: Title page, *Missale Placentine*, fol. ✕1r. Juan de Porras, 1509-1510.  
 IMAGE COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA CASTILLA-LA MANCHA, COLECCIÓN BORBÓN-  
 LORENZANA.<sup>265</sup>

<sup>265</sup> Iglesia Católica, *Missale secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Placentine* (Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1509), fol. ✕1r, Colección Borbón-Lorenzana, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha (Toledo, España). Signatura: 1-6890.

Extant title pages for missals include the sponsoring bishop's shield. In contrast, *Manuale chori* (Image 3.2.) does not display any xylographic element, leaving solely the plain title in type. The earlier *Manuale Segobiense* likewise only includes a xylographic title with no illustration. In contrast, the *Missale Bracharense* uses the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Portugal, rather than of the bishop, Diogo de Souza.<sup>266</sup> It remains the only liturgical print in the collection to use a royal coat of arms, rather than the arms of a sponsoring bishop.

The *Missale Abulense* and the *Missale Placentine*, which do carry episcopal coats of arms, also constitute expressions of power and prestige. The surviving copy of the *Missale Abulense* appears to be a luxury or presentation copy, featuring large amounts of illuminated ornamental material. Castillo-Ferreira, writing on the religious reforms of late 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>-century Iberia, notes that "...printed volumes reflected the prestige of the cathedral chapter, and the prelate's coat of arms featured prominently..."<sup>267</sup> and "...the higher-ranking clergy...inspired by the monarchs' reforming zeal, determined to print the liturgical books of their dioceses."<sup>268</sup> While the books do not reflect the direct involvement of the Catholic Monarchs, they do reflect the bishops who identified with the mission of the Court and the movement to solidify the Iberian liturgy in image and in sound. Stevenson likewise supports the *Missale Abulense* as a desire to unify the liturgy in the diocese of Ávila, in accordance with the socio-political climate of the post-Conquest period.<sup>269</sup> Moreover, the bishop, Alfonso Carrillo de Albornoz, was directly involved in the early stages of the reform in Galicia, and appears here to extend that mission to a

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<sup>266</sup> The copy reproduced by the British Library retains its title page. See Appendix B, no. 14., "Missale Bracharense." *Missale Secundum Ritum Bracharensis Ecclesie.*, 1512, fol. 1r.

<sup>267</sup> Castillo-Ferreira, "Chant, Liturgy, and Reform," 294.

<sup>268</sup> Castillo-Ferreira, 285.

<sup>269</sup> Stevenson describes the bishop as "...newly translated to the see of Ávila..." This claim comes from a dating of 1500 used by Francisco Vindel. This thesis follows F.J. Norton's dating of 1510 for a variety of reasons. See Appendix B, "Catalogue." Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music In The Age Of Columbus*, 110–11.

different diocese.<sup>270</sup> Stevenson also mentions a letter written by the bishop complaining of the delay in the execution of the missal. The illumination of the exemplar in the Biblioteca Nacional remains incomplete, demonstrating the high stakes of printing missals, as well as the amount of time required to print them. While potentially profitable for Porrás, in this case the illumination and intense printing required of the books appears to have overwhelmed the press: the music type (S2) of the *Missale Abulense* likewise employs six F-clef shapes.<sup>271</sup> The title pages of these missals reflect the intensely-felt reforms and solidifies Porrás' connection to this new demand for printed liturgical music.

### c. Music Type

Formatting for manuals and missals displays typological similarities. Type 153 G was used for six of the prints: the *Missale Auriense*, the *Missale Compostellanum*, the *Missale Legionensis*, *Manuale chori*, the *Missale Abulense*, and the *Missale Bracharense*. For *Manuale chori* and the *Missale Bracharense*, this type remains restricted to titles and other elements outside the main text. While most use 153 G as the main font, *Manuale chori* and the *Missale Bracharense* employ 153 G in the title, with 93 G bis as the main font size. Both *Manuale chori* and the *Missale Bracharense* are printed in quarto, while the rest of the missals are printed in folio. This conformity of the type to the size suggests an association of size and genre for 153 G, namely to folio missals.

The use of music type distinguishes the liturgical books from the music treatises.<sup>272</sup> The *Missale Auriense* and the *Missale Compostellanum* appear to employ bespoke or otherwise

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<sup>270</sup> See Chapter 2, section 3.b., “Galician Reforms,” and section 3.c., “Patrons.”

<sup>271</sup> See Appendix B, “Catalogue,” no. 13, “Missale Abulense.” *Missale Abulense* (Salamanca: Juan de Porrás, 1510), Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/1044, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnsearch/detalle/bdh0000098498>.

<sup>272</sup> See Appendix C, “Music Type.”

acquired types. The other liturgical prints use two types, a small music font first used in the *Manuale Segobiense*, and a larger, more regularly employed font first used in *Manuale Chori*.

While a full typographical analysis remains beyond the reach of this thesis,<sup>273</sup> the table includes a preliminary identification of types according to guidelines set out in Appendix C, “Music Type.”

Table 3.2.: Music Type in Salmantine Liturgical Works

<b>Title</b>	<b>Printer</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Type</b>
<i>Missale Auriense</i>	Gonzalo Rodríguez de la Passera, Juan de Porras	3 February 1494	Monterrey 1 (M1)
<i>Missale Compostellanum</i>	Gonzalo Rodríguez de la Passera, Juan de Porras	After 13 January 1496	Monterrey 2 (M2)
<i>Manuale Segobiense</i>	Juan de Porras	4 February 1499	Salamanca 1 (S1)
<i>Manuale Chori</i>	Juan de Porras	19 November 1506	Salamanca 2 (S2)
<i>Missale Placentine</i>	[Juan de Porras]	1509-1510	S2
<i>Missale Abulense</i>	Juan de Porras	1 February 1510	S1, limited use S2 (with new F clefs)
<i>Missale Brachareense</i>	Juan de Porras	8 March 1512	S2 (with one ligature)

Of particular interest is the use of S1 in the *Missale Abulense*. S1 appears first in the *Manuale Segobiense*. 11 years later, it reappears on a few isolated folios of the *Missale Abulense*. The use of both types in the missal implies that Porras owned both sets, but abandoned S1 after the purchase of S2, a larger and neater set. The timing of the *Manuale Segobiense* and Juan’s

<sup>273</sup> Several liturgical prints were unavailable for this thesis (see Appendix C, “Music Type”). The labels applied here instead point to obvious concordances or discrepancies in the type. I suspect, for example, that the *Missale Compostellanum* and the *Manuale Segobiensis* (types M2 and S1) may share material, particularly in regards to the C clef. However, several features in the *Missale Compostellanum* do not appear in the *Manuale Segobiensis*, including shape and direction of the ligatures, as well as the absence of lozenges in the *Manuale*. As such, the two types receive different labels (see Appendix C, “Music Type”).

Gysser's arrival, suggests Gysser brought music type with him from Germany and/or cast the types upon arrival in Salamanca. This admittedly slim evidence prompts a variety of potential timelines: 1) Juan de Porras remains responsible for the casting of both S1 and S2 and/or retains both at his disposal, 2) Hans Gysser arrives in Salamanca either in 1498 or January 1499,<sup>274</sup> either casting in Salamanca or having brought the type with him from Seligenstadt, respectively, 3) Hans Gysser arrives in Salamanca in 1500 and provides S2 for Porras, perhaps for the *Manuale Chori*, 4) S1 and S2 are cast by different molders entirely. Provided the extremely close working relationship between Porras and Gysser, timeline 4) appears the least likely, while 2) contradicts the work of previous scholars. 1) raises the conundrum of why a printer would maintain two music types, one of which remains out of use for 11 years.

Until a more thorough typographic investigation occurs, I propose 3) as the most likely solution. This timeline accords with the quality and use of the type: S1's use remains extremely sporadic, while upon S2's appearance in the historical record, it remains in consistent use through the *Missale Bracharense* of 1511. As such, S1 was fashioned in a limited set, either by Porras or another metalsmith. Upon the commissioning of the *Manuale Chori*, Porras purchased S2 from Gysser, either commissioning Gysser to forge the music type or purchasing a previously completed set. This version of events accords with Bécares Botas' assertion of "the 'smelter' Gysser, already in Salamanca with new types (for Juan de Porras) in 1500..."<sup>275</sup> It also explains the reappearance of S1 in 1510: Porras had his own set which he could employ for isolated incidences. Indeed, the *Missale Abulense* shows signs that the amount of music required of type S2 exceeded the physical pieces: the missal displays a total of 6 F-clefs, 5 belonging to S2 and 1

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<sup>274</sup> I.e., contrary to Bécares Botas' claim of a 1500 arrival. Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)," 86.

<sup>275</sup> Bécares Botas, 86.

to S1. Four of the S2 clefs do not appear in the *Missale Placentine* and *Manuale Chori* and appear to be fashioned from two separate pieces of type. Likewise, the use of S1 remains limited to four pages of the *Manuale Segobiense*, suggesting both its limited size and inferior quality to S2, rendering it unusable for the *Manuale chori* of 1506.

#### d. Amount and Format of Music

The prints maintain different amounts of typeset music. The table below contains the amount of music by page. These percentages should therefore be taken as rough guides to amounts of printed music: some pages may only contain one stave, though they are counted as equal. All the liturgical prints contain, however, full pages of music, making pages a reasonable point of comparison. The table also includes the print's size to account for the discrepancy of how much music a print may contain. Nevertheless, values in the percentage column remain rough estimates to give a general idea of the musical content of the books:

Table 3.3.: Amount of Music in the Porras Missals/Liturgical Books

Title	Size	No. of pages with music	No. of folios	Percentage of pages with music
<i>Missale Auriense</i>	2°	14 pages <sup>276</sup>	280 folios <sup>277</sup>	3%
<i>Manuale Segobiense</i>	4°	4 pages <sup>278</sup>	84 folios <sup>279</sup>	2%
<i>Manuale chori</i>	4°	441 pages <sup>280</sup>	240 folios <sup>281</sup>	92%

<sup>276</sup> Both page and folio counts come from the Biblioteca Nacional de España (Biblioteca Digital Hispánica). The BNE exemplar lacks several folios, see Appendix B, "Catalogue," no. 2., "Missale Auriense." *Missale Auriense*.

<sup>277</sup> *Missale Auriense*.

<sup>278</sup> Bartolomé, "Manuale Segobiense," January 25, 2022.

<sup>279</sup> Cristino Valverde del Barrio, *Catálogo de Incunables y Libros Raros de La Santa Iglesia Catedral de Segovia* (Segovia: Imp. de "El Adelantado," 1930), 80–81.

<sup>280</sup> *Manuale Chori*.

<sup>281</sup> *Manuale Chori*.

<i>Missale Placentine</i>	2°	66 pages <sup>282</sup>	308 folios <sup>283</sup>	11%
<i>Missale Abulense</i>	2°	40 pages <sup>284</sup>	260 folios <sup>285</sup>	8%
<i>Missale Bracharense</i>	4°	61 pages <sup>286</sup>	284 folios <sup>287</sup>	11%

As shown in the table, a rift occurs in Salmantine liturgical production in regards to music. The *Missale Auriense* and *Manuale Segobiense*, printed in 1494 and 1498, respectively, contain barely any music. The *Manuale Segobiense* in particular only contains four pages, prompting us to ask why they bothered printing the music at all. *Manuale chori*, printed in 1506, suddenly jumps to 92% in accordance with the genre, and the missals printed afterward make continuous use of music type. *Manuale Chori* likewise coincides with the introduction of type S2, further suggesting that Porrás had continuous access to this type and that the type was made for either *Manuale chori* or a lost print beforehand. The format these works, particularly after the introduction of the larger and clearer S2 typeset, may have also set up the possibility of improvised polyphony, a prominent subject in current scholarship.<sup>288</sup> The most prominent source in the Porrás corpus that might suggest the use of liturgical books as the basis for polyphony comes from Domingo Marcos Durán's *Sumula de canto de órgano*, which Galán Gómez suggests provides an example of the style of high polyphony which may have been sung in

<sup>282</sup> Both exemplars of the *Missale Placentine* are missing folios. The Toledo copy, which I reference here, is the more complete one. Iglesia Católica, *Missale secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Placentine*.

<sup>283</sup> Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 179.

<sup>284</sup> *Missale Secundum Consuetudinem Cathedralis Ecclesie Civitatis Abulensis*.

<sup>285</sup> Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 177.

<sup>286</sup> I reference here the digital copy of the exemplar held by the British Library. The copy in Lisbon is incomplete. *Missale Secundum Ritum Bracharensis Ecclesie.*, 1512.

<sup>287</sup> Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 184.

<sup>288</sup> While many scholars have recently discussed the nature and applications of improvised polyphony in 16<sup>th</sup> century Iberia, the most sustained works on the subject from Giuseppe Fiorentino. Fiorentino, "La Música de 'Hombres y Mujeres Que No Saben de Música': Polifonía de Tradición Oral En El Renacimiento Español"; Fiorentino, "Canto llano, canto de órgano y contrapunto improvisado: el currículo de un músico profesional en la España del Renacimiento."

cathedrals at the time.<sup>289</sup> The increasing prominence of music in the liturgical books, combined with the sophisticated text underlay, would permit polyphony, and remains an intriguing possibility for the *Missale Placentine*, *Missale Abulense*, and *Missale Bracharense*.

#### e. **Manuale chori**

*Manuale chori* was printed for the use of Franciscans, and introduces and heavily uses music type S2, raising questions on the motivations of its possible patrons and audience. As seen in Chapter 2, two wealthy Franciscan institutions existed in Salamanca: the Convento de los Capuchinos and the Convento de la Anunciación (las Úrsulas). Both had strong associations with the Fonseca family: several Fonseca family members are buried in the Convento de los Capuchinos,<sup>290</sup> while Alfonso II de Fonseca spent significant time and effort renovating and decorating the Convento de la Anunciación, founded by his aunt, doña Sancha Maldonado, making the nunnery his final resting place.<sup>291</sup> The latter institution reserved its 50 places for members of the noble families Acevedo, Fonseca, Ulloa, and Maldonado, further cementing the ties between Fonseca and this institution. In general, José María Martínez Frías, in his study on the Convento de la Anunciación, describes Fonseca as a prominent patron and protector of the Franciscan order: likewise, Porras printed several works for Franciscans.<sup>292</sup>

Like all the liturgical prints, the music displays a fastidious care for musical format, with special attention given to the text underlay and proper declamation of the Latin text. The unusual

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<sup>289</sup> See also Chapter 3, section 3.i., “Counterpoint and Polyphony.” Galán Gómez, “La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la Sumula de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Duran como modelo,” 324–25.

<sup>290</sup> Luis Enrique Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares, “Alonso II de Fonseca y Acevedo,” Real Academia de la Historia, n.d., <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/9752/alonso-ii-de-fonseca-y-acevedo>.

<sup>291</sup> José-María Martínez Frías, “La Fundación Del Convento de Santa Úrsula de Salamanca y Su Posible Relación Posterior Con El Foco Hispanoflamenco Toledano,” *Boletín Del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 67 (2001): 157, 159.

<sup>292</sup> Porras printed several works for Franciscans. Martínez Frías, 161; Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 165–94.

aspect of *Manuale Chori*, however, remains its predominance of music over text, whereas all of Porras' other liturgical work contain more text than music. Based on ties between Alfonso II de Fonseca and the Franciscan institutions in Salamanca, as well as Alfonso II de Fonseca's involvement in musical-religious reform, *Manuale chori* may have been printed for one or both of these institutions in Salamanca. Fonseca's involvement remains unresolvable until new evidence comes to light and no mention of him exists in the *Manuale*. Nevertheless, Alfonso II de Fonseca may have been aware of the work. In any event, further research needs to be done to situate this print in the contexts of Salmantine music production.

#### f. Missale Auriense

The nature of the partnership (*sociorum*) formed by Passera and Porras remains murky and the role of each printer remains under scrutiny: Stevenson suggests that the printing of the *Missale Auriense* was done in Salamanca, owing to the quality of the printing and the location of Porras' business.<sup>293</sup> However, F.J. Norton contended in 1966 and 1978 that Passera was the main printer, with Porras acting as editor.<sup>294</sup> Antonio Odriozola shares this view, adding the caveat that Porras may have purchased the text type from Passera and brought it to Salamanca.<sup>295</sup> Indeed, the text type employed in the *Missale Auriense*, 153 G remains Porras' text type for most of his liturgical prints.<sup>296</sup> Cabano Vázquez and Díaz Fernández appear to follow suit.<sup>297</sup> Benito Rial Costas, in his 2007 book on print production in Santiago de Compostela, suggested that Juan de Porras also provided the typographical material.<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music In The Age Of Columbus*, 106.

<sup>294</sup> Cited in Odriozola, "El Misal Compostelano Impreso En 1495: La Singular Historia de Un Incunable Del Que Sólo Quedan Hojas Sueltas," 505.

<sup>295</sup> Odriozola, 505.

<sup>296</sup> Only the *Missale Segobiensis* lacks this type. *Manuale chori* also uses 153 G. See Appendix B, "Catalogue."

<sup>297</sup> Cabano Vázquez and Díaz Fernández, *Missale Auriense: 1494*, 15.

<sup>298</sup> Rial Costas, *Producción y Comercio Del Libro En Santiago (1501-1553)*, 34.

Without a full typographical investigation, the nature of the Porrás-Passera partnership appears unsolvable, however, the music type does reveal a little more about the nature of the production of the missal. Juan de Porrás and/or Rodríguez de la Passera only used the music type for the *Missale Auriense*, M1, once. The type for the later *Missale Compostellanum*, M2, also uses, for this corpus, a new unica music typeset. Porrás appears to procure the music type for Passera. Taking the historical record at face-value, Porrás appears better connected than Passera, and could have procured the type from either Salamanca or Seville, where Porrás had direct financial activities and local printers employed typeset music. In any event, tracing the music type of the *Missale Auriense* may reveal more about the nature of its patronage and publication process.

The *Missale Auriense* lacks many of the elements characteristic of Porrás' later missals. The book contains very little ornamental material, standing in sharp contrast to the other fully extant folio missals of Porrás' later career, the *Missale Placentine* and the *Missale Abulense*. Moreover, only fifteen pages of the *Missale Auriense* contain music. Other elements, however, comply with Porrás' habits: the use of barlines across the whole of the stave to demark the Latin text, for example, remains consistent across Porrás' musical publications, while the *Missale Caesaraugustanum* and the *Missale Toletanum* exhibit short lines within the staves.<sup>299</sup> Moreover, in the missals, the staves are always printed in red with black music type. Again, the *Missale Auriense* complies with this convention, suggesting the hefty influence of Porrás, even if de la Passera was the eventual printer.

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<sup>299</sup> See Chapter 3, section 1., "Shared Features," for more on text underlay.

Legibility also becomes an issue with the *Missale Auriense*. The notation in the *Missale Auriense* causes demonstrable reading difficulties, due to the tiny size of the type.<sup>300</sup> The text of the music type further suffers from flaws in the printing process. On s4(r), the black print run of the bar lines lacks alignment with the sheet, causing the music to modulate, if read literally, a whole staff-line.<sup>301</sup> The lack of care displayed on this page, combined with the infinitesimal music type and paucity of music overall (it is the missal with the least amount of music in the Porrás corpus), suggests that the music was not included for the purpose of musical declamation. On the contrary, the *Missale Auriense* includes music type only insofar as it is a demonstrative volume, with Porrás eager to show that he could produce entire missals, likely driven by financial gain and the promise of an untapped market. The *Missale Auriense*, musically speaking, acts as the precursor to the *Missale Compostellanum*, proving that Porrás could produce a whole missal with typeset music.

### **g. Colophons**

Both remaining copies of the *Missale Placentine* lack colophons.<sup>302</sup> Likewise, both the *Missale Compostellanum* and the *Missale Legionensis* only survive in fragmentary states. This leaves five prints with remaining colophons, transcribed below.

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<sup>300</sup> My consultation of the copy held at the Biblioteca Nacional de España confirmed Norton's assertion that "...the music is too small to be read easily from any distance..." In my own personal assessment, the music was difficult to read even from a sitting position, never mind standing. Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music In The Age Of Columbus*, 106.

<sup>301</sup> A parchment guard sheet reproduced by Cabano Vázquez and Díaz Fernández shows a half-completed page, displaying rubrication and staves. The black text on s4r also appears to run over the red run at an angle, remaining consistent with a red run and a black run. Cabano Vázquez and Díaz Fernández, *Missale Auriense: 1494*, 26.

<sup>302</sup> See Appendix B, "Catalogue," no. 11., "Missale Placentine."

Table 3.4.: Liturgical Book Colophons

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Colophon</b>
<i>Missale Auriense</i>	1494	Hoc opus missarum seu liber missale totius anni tan dominicarum quam sanctorum explicit ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis dei et eius geintricis marie virgis summa cum diligentia correctum et emendatum. Impressum arte et expensis Gundisalvi Roderici dela passera. et Johannis de porres sociorum. Cui finis datur monti Regio domino domino francisco de cuniga dominante in eadem villa et comitatu. anno.M.cccc.xciii. Tercio nonas febroarii.
<i>Manuale Segobiense</i>	1499	Explicit manuale sacramentorum secundum consuetudinem Segobiense ecclesie. Copilatum: correctum et emendatum per me Didacum de Castro beneficiatum in prefata ecclesia Segobiensi. Impressum Salmantice. Anno salutis.M.cccc.xcix. secundo nonas februaryas.
<i>Manuale Chori</i>	1506	Fuit autem impressum hoc opusculum politissimum in nobilissima civitate Salmanticensis in officina venereabilis viri Joannis de Porras / finitum quibus est decima nona die Novembris Anno a nativitate christiana M.d.vi. multa cura ac diligentia semeliterum atque iterum revisum et castigatum per fratres minores de observantia conventus eius deus civitat / qui est in provincia sancti iacobi.
<i>Missale Abulense</i>	1510	Rerum divinarum codex hic mysticus explicitus est Salmantice. Anno salutis christiane.M.D.X. Kl. februaryi: in officina librorum typica Joannis porrii: ductu et auspiciis per que reverendi patris ac nobilissimi domini Alphonsi charillo [in manuscript] de albornoz episcopi abulensis.
<i>Missale Brachareense</i>	1511	Missale hoc secundum ritum et consuetudinem alme Bracharensis ecclesie: fideli studio revisum: solertique cura castigatum emendatum quam: fausto sydere est explicitum. Impressum Salmantice. Anno salutis christiane. Millesimo quingentesimo Duodecimo octavo idus Martii in prelo Johannis de porree.

One of the standard elements of the colophon constitutes a variation on the phrase, “corrected and emended.” Only the *Missale Abulense* lacks the expression. Notably, both the *Missale Auriense* and the *Manuale Segobiense* include the phrase, despite being published before the 1502 censorship edicts. The consistent use of the phrase both before and after 1502 suggests the great care and high stakes of printing liturgical books. The lack of correspondence between the phrase and an editor’s name further distances the expression from the 1502 edicts. Only one editor appears here: Diego de Castro in the *Manuale Segobiense*. Almost as a consequence, this print constitutes the only colophon to lack the name “Juan de Porras.” The presence of Diego de Castro alone suggests he had a significant hand in its printing.

#### **h. Synthesis**

Building on the conclusions of Chapter 2, the investigation into the format of these works reveals a few items of note:

- 1) The shields of the bishops Carrillo de Albornoz, implicated in Galician reforms,<sup>303</sup> and Álvarez de Toledo conform to the image-making associated with ecclesiastical reforms,<sup>304</sup>
- 2) Liturgical books constitute a separate publishing genre with standards, comprising type 153 G, nine five-line staves in two columns, music type S2 after 1499, and a significant colophon comprising the patron, printer, date of printing, and the phrase, “corrected and emended,” unrelated to the Toledo decrees,
- 3) The *Manuale Segobiense* appears to lack several of these features, though *Manuale Chori* aligns with the rest of the corpus. The lack of alignment suggests both the lack of a

<sup>303</sup> See Chapter 2, section 3.b., “Galician Reforms” and section 3.c., “Patrons.”

<sup>304</sup> See Castillo-Ferreira, “Chant, Liturgy, and Reform.”

significant music typeset (S2) as well as the heavy hand of Diego de Castro, as well as the care taken with *Manuale Chori*,

- 4) Porras maintained two music typesets by 1506, the later and more significant of which may be attributable to Juan Gysser,
- 5) Likewise, the type may have been commissioned for the express purpose of printing the *Manuale Chori*, of which the vast majority of its pages contains music, and whose format aligns with missal production. The physical elements, combined with Porras' association with Alfonso II de Fonseca, and the archbishop's connections to the prominent Franciscan institutions in the city, suggests his involvement, oversight, or knowledge of the *Manuale Chori*,<sup>305</sup> and
- 6) The *Missale Auriense*, owing to the small, unica music type and lack of music in general, likely includes music to demonstrate Porras' ability, rather than for musical performance.

None of the works remain outside the influence of royal and ecclesiastical image-making and reform, and the significance of the musical liturgy affected the layout and publishing of liturgical prints. The associations with prominent, reformist personalities bear influence on the production, motivation, and format of the published missals and manuals. These works further provide context for the formatting elements of the music treatises and their audiences, the didactic volumes intended to teach students how to read and interpret the volumes commissioned by Alfonso II de Fonseca and other bishops across the Peninsula.

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<sup>305</sup> See Chapter 2.

### 3. Physical Characteristics of the Treatises

#### a. Background and General Features

Five *artes de canto* emerged from Salmantine presses during a period of, at most, 13 years.<sup>306</sup> These works were all printed in quarto and on relatively few sheets. These include the *Introducción muy breve de canto llano* (1496?), the *Comento sobre Lux bella* (1498), the *Sumula de canto de órgano* (1503?), *Portus musice* (1504), and the second edition of *Lux bella* (1509).<sup>307</sup>

Table 3.5. includes these prints with their dates, authors, and a brief description of their content.<sup>308</sup>

Table 3.5.: List of Music Treatises Printed by Porras

Title	Author	Date	Subject of the Treatise
<i>Introducción de canto llano</i>	Cristóbal de Escobar	1496?	Plainchant
<i>Comento sobre Lux bella</i>	Domingo Marcos Durán	1498	Plainchant, <i>música teórica</i>
<i>Sumula de canto de órgano</i>	Domingo Marcos Durán	1503?	Mensural notation and counterpoint
<i>Portus musice</i>	Diego de Puerto	1504	Plainchant, mensural notation, counterpoint, polyphony, chronology, vihuela
<i>Lux bella</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.	Domingo Marcos Durán	1509	Plainchant

<sup>306</sup> See Chapter 3, section 2., “Physical Characteristics,” for a full description of their size and general format.

<sup>307</sup> See catalogue numbers 3, 4, 8, 9, and 12. Escobar, *Esta Es Una Introduccion Muy Breve de Canto Llano*; Domingo Marcos Durán, *Comento Sobre Lux Bella* (Salamanca: Juan Gysser, 1498), Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/2165(4), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000176809>; Puerto, *Portus Musice*; Marcos Durán, *Sumula de Canto de Organo: Contrapunto y Composicion Vocal y Instrumental: Pratica y Speculativa.*; Marcos Durán, *Lux Bella: De Canto Llano Aprobada Corregida & Emendada*.

<sup>308</sup> The *Introducción* and the *Sumula* both maintain uncertainties in their dating. Opinions for the *Introducción* range from 1490 until 1501, while the *Sumula* ranges from 1502 until 1507. See Appendix B, “Catalogue,” no. 1, “Introducción muy breve de canto llano,” and no. 8, “Sumula de canto de organo.”

Whereas authors of continent-wide printing studies tend to describe Iberian printing as peripheral or surprisingly late, Iberian printing presses quickly took to printing music treatises. The seminal musical text of the age, Boethius' *De institutione musica*, was first printed in 1491 in Venice. Domingo Marcos Durán's *Lux bella* was published a year later in Seville. While contemporaneous *artes* were printed in Seville and Valladolid, neither center printed as many as Salamanca during the same time period. All three cities were major printing centers for the period 1500-1520, Seville being the Peninsula's clear leader at 18% of production, with Salamanca and Valladolid taking 9% and 4% shares respectively.<sup>309</sup> However, Seville under-competes in the niche production of *artes* despite having the greatest production share. Table 3.6. presents the Salmantine treatises with other music treatises:

Table 3.6.: Salmantine Treatises in Context<sup>310</sup>

Date	Author	Title	Printer	City
<b>1490-1501?</b>	<b>Cristóbal de Escobar</b>	<b><i>Introducción de canto llano</i></b>	<b>Juan de Porras?</b>	<b>Salamanca</b>
1492	Domingo Marcos Durán	<i>Lux bella de canto llano</i>	Quatro alemanes companeros	Seville
1495	Guillermo de Podio	<i>Ars musicorum</i>	Peter Hagembach & Leonardus Hutz	Valencia
<b>1498</b>	<b>Domingo Marcos Durán</b>	<b><i>Comento sobre Lux bella</i></b>	<b>Juan de Porras</b>	<b>Salamanca</b>
1503	Bartolomé de Molina	<i>Arte de canto llano lux videntis dicha</i>	Diego de Gumiel	Valladolid
<b>c.1503</b>	<b>Domingo Marcos Durán</b>	<b><i>Sumula de canto de organo</i></b>	<b>Juan Gysser</b>	<b>Salamanca</b>

<sup>309</sup> Wilkinson, "Exploring the Print World of Early Modern Iberia," 498.

<sup>310</sup> Salmantine publications appear in bold. Works extracted from Table 2.1., "Music Printing in Iberia, 1485-1512."

1504	Alonso Españón	<i>Non es cosa nueva</i>	Pedro Brun	Seville
<b>1504</b>	<b>Diego de Puerto</b>	<i>Portus musice</i>	<b>Juan de Porras</b>	<b>Salamanca</b>
1506	Bartolomé de Molina	<i>Arte de canto llano lux videntis dicha</i> [2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.]	Pedro Brun	Seville
c. 1506	Alonso Españón	<i>Non es cosa nueva</i>	Pedro Brun	Seville
1508	Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui	<i>Arte de canto llano et contrapunto et canto de organo</i>	Jorge Coci	Zaragoza
1509	Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui	<i>Arte de canto llano</i>	Fadrique de Basilea	Burgos
<b>1509</b>	<b>Domingo Marcos Durán</b>	<i>Lux bella de canto llano</i> [2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.]	<b>Juan Gysser</b>	<b>Salamanca</b>
1509	Bartolomé de Molina	<i>Arte de canto llano lux videntis dicha</i> [3 <sup>rd</sup> ed.]	Diego de Gumiel	Valladolid

In light of the liturgical books and other works from both Porras' and Gysser's output, the music treatises appear less carefully thought through. Aside from the general density, rough woodblocking, and, with the exception of *Portus musice*, slim apparatus, significant evidence exists to suggest that, in at least some cases, these works were rushed to publication. As noted by Rey Marcos, the examples of the seventh tone on fol. a6r were "omitted due to forgetfulness," and filled in at the end of the musical portion of the treatise on fol. b3r, as if the book were being printed as Puerto was writing it.<sup>311</sup> Likewise, the *Sumula de canto de órgano* omits a whole stave in its woodblock, being supplied in manuscript through the copy held at the Biblioteca Nacional

<sup>311</sup> Rey Marcos and Romero de Lecea, *Portus musice de Diego de Puerto*, 17; Puerto, *Portus Musice*, fols. a6r, b3r.

de Portugal, while simply missing in the copy held at the Biblioteca Nacional de España.<sup>312</sup> The apparent lack of care or rushed printing process of these works may go some way to explaining why neither Porrás nor Gysser signed these works. Nevertheless, Salamanca provided the means of supporting five treatises. Moreover, the treatises *Sumula de canto de organo* and *Portus musice* provide the first examples of polyphonic printing on the Peninsula. These works, while perhaps less important to their printers, remain important documents to understanding musical practice, musical culture, and the printing business.

### **b. Current Scholarship**

Scholars have taken steps in recent decades to track down markets for *artes de canto*. Ascensión Mazuela-Anguila examines this question with the most depth, with works by Tess Knighton, Pilar Ramos López, Santiago Galán Gómez, Giuseppe Fiorentino, and others treating intended markets in the context of their own studies. Where concerned with the five *artes de canto* from the Porrás-Gysser press, as opposed to *artes* in general, these authors fall into two camps: either the treatises were written for the University of Salamanca, or were not. For example, while Tess Knighton and Ascensión Mazuela-Anguila both argue for the classroom use of these works,<sup>313</sup> Pilar Ramos López argues that they were destined solely for the ecclesiastical sphere.<sup>314</sup> The former camp remains substantially larger than the latter.<sup>315</sup>

### **c. Text Type**

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<sup>312</sup> Marcos Durán, *Sumula de Canto de Organo*, fol. c4v; Marcos Durán, fol. c4v.

<sup>313</sup> Knighton, “Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500,” 15; Mazuela-Anguila, “Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista,” 537.

<sup>314</sup> Ramos López, “Spanish Treatises on Musica Practica c. 1480-1525: Reflections from a Cultural Perspective,” 482–83.

<sup>315</sup> See Section 4, “Target Markets,” for a discussion pertaining to the Salmantine prints.

The treatises, namely, the *Introducción muy breve de canto llano*, *Portus musice*, *Comento sobre lux bella*, *Sumula de canto de organo*, and the second edition of *Lux bella*, are all printed on paper and in quarto format. In comparison to the liturgical prints, they all use relatively small typefaces, though with significant variation: 98 G (*Lux bella*), 82 G (*Sumula de canto de órgano*), and 70 G (*Portus Musice*), as opposed to type 153 G used for folio missals.<sup>316</sup> The smaller type corresponds to the limited number of sheets: *Portus musice*, which employs the smallest type, 70 G, only uses 3 sheets. Though the limited number of treatises also remains subject to a wide range of variation, when gauging them against the liturgical works, the music treatises are united in their relative brevity, numbering only 16.2 sheets on average. Their constrained format leads to a distinctively dense appearance, though some are denser than others.

Table 3.7.: Density of the treatises

<b>Title</b>	<b>Type Size</b>	<b>Folio Number</b>	<b>Page Size</b>
<i>Introducción muy breve de canto llano</i>	91/92 G <sup>317</sup>	2 sheets	<i>Size unavailable.</i>
<i>Comento sobre Lux bella</i>	91/92 G <sup>318</sup>	38 sheets	<i>Size unavailable.</i>
<i>Sumula de canto de organo</i>	82 G	24 sheets	162 x 117 mm.
<i>Portus musice</i>	70 G	3 sheets	169 x 121 mm.
<i>Lux bella</i> (2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.)	98 G	14 sheets	161 x 111 mm.

<sup>316</sup> Type-names listed here come from Frederick J. Norton, page xxi: “The types are described in abbreviated form; 112 G is a gothic and 112 R a roman type measuring 112mm. for 20 full lines...” Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, xxi, 165, 194.

<sup>317</sup> Deduced using Vindel, *El Arte Tipográfico En España Durante El Siglo XV: Salamanca, Zamora, Coria y Reino de Galicia*, II:XVII; Cuesta Gutiérrez, *La Imprenta En Salamanca: Avance al Estudio de La Tipografía Salmantina (1480-1944)*, 93; López-Varea, “Typography and Illustration in Fifteenth-Century Salamanca: The Porrás Press,” 174.

<sup>318</sup> Deduced using Cuesta Gutiérrez, *La Imprenta En Salamanca: Avance al Estudio de La Tipografía Salmantina (1480-1944)*, 100; Vindel, *El Arte Tipográfico En España Durante El Siglo XV: Salamanca, Zamora, Coria y Reino de Galicia*, II:XVII; López-Varea, “Typography and Illustration in Fifteenth-Century Salamanca: The Porrás Press,” 174.

Doubtless, the efforts of Juan de Porras and Juan Gysser to keep treatises small reflects the desire to make them accessible, both in portability and in price. Unlike liturgical prints, which were printed for specific dioceses or orders, and were thus limited in their potential markets, treatises had no such limitation aside from regional practices. The treatises printed by Porras and Gysser likewise lack an explicit mention of local plainchant practices common to many *artes* mentioned by Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita<sup>319</sup> and Robert Stevenson.<sup>320</sup> In doing so, the treatises could market to dioceses outside of Salamanca: indeed, it appears that Durán's works had a Peninsula-wide range of distribution. Though based in Salamanca, we see Durán's works in Seville (*Lux bella*, 1492), Palmela,<sup>321</sup> and Burgos.<sup>322</sup>

Smaller and cheaper works could appeal to a wide range of audiences and reap better rewards for printer and author. This accessibility also reflects the music program at the University of Salamanca, which had a distinct, practical flavor.<sup>323</sup> Moreover, the small size and high density of the treatises would have helped to keep printing costs at a minimum.

#### d. Title Pages

Likewise, none of the treatises contain frontispieces before their title pages. This habit appears to be an Iberian phenomenon, with frontispieces being the norm for music treatises printed in other parts of Western Europe.<sup>324</sup> Cristóbal de Escobar's *Introducción* lacks a title

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<sup>319</sup> Mazuela-Anguita, "Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista," 68–69.

<sup>320</sup> Cited in Mazuela-Anguita, 67–68.

<sup>321</sup> See Chapter 2, section 3.a., "Owners."

<sup>322</sup> The 1556 Burgos catalogue of Juan de Junta noted 31 copies of "Lux bella in Musica in 4<sup>to</sup>," likely the 1518 edition published by Jacobo Cromberger in Seville. William Pettas, "A Sixteenth-Century Spanish Bookstore: The Inventory of Juan de Junta," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 85, no. 1 (1995): 127.

<sup>323</sup> See section 1.3., "Musical Education at the University of Salamanca"

<sup>324</sup> Fabian Kolb, "Lady Music, Pythagoras, Apollo & Co.: Frontispieces and Title Woodcuts in Music Theory Prints and Musical Textbooks around 1500," in *Gateways to the Book: Frontispieces and Title Pages in Early Modern Europe*, Intersections 76 (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2021), 260.

page in any respect, in keeping with its brevity and low cost. The second group includes the *Comento sobre lux bella* and the second edition of *Lux bella* itself, both of which have woodcut titles, but no image. *Lux bella* also uses type for its subtitle. The third group, comprised of *Portus musice* and the *Sumula de canto de organo*, retain woodblock titles and images. While *Portus musice* employs a series of wheels, the *Sumula* constitutes the only book, either treatise or liturgical book, to retain the coat of arms of the Catholic Monarchs, despite the 1502 edict.

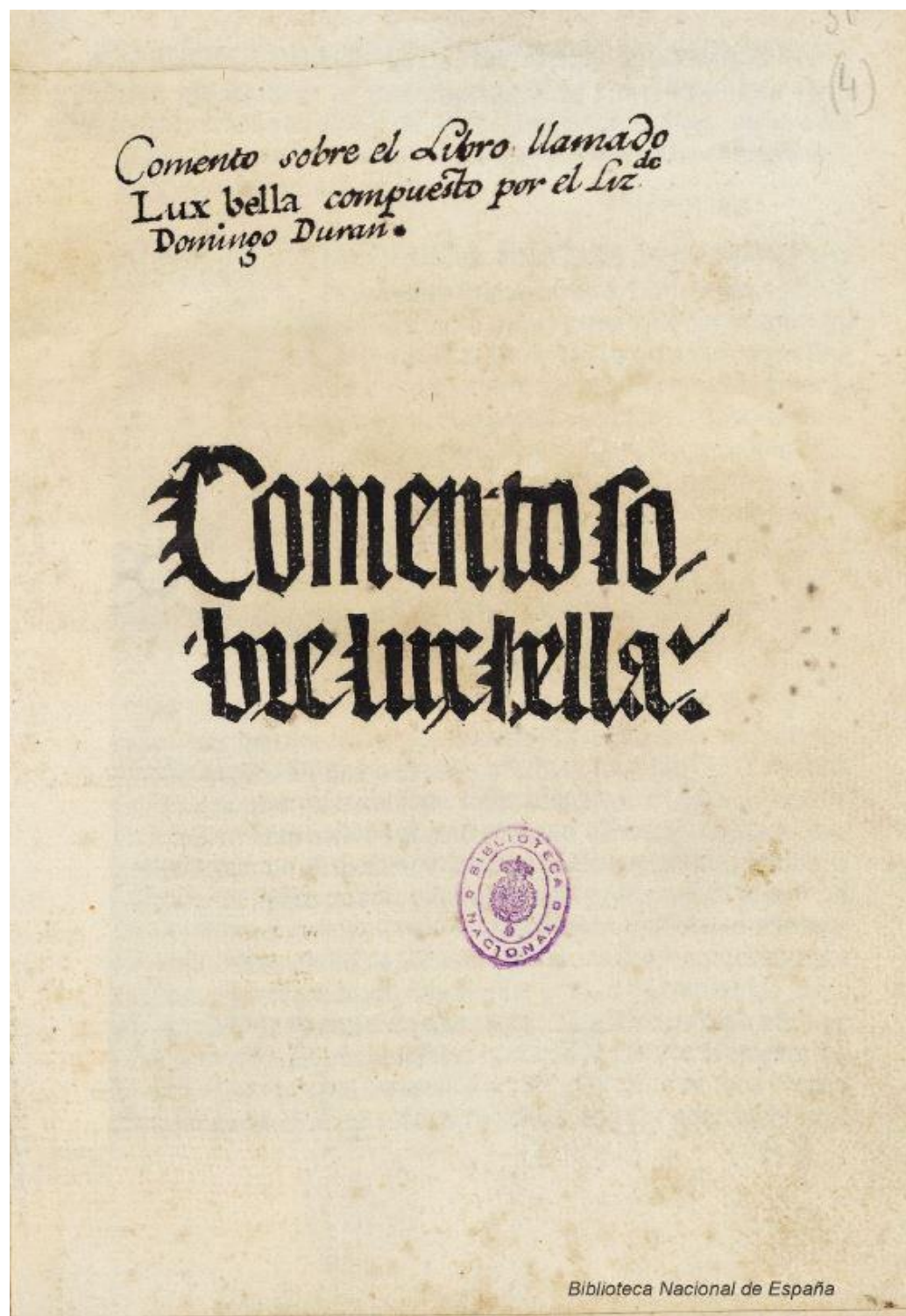


Image 3.5.: Domingo Marcos Durán, *Comento sobre lux bella*, fol. a1r [title page]. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1498.

IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>325</sup>

<sup>325</sup> Marcos Durán, *Comento Sobre Lux Bella*, 1498, fol. a1r.

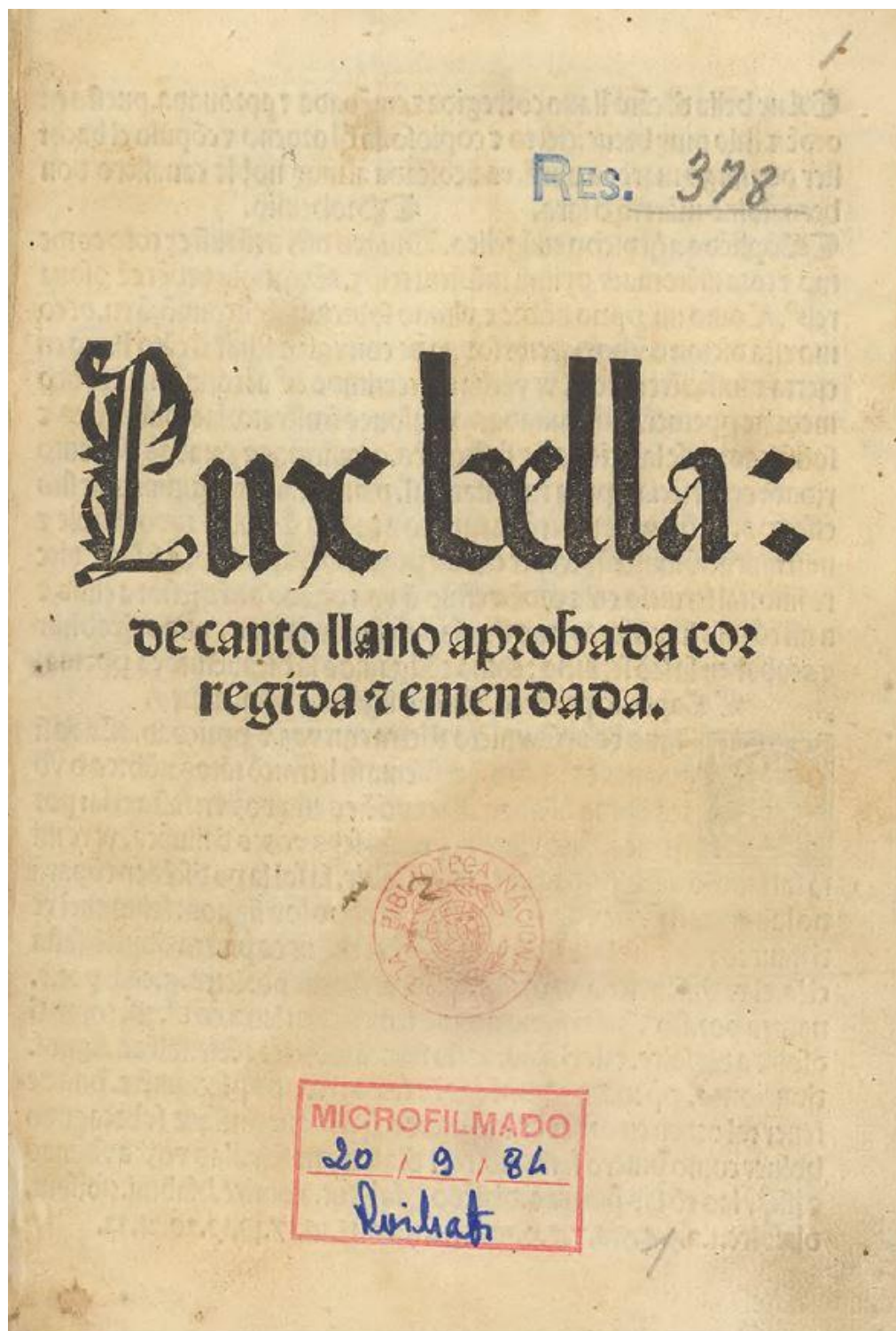


Image 3.6.: Domingo Marcos Durán, *Lux bella*, fol. a1r [title page]. Salamanca: Juan Gysser, 1509.

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE PORTUGAL.<sup>326</sup>

<sup>326</sup> Marcos Durán, *Lux Bella: De Canto Llano Aprobada Corregida & Emendada*.



Image 3.7.: Diego de Puerto, *Portus musice*, fol. a1r [title page]. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1504.

IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>327</sup>

<sup>327</sup> Puerto, *Portus Musice*, fol. a1r.



Image 3.8.: Domingo Marcos Durán, *Sumula de canto de organo*, fol. a1r [title page].  
 Salamanca: Juan Gysser, 1502-1503.

IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>328</sup>

<sup>328</sup> Marcos Durán, *Sumula de Canto de Organo*, fol. a1r.

Furthermore, Durán in particular appears tied to royal image-making. The *Sumula* constitutes the only exemplar of music publishing to retain the coat of arms from the Catholic Monarchs. Santiago Galán Gómez makes little of the coat of arms. On the other hand, Pilar Ramos López describes its use in the following manner:

The political use of dedicatees is particularly evident in the case of *Sumula de canto de órgano* (1504), which opens with the coat of arms of the Catholic Monarchs and ends with a smaller representation of the arms of the Fonseca family. In this way, the nobleman Alfonso de Fonseca, Archbishop of Santiago, and the monarchs were both somehow placed on a similar level, as the alpha and omega of a continuum.



Image 3.9.: Domingo Marcos Durán, *Sumula de canto de organo*, fol. b3v. Salamanca: Juan Gysser, 1502-1503.

IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>329</sup>

<sup>329</sup> Marcos Durán, fol. b3(v).

While the use of coats of arms appears to be inconsistent during the period, the Catholic Monarchs were conscious of its use in royal image-making. Both Castillo-Ferreira and María Eugenia López-Varea note this phenomenon. Castillo-Ferreira examines the use of royal image-making in missals, including in the *Missale Segobiense*, a missal which Porras was involved in financially. Moreover, the use of both the coat of arms of the Monarchs and of the Fonseca family is reminiscent of Fonseca's manuscript missal commissions, in which both coats of arms appeared in homage.<sup>330</sup> More specifically, López-Varea finds that the use of the coat of arms remains consistent through Porras' legal publications:

Legislative print usually carried the woodcut coat of arms of the Catholic Kings on the title page. The Crown soon realized that the printing press helped spread its political project. The Kings created a symbol of power and promoted political propaganda through visual messages.<sup>331</sup>

The use of the coat of arms in the *Sumula*, then, likely represents a conscious decision. While the scope of this thesis finds too little evidence for significant ties between Durán and the monarchy, several features accord with the royal reform:

- 1) The use of the coat of arms of the Catholic Monarchs, which has been tied to the promulgation of the royal image and, furthermore, was unusual outside of legal texts,
- 2) The patronage of Alfonso II de Fonseca, Archbishop of Santiago, who was close with the royal court and a significant figure in ecclesiastical reform in Galicia, and who received the direct patronage of the Monarchs,<sup>332</sup>
- 3) The Fonseca's concern for musical reform, evidenced by the Synod of Ávila,<sup>333</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> Castillo-Ferreira, "Chant, Liturgy, and Reform," 291–92.

<sup>331</sup> López-Varea, "Typography and Illustration in Fifteenth-Century Salamanca: The Porras Press," 183.

<sup>332</sup> Castillo-Ferreira, "Chant, Liturgy, and Reform," 291–92.

<sup>333</sup> Castillo-Ferreira, 289.

- 4) Durán's citation of "De vos y de mi quexoso," found in the *Cancionero de Palacio*, written by Juan de Urrede, who was once *maestro de capilla* for King Ferdinand's chapel, and likewise competed for the Chair of Music at the University of Salamanca and whose instruction there seems assured, represents the only cited polyphonic contemporary work found in the Salmantine corpus,<sup>334</sup>
- 5) The extremely high quality of the final work, *De sancto spiritu*, which Galán Gómez posits as a written example of the highest levels of improvised polyphony, which would fit into the ecclesiastical missions of the Fonseca and the royal courts,<sup>335</sup>
- 6) Music treatises found in the library of Isabella I,<sup>336</sup>
- 7) The significant ties of the University to the monarchy.<sup>337</sup>

The *Sumula de canto de organo* presents the possibility of royal involvement in music production, even if that involvement was done through the Fonseca family. Nevertheless, the presentation of the arms of the Catholic Monarchs would have impressed the royal image upon the potential buyer and connected Durán to the popular image of the monarchy itself. Juan del Encina's *Cancionero de todas las obras*, being a much larger work with much more significant apparatus pertaining to the royal family, and may be connected to his efforts to retain a position in the royal chapel, represents one of the only other printed books outside of legislation to retain

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<sup>334</sup> Marcos Durán, *Sumula de Canto de Organo*, fol. aiiii(r); Knighton, "Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500," 17–19.

<sup>335</sup> Stevenson suggests the influence of Urrede in this short work. Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music In The Age Of Columbus*, 71–72.

<sup>336</sup> Mazuela-Anguita, "Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista," 215–18.

<sup>337</sup> van Liere, "After Nebrija: Academic Reformers and the Teaching of Latin in Sixteenth-Century Salamanca," 1068.

the coat of arms.<sup>338</sup> In any event, the *Sumula* constitutes a significant tie to the royal and episcopal efforts to reform music in the Iberian Church.

### e. Proemia

All of the treatises include preliminary material of some sort. These small paragraphs detail the contents, often with a notice of the author's qualifications. A transcription of the proemia appears below. The Latin proemium of the first edition of *Lux bella*, printed in Seville in 1492, is included for comparison. Most are fairly short, giving a general idea of the main actors and contents. Even Diego de Puerto's, which, at a full page in quarto in miniscule type, stands as the largest proemium among the treatises, remains confined to a few paragraphs. As the opening paragraph of all these works, the proemia function as advertising in the manner of a modern book jacket.

Table 3.8.: Proemia in Salmantine Treatises

Title	Text
<i>Introducción muy breve de canto llano</i>	Esta es una introduction muy breve de canto llano/compuesta por el bachiller christoval de escobar.
[ <i>Lux bella</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> ed.)] <sup>339</sup>	[Ars cantus plani composita brevissimo compendio lux bella nuncupata per baccalarium dominicum duranium: et clarissimo domino petro ximenio cauriensi episcopo reverendissimo: atque sacratissime theologie peritissimo dedicata feliciter incipitur ad laudem dei.]
<i>Comento sobre lux bella</i>	Comiença una glosa del bachiller Domingo marcos duran fijo legitimo de Juan marcos E de ysabel fernandes cuya naturaleza es la villa dealconetar sobre el arte de canto llano compuesta por el mesmo llamada lux bella. va endereçada al muy virtuoso cavallero magnifico señor don alfonso de fonseca.

<sup>338</sup> For an example, see Juan del Encina, *Cancionero de Todas Las Obras de Juan Del Encina* (Salamanca: Juan Gysser, 1509), Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/2935, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000186784>.

<sup>339</sup> The first edition of *Lux bella* (Seville: 1492) is not part of the Porras corpus, and is here only to provide a point of comparison with Durán's other treatises.

<i>Sumula de canto de organo</i>	Siguese una sumula del canto de organo.contrapunto y composicion.vocal y instrumental con su theorica y pratica.compuesta por el bachiler domingo marcos duran fijo legitimo de juan marcos y ysabel fernandez que ayan santa gloria: cuya naturaleza es la noble villa que se dize dealconetar o delas garrovillas. va dirigida al reverendissimo y muy magnifico señor don alfonso de fonseca arçobispo de santiago mi señor.
<i>Portus musice</i>	Ars cantus plani portus musice vocata sive organici cum proportionibus seu contrapunti cum duode cim gammis sive compositionis trium vel quattuor vocum cum intonationibus psalmodiarum officiorum seu responsoriorum aut manualis cum duabus figuris aspericis. seu lune aut mensium incipiendorum cum quattuor tibus et nonis idibus et kalendis seu nuptiis celebrandis. que vela vocantur. composita per didacum a portu cantorem capellanum que collegii novi divi Bartholomei siti in nobili civitate Salamantina beneficiatum in ecclesia sancta marie oppidi de Laredo burgensis diocesis, correcta seu emendate per reverendissimum dominum Alfonsum de castilia sequenti modo prosequitur.
<i>Lux bella</i> (2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.)	Lux bella del canto llano corregida y emendada y aprovada. puesta en orden y stilo muy breve: cierto y copioso. la qual ordeno y compuso el bachiller domingo marcos duran. va dedicada al muy noble cavallero don bernaldino manrique de lara.

Each proemium addresses author's claim to authority. In every case, this authority derives from their academic credentials, rather than from their status as musicians, despite the practical nature of each treatise. The emphasis in all proemia is on the level of education of the authors: Domingo Marcos Durán and Cristóbal de Escobar retain the title *bachiller* as their claim to authority. Likewise, *Portus musice* introduces its author as chapel cantor at the Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé. As chapel cantor, Puerto would have been a student at the time of the publication of *Portus musice*. While still tying Puerto to a university position, Puerto constitutes the only example of a Salmantine music theorist without a university degree. This lack of degree status explains, in part, the necessity of a larger apparatus than Durán and Escobar, evidenced by

the title page, proemium, woodcuts, laudatory poem, and colophon. Legitimacy in music theory appears tied to the academic degree.

Durán and Puerto also include dedications after their proemia, outlining the need for the treatise as well as, at least in Durán's case, honoring the patron of the work. Moreover, the dedications provide important information concerning the potential markets for the treatise. Mazuela-Anguita points to the derogatory term *baxa ralea*<sup>340</sup> employed in the dedication of the *Comento sobre lux bella*.<sup>341</sup> The word refers to the lowest social classes. Durán's employment of the term opposite "those of genius" encapsulates both social and intellectual classes as two poles on a continuum. The later *Sumula de canto de organo* employs a similar strategy, contrasting "ecclesiastics" with "others of any status who wish to enjoy...[music's] sweet harmony."<sup>342</sup> Nevertheless, the highly technical nature of the treatise, along with its intermittent use of Latin, restricts the treatise from middle-class amateur markets.

The dedication of *Portus musice* also contains important information pertaining to market and motivation for the treatise. The dedication contains the only explicit mention of the University of Salamanca in the corpus, the Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé in particular, where Puerto was chaplain cantor. In contrast, Durán's *Comento* only mentions "...this noble and flourishing school of Salamanca..."<sup>343</sup> While *Portus musice* maintains the coat of arms of the school on the title page and the mention in the dedication, the print may or may not have been made for the music course at the University. Music courses were held in an as-yet-undetermined lecture hall in the *Escuelas Menores*, rather than at San Bartolomé.<sup>344</sup> Instead, the dedication in

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<sup>340</sup> Marcos Durán, *Comento Sobre Lux Bella*, 1498, fol. aii(r).

<sup>341</sup> Mazuela-Anguita, "Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista," 162.

<sup>342</sup> Translation mine. Marcos Durán, *Sumula de Canto de Organo*, fol. a1v.

<sup>343</sup> "...este noble y asi florecido studio de Salamanca..." Marcos Durán, *Comento Sobre Lux Bella*, 1498, fol. a2r.

<sup>344</sup> The Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé was in a separate building behind the *Escuelas Menores*. See Image 2.4., "Map of Salamanca." García Fraile, "La vida musical en la Universidad de Salamanca durante el siglo XVI," 72.

the treatise, along with the coat of arms of the Colegio on the title page, represents the desire to display the prestige of the college, rather than the music course. In its capacity as the representative treatise of the Colegio, *Portus musice* may represent the most significant exemplar of contemporary music culture at the University: indeed, García Fraile surmises that the *Cancionero de Palacio* may reflect the musical activities of the students at the Colegio de San Bartolomé.

Puerto's treatise likewise casts a broad net. On folio a2r, the page after the Latin prologue, the Castilian gloss provides some information as to its purpose. Forming the first sentence preceding the main body of the text, Puerto advertises the Castilian gloss to *los nuevos*. The use of the word *nuevos* in *Portus musice* seems to entail young and inexperienced musicians. This inexperience corresponds with the ages of the boys in the cathedrals and the University chapel, where Diego de Puerto was cantor, though it could equally describe first-year, non-scholarship entrants into the University of Salamanca, in this case, specifically at the Colegio de San Bartolomé. This positioning further ties the text of the treatise, aside from the prologue, to musical dissemination at and around the University of Salamanca, encompassing any new musician. The Castilian gloss reduces or eliminates the Latin barrier to entry, while the content could provide a convenient summary or reference for a beginner musician. The specific attachment of the book to the ambiguous group "*nuevos*" further suggests direct competition with Durán, whose Salmantine works, the *Comento* and the *Sumula*, required prior knowledge of music and, in parts, of Latin.

Images of the prologues appear below with passages pertaining to potential markets highlighted in yellow:

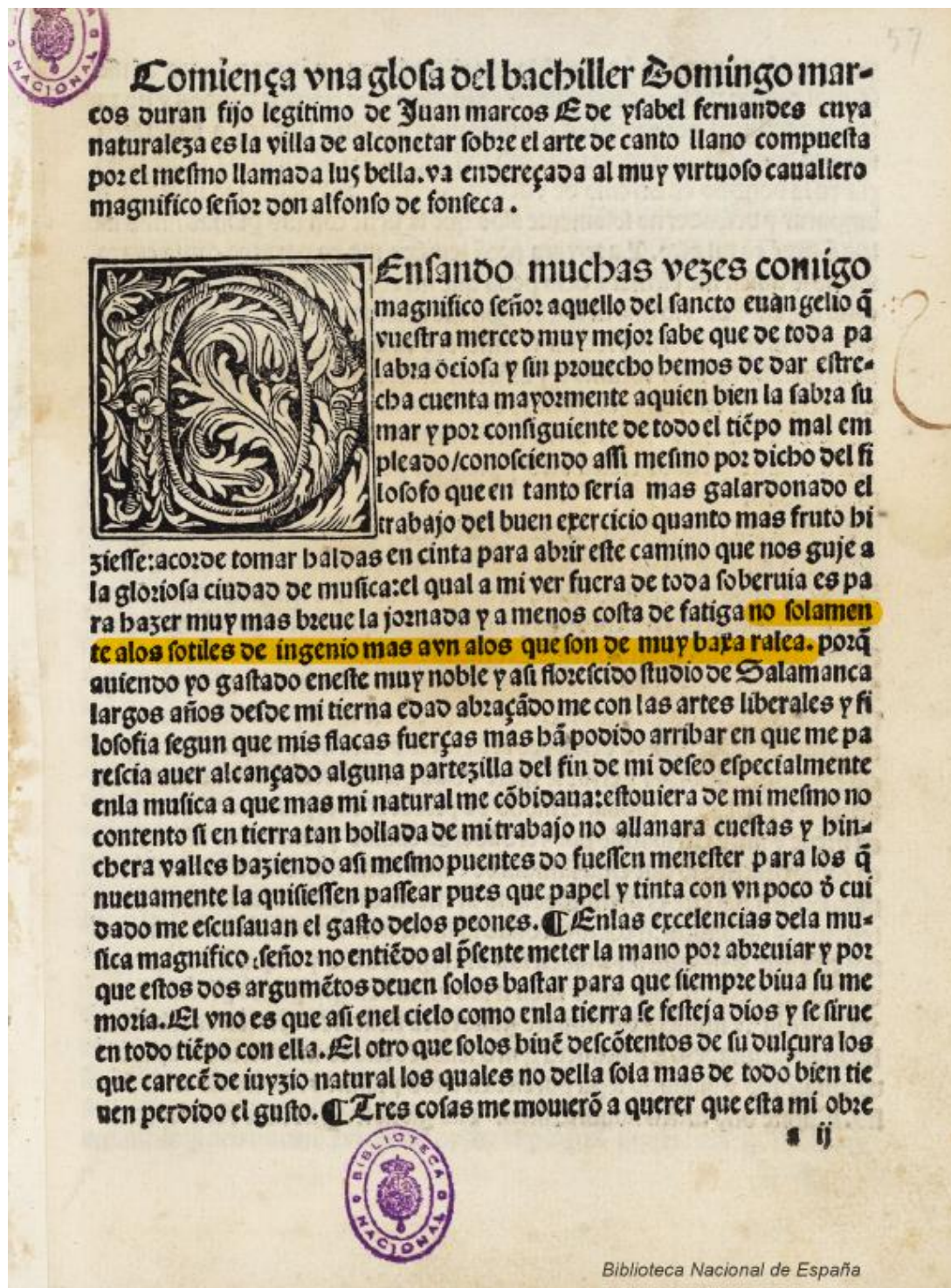


Image 3.10.a.: Domingo Marcos Durán, *Comento sobre lux bella*, fol. a2r [prologue]. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1498.

IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>345</sup>

<sup>345</sup> Marcos Durán, *Comento Sobre Lux Bella*, 1498, fol. a2r.

zica gozase de nombre d tan noble cauallero so cuya vādera y āparo ofasse salir al campo do ha de dar y sofrir encuentros de hōbres sabidos y no tales. La primera porque asi es costūbre muy antigua llegar se a semejātes señores donde la obra reciba autoridad fauorecida. La segūda porq̄ conoçia yo la bondad en estremo de vuestra merced y quā deseoso se muestra d amparar y defender no solamente aios que le siruē con sus psonas /mas a los q̄ biuē cō tal dōco. La tercera porq̄ teniēdo me yo por su yo como cierto soy no se quien me escufara dela pena que mi cōciencia me diera si mi pecado me estomara lo que tā iusta razon me mandaua q̄ biziesse. Asi q̄ muy virtuoso magnifico señor reciba v̄a merced cō claro gesto mi pequeño seruiçio no falto de sana voluntad y afficeon entera porq̄ de su fuente seca de todo linaje de vicios saque yo muy crecidas mercedes de fauor con q̄ tome aliento para mas seruir a v̄a excelente psona rica de toda nobleza. En ya vida salud y estado crezca dios y prospere por largos tiēpos en muy alta dignidad.

**D**omo la vida humana sea breue y el arte de musica .luenga y de gran speculaciō ca cōtiene en si practica y theorica. E viendo ser cōstituida para seruir y alabar a n̄ro señor. E como en las sciēcias practicas no falle ninguna que el coraçō hūano tanto en caridad y contēplaciō dirigesse como la musica. E como es sciēcia diuina y humana enciēde y pronoca los coraçones enel amor de dios. sin la q̄ los officios diuinos solēne pfecta nin diuidamēte no se puedē celebrar mouido con zelo de caridad deseando el seruiçio d dios. E porq̄ toda disceptaciō confusio discordia y error se quite delas psonas ecelesiasticas: qui se redemir les el tiēpo en copilar el modo de proceder enel practicar declarādo en breue y muy cierto stillo por verdaderas causas y principios asi theorica como practica lo que en la sumula de canto llano intitulado lux bella compile. E bien parece el nombre cōsono al efecto qz quasi lucet inter alias artes hūius facultatis. q̄ como mediāte la lux se nos manifestā las cosas: asi por esta arte se manifestā y saben las ambiguidades y se quitā los errores d̄l cāto. E p̄seguirre diuidiēdo la en trina diuisiō en gen pfecta p̄ficiō cōsiste vñ Virgili⁹. ⁊ numero de⁹ impare gaudet. ca tiene tres exelēcias sobre las hūanas facultades. La p̄ūnera q̄ n̄ro señor cōella es muy seruido aplacado enfalçado y alabado segū parece en estos psalmos. Laudate dñm d̄ celis. Cātate dño cātīcū nouū. Cātē⁹ dño gloriose. Jubilate deo ois terra

Image 3.10.b.: Domingo Marcos Durán, *Comento sobre lux bella*, fol. a2v [prologue]. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1498.

IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>346</sup>

<sup>346</sup> Marcos Durán, fol. a2v.

**A**rs cantus plani portus musice vocata siue organici est pportioib<sup>9</sup> seu cōtrapūti cū duodecim gāmis siue cōpositiōis trium vel quattuor vocum cum intonatiōib<sup>9</sup> psalmoꝝ officioꝝ seu respōsioꝝ aut manualis cum duab<sup>9</sup> figuris aspericis, seu lune aut mēsiū incipiendōꝝ cū quattuor tꝑibus et nonis idibus et klendis seu nuptijs celebrandis, que vela vocātur, cōposita per didacū a portu cantōꝝ capellaniꝝ collegij noui dñi Bartholomei siti in nobili ciuitate Salamātina beneficiatū in ecclesia sancte marie oppidi de Laredo burgensis diocesis, correcta seu emendata per reuerendissimū dñm Alfonso de castilia sequenti modo profequitur.

**Q**uam mecum sepe numero reuoluerē qualiter alme nre vniuersitati obsequia gratuita preta rem ex tātis bñficijs mihi inerito ab illa cōcessis, cur auimpendere labore nō ineritū arti musice totius speciei tam cantus plani siue organici cum pportioib<sup>9</sup> diffcilib<sup>9</sup>, seu forme cōpositiōis trium vel quattuor vocum aut intonatiōes regulares psalmoꝝ officioꝝ seu respōsioꝝ cū arte manuali longo et breui modo plata seu duab<sup>9</sup> figuris aspericis signata, et cum arte lune siue mēsiū um roborata cū quattuor tꝑibus seu nuptijs celebrandis quā cōtr: pūti cum duodecim gāmis dimit tendo supflua ātiqꝝ ordinatiōē necessariāq<sup>9</sup> sumēdo ad cōem studentius vtilitatē, qui breuissimo tempore dño prestante magna et abscondita ab ipsa extrahent, et sic offero hoc totū mēsiū opus deo omnipotēti cum filio suo et spiritu sancto paracito, qui in fuscis viscerib<sup>9</sup> meis signat me scāntia ppalare eiusꝝ genitrici marie virgini, nihil mihi prestando iuxta illud nō nobis dñe et, sed illi qui largitor cunctoꝝ bonoꝝ est, et sic ab eo peto q̄ten<sup>9</sup> dignetur mandare nubib<sup>9</sup> desup pluere sup me pluuiam sapientie et imbrem suorum, vt nusquā sinat me errare neq<sup>9</sup> a via veritatis recedere. Et etiam comito protectioni reuerendissimi atq<sup>9</sup> nobilissimi generis Alfonso de castilia, cuius laudes referre non valco, vt sit auxiliator meus qui ingenita sua nobilitate concessit, quicquid ab eo in hacce institui me petiturū, precepto cuius correctum seu emendatū extitit, cui quā plures refero gratias in simul reuerendissimo dño fratri Baschall de fuepudia diuina gratia episcopo burgensi capellanum cuius me fateor, qui ingenita sua nobilitate placabilis seu fauorabilis huic operi demonstrabitur, sumendo et recipiendo benigne hanc primogenitā operculam sui cantōꝝ capellaniꝝ collegij noui dñi Bartholomei editi in nobili ciuitate Salamātina in numero studentia cuius constitutor, et sic ego didacus a portu cantōꝝ sacerdos et filius legitimus Petri derrada et ei<sup>9</sup> legitime vxoris Katerine martini de puerto beneficiatus in ecclesia sancte marie oppidi de Laredo burgensis diocesis et incole oppidi ipsius studens et capellanus vt supra inter cantōꝝ minim<sup>9</sup> peto vt benigne et sine reprehensiōe aliqua suscipiatur a quo quā professore istius facultatis, et si qd obuiū opinioni sue reperierit patienter expectet seu corrigat remota iuida seu emula cogitatione que nunquā deest in similibus quorum correctioni hoc totum opus cōmitto aspiciendo q̄liter nusquā recessi a cōmuni opinione preceptoꝝ tam modernorum quā antiquoꝝ, et sic confissus de imploꝝato auxilio ad ipsius honorem cuius res agitur, condescendo ad opus sequens ad gloriā dei omnipotentis qui cum patre cum sancto spiritu et, r, per, o, s, s, amen,



Image 3.11.a.: Diego de Puerto, *Portus musice*, fol. a1v [prologue]. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1504.

IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>347</sup>

<sup>347</sup> Puerto, *Portus Musice*, fol. a1v.

**P**ara que fuese nota y clara a todos así vulgares como latinos, acorde tomar a clarar algunos principios necesarios para los nuevos, y otro si otras dudas que en la latinidad se contienen,

Las letras son, xx. y diuidense en tres partes vt supra. y destas nascen, xx. signos, los quales son diuididos en dos partes vt supra, y destas nascen siete deduciones o ppiedades començates en

**P**incipiū in musica est vox. q̄ per lram cognoscit denotantē suū sonum: reperitū scdm antiquos viginti littere in cantu plano: per modernos maxime per guiduz in tertia sui parte reperitū viginti vne lfe que sunt, g. a. b. c. d. e. f. g. a. b. c. d. e. f. g. a.

b. c. d. e. f. que in tres partes diuise sunt: in graues videlicet acutas y superacutas. Graues sunt octo, g. a. b. c. d. e. f. g, acute lfit septem, a. b. c. d. e. f. g. Supacute sunt sex, a. b. c. d. e. f, oriūtur ex istis, xxj. signa, f. g̃ut, are, b̃mi, cfaut, d̃solre, elami, ffaut, g̃solreut alamire, bfabmi, cfolsa, d̃lasolre, elami, ffaut, g̃solreut, alami re, bfabmi, cfolsa, d̃lasol, cla, ffaut. Oriūtur ex istis: scdm anti. quos septem deduciones, y alle due scdm dictū guidum quas causa reductionis cantus reperit: q̄ sunt, g̃ut p̃ma, cfaut, ij, ffaut f̃ij, g̃solreut, iij, cfolsaut, v, ffaut, vi, g̃solreut, vii, cfolsa, viij. Re. tro roles cum prima cōiuncta, ix. tres incipientes in. g. cantant per b. Alie tres incipientes in. c. cantātur per naturā, reliq̄ tres incipientes in. f. cantant per b. C̃ Et vnaquaq̄ istarū ducūt originē sex voces, vs. vt. re, mi, fa, sol, la, quarū tres prime ascendūt alie tres descendunt.

De signis loquendo: primū vidcam? quid sit signū: y est loc? Determinat? qui docet nos id. ppter q̄ ad agnitiōē vocuz veniamus quas vnum q̄q̄ in se continet. C̃ g̃ut are: y b̃mi habēt singulas voces que ducūt originē a b̃ prime deductiōis, cfaut d̃solre y elami habēt binas voces, prime quoz cantātur per b̃ prime deductiōis, secūde vero per naturā, ij, deductiōis. C̃ ffaut habet duas voces: prima cantat per naturā, ij, deductiōis, ij, p b. iij, deductiōis. C̃ g̃solreut alamire habēt ternas voces p̃me quoz cantant per naturā, ij, deductiōis, secūde per b. iij, deductiōis: tertie per b̃ quarte deductiōis. C̃ In bfabmi sūt due voces prima cantat per b. iij, deductiōis: secūda per b̃ quarte deductiōis. C̃ cfolsaut d̃lasolre habent ternas voces, prime quorum cantātur per b̃ tertie, secūde per b̃ quarte, tertie per naturā quarte. C̃ elami habet duas voces prima cantat per b̃ quarte ij, per naturā quarte. C̃ ffaut habet duas voces, prima cantatur per naturā quarte, ij, per b̃ ferte. C̃ g̃solreut alamire habent ternas voces, prime quoz cantātur p naturā quarte, ij, per b̃ ferte tertie, per b̃ septime, cetera alia sicut dictum est.

De mutatiōibus.

Mutatio est coniunctio duarū vocū equaliū diuersarum proprietatum in vno signo existentium tam ascendendo quā descendendo. In signis singularibus y in sequalibus nulla fit mutatio C̃ In cfaut sunt due mutatiōes faut utfa, y accipiēdo primas, ij,

a ij

vt: por las quales son regidos, y cantanse por tres ppiedades .f. por: b̃ natura y bemol vt supra: y de cada vna nascen seis voces.

C̃ El guido pone otras dos deduciones a causa d̃la reduciō de lo qual latamente veras b̃axo y se cōtiene ēla figura que arriba estā. y q̄ se an las letras, xx. el franchino g̃aforo de laude in p̃mo capite lo tiene con otros muchos que el refiere.

C̃ Signo es yn lugar señalado que nos demuestrā todo lo que en si cōtiene. y d̃muc. fra nos que ut de g̃amaut se canta por: b̃ de la p̃mera deducion con are y b̃mi.

C̃ En cfaut ay dos voces, la primera se canta por: b̃ d̃la primera, y la. ij. por: natura de la. ij. con elami y d̃solre.

C̃ En ffaut ay dos voces, la primera se canta por: natura de la. ij. la. ij. por b̃mol d̃la. iij

C̃ En g̃solreut son tres. La p̃mera se canta por: natura d̃la. ij. la. ij. por b̃ de la. iij. La iij. por: b̃ de la. iij. y así mismo alamire: C̃ En bfabmi, la p̃mera por b̃ de la. iij. la. ij por: b̃ de la. iij. C̃ En cfolsa ut. La p̃mera por b̃mol de la iij. la. ij. por: b̃ de la. iij. la. iij. por natura d̃la. v. así mismo en d̃lasolre r̃.

C̃ Deducion o ppiedad, segun el marche: o paduano ppiedad es derivacion del muchas voces de vno y de mismo principio. Et t̃ntor: di

Image 3.11.b.: Diego de Puerto, *Portus musice*, fol. a2r [prologue]. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1504.

IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>348</sup>

<sup>348</sup> Puerto, fol. a2r.

## Siguiese vna sumula del canto

de organo. contrapunto y cōposicion. vocal z instrumental con su theorica: z practica. cōpuesta por el bachiler domingo marcos durán hijo legitimo d̄ juan marcos z yfabel fernádez que ay en santa gloria: cuya naturaleza es la noble villa que se dize dealconetar o de las garrouillas. va dirigida al reuerendissimo y muy magnifico señor don alonso d̄ fonseca arçobispo de santiago mi señor.

Si mis flacas fuerças alcançassen al tenor de mi deseo en seruir a v̄ra reuerendissima señoria: no auria en el mundo linaje de buen seruido de q̄ yo no fuese pte. mas como yo no pude tomar ni na die mas de lo que me dió segū dize la sagrada scriptura q̄ v̄ra reuerendissima señoria muy mejor sabe con bazer lo q̄ pudiere me deuo librar de culpa. Assi q̄ con esta medida tal q̄l rescebi cōteto: y dādo gloria a quié me la dió sin merecerla: seruire cō limpias entrañas lo q̄ por obra pudiere: y en lo demas descargare con mi bué deseo. Sepa v̄ra muy magnifica señoria q̄ con aq̄lla volúntad y zelo q̄ siépre tuue de allegar me al bié comū cerca desta facultad de musica: especialmēte en q̄ mas parece q̄ n̄ro señor: quiso en algūa manera alūbrar mi entendimēto: yo acorde de poner me en cuydado de cōponer esta obra del arte de cāto d̄ organo. cōtrapūto: y cōposició. la q̄l sin duda no es menos vtil para los ecclesiasticos y otros de qualq̄r estado q̄ q̄sieré gozar del artificio y solteza de su dulce armonia. en los vnos necessaria para la cōtēplació y honra del culto diuino. z en los otros z en todos: para aliuio z recreació de natura humana. q̄ trabajos la fue para mi z fuera para qualquier que touiera pensamēto no solamente de llegarla aqui: mas quasi menos no fuera bastante.

E hallara v̄ra reuerendissima señoria por muy cierta y dād q̄ cōcurré en esta obra tres cosas q̄ jūtas podria ser q̄ en semejāte caso nūca mejores se vierō por q̄ ella en si es muy copiosa en todas tres materias sobredichas. z para lo mucho q̄ cōtiene es mas breue q̄ parecia ser possible z sobretodo por estilo tā claro z manifestō: q̄ ay en a los q̄ no ayā gustado los terminos d̄lla sin auiso de preceptozes se les trasluzira. z por q̄ por v̄tura esta sera heredera de mis m̄yores trabajos z cuydados: q̄ se la facer a luz z dotalla so el amparo z excelēte autoridād de v̄ra reuerendissima señoria. assi por q̄ de su sombra le alcance parte para estimarse por qual deue como por que si quiera conofca v̄uestra muy magnifica. S. lo mas que en su seruido si para ello bastasse haria. la qual nuestro señor por largos años en mas alta dignidad prospere.



Image 3.12.: Domingo Marcos Durán, *Sumula de canto de organo*, fol. a1v [prologue]. Salamanca: Juan Gysser, 1502-1503.

IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>349</sup>

<sup>349</sup> Marcos Durán, *Sumula de Canto de Organo*, fol. a1v.

On the other hand, self-promotion may also account for treatises from Durán and Puerto. Puerto's position as cantor would have provided him with significant musical experience in a professional setting. Moreover, while the contents of *Portus musice* do not accord with musical instruction at the University,<sup>350</sup> they do accord with the musical activities of a cathedral. Indeed, Carlos Romero de Lecea describes the work as "...like a primer or a handwritten musical booklet for use of the master cantor."<sup>351</sup> The final sections of Puerto's treatise are dedicated to chronology calculations<sup>352</sup> and a short examination of the strings of the vihuela.<sup>353</sup> While the latter section could certainly be an advertising gimmick for students, its placement on the last page suggests it was not meant to form part of the marketing apparatus of the book. Moreover, the vihuela remains absent from the proemium on the first page. The use of the vihuela and the movable feasts may have been a way for Puerto to demonstrate instrumental knowledge in general, given that instruments were a necessary element of many cathedral chapels.

Moreover, Puerto derived his benefice from the Church of Saint Mary ("*ecclesia sancta marie*") in Laredo in Burgos. In the proemium, he thanks the bishop of Burgos, Pascual de Ampudia ("*Paschali de fuenpudia*"). The mention amounts to a kind of dedication, especially in the absence of a named patron. It may be that Diego de Puerto wished to advertise his professional services, perhaps in regards to the position of *maestro de capilla* at Burgos Cathedral. The first named *maestro de capilla* of Burgos occurs only in 1535 with Francisco Ceballos. In 1572, upon Ceballos' decease, Pope Pius V "...elevated the magisterium of this Church to a perpetual canonry that had to be provided always by rigorous opposition..."<sup>354</sup> It

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<sup>350</sup> See section 3.9., "Counterpoint and Polyphony."

<sup>351</sup> "como un catón o una cartilla musicales manuscritos para uso del maestro cantor." Cited in Mazuela-Anguita, "Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista," 121.

<sup>352</sup> de Puerto, *Portus Musice*, fols. b3v–b4r.

<sup>353</sup> Puerto, fol. b4v.

<sup>354</sup> "No se cita a ningún otro maestro hasta el año 1572 en que el Papa Pío V, a petición del Cardenal-Obispo de Burgos, don Francisco Pacheco, con el Cabildo elevó el magisterio de esta Iglesia a canongía perpetua que había de

appears that the *maestro de capilla* was, before this date, an appointed position, and *Portus musice* may have been a way for Puerto to try and attract the attention of Ampudia. This conjecture would accord with Puerto's position at the University as a poor chaplain and with Ampudia himself: the bishop would go on to be the patron of Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui. Threatened by the loss of his chaplaincy, Puerto sought employment and sales revenue through his book.

#### f. Woodblocks

All the title pages are done in woodblocks, sometimes with woodblock illustrations. Despite Juan de Porras having sustained access to at least two sets of music type,<sup>355</sup> none of the treatises take advantage of its availability. All of the *artes* employ woodblock music. While its use would have allowed Porras to avoid paying a xylographer, music type, in the Iberian context, required painstaking attention to detail, especially as regards text-setting.<sup>356</sup>

*Portus musice* presents a musical wheel which constitutes almost an exact replica of the wheel found in Durán's *Lux bella* (1492). The near replication, coupled with the apparent lack of musical wheels in other treatises from the period, suggests influence from Durán to Puerto.<sup>357</sup>

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proverse siempre por rigurosa oposición..." Leocadio Hernández Ascunce, "Los Maestros de Capilla de Burgos [3]: (Continuación)," *Boletín de La Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Burgos* 30 (1930): 23.

<sup>355</sup> See Chapter 3, section 2.c., "Music Type," and Appendix C, "Music Type."

<sup>356</sup> Furthermore, Porras appears to have relied on multiple impressions, sometimes resulting in outright musical errors. See section 2, "Liturgical Books."

<sup>357</sup> See section 4, "Target Markets."



Image 3.13.: Diego de Puerto, *Portus musice*, fol. a1r. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1504.  
IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>358</sup>



Image 3.14.: Domingo Marcos Durán, *Lux bella*. Seville: Cuatro compañeros alemanes, 1492.  
IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>359</sup>

<sup>358</sup> Puerto, *Portus Musice*, fol. a1r.

<sup>359</sup> Marcos Durán, *Lux Bella*.

### g. Colophons

The music treatises originating from Salmantine presses all lack printer attributions. The colophon texts, where present, are produced in Table 3.9. Juan de Porras signs all of his liturgical books. Moreover, this anonymity contrasts with other treatises, including the first edition of *Lux bella* and the second edition of Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui's work. As seen in the table in brackets, the *cuatro compañeros* take responsibility for the treatise.

Table 3.9.: Colophons from the Porras Treatises

Title	Colophon
<i>Introducción muy breve</i>	N/A.
[ <i>Lux bella</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> ed.)]	[Esta obra fue emprimida en Sevilla por quatro alemanes compañeros Enel año de nuestro señor.1.4.9.2.]
<i>Comento sobre lux bella</i>	Esta obra fue empremida en Salamanca a. xvii. de Junio. del año de nuestro señor de mil y quatrocientos y noventa y ocho años.
<i>Sumula de canto de organo</i>	Esta obra vista y esaminada mando imprimir el muy reverendo. noble. y virtuoso señor don Alfonso de castilla rector del studio dela muy noble cibdad de Salamanca.
<i>Portus musice</i>	Impressum fait hoc opus salamantice pridie kalendas septembris. anno a nativitate domini. M.ccccc:iiii.
<i>Lux bella</i> (2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.)	Fue impressa la presente obra enla muy noble cibdad de Salamanca a. xvi. dias del mes de Julio de mill y quinientos y nueve años. Fue emendada y corrigida y añadida de nuevo. E fue examinada por mandado del muy reverendo señor obispo dela dicha cibdad de Salamanca.

While the colophons of the music treatises are relatively standard, they do not maintain the same form as liturgical prints. The missals and manuals name the date, patron, place, and printer of each work. Conversely, the treatises have much shorter colophons, all of which lack attributions to either a patron or a printer. Table 3.9. contrasts this practice with the first edition of *Lux bella*, which names both date and publisher, the “quatro alemanes compañeros.”

Salmantine treatises name instead the place of impression, Salamanca, and the date. The *Sumula* and the second edition of *Lux bella* mention editors, though their hand in the actual printing remains, in all likelihood, minimal. The only mention of a patron in a colophon occurs in the *Sumula*, where the coat of arms of the Fonseca family appears afterward. In short, the general anonymity of the treatises remains generally preserved, with all of the responsibility weighted at the beginning of the treatise in the proemia and prologues. The consistency with which Porras and Gysser leave off signing the treatises suggests that their names were intentionally left off the works, continuing the anonymity of the Porras-Cantalapiedra Press of the 1480s. When compared to the careful positioning of the colophons in the liturgical books, the music treatises appear to be less valued by Porras and Gysser, perhaps owing to their brevity, which both reduced the price point, prestige, and printing time associated with the works. From the printer's perspective, it appears that Porras and Gysser saw less value in these works compared to the rest of their publication output.

#### **h. Plainchant: Introducción de canto llano**

The date and printer for Cristóbal de Escobar's "*Introducción muy breve de canto llano*" remains insecure,<sup>360</sup> though it was completed sometime between 1490 and 1501, making it one of the earliest printed treatises in Salamanca and in Iberia. The *Introducción* represents the shortest work of the Salmantine musical corpus. Its first sentence qualifies much of its content: not only is the work merely an introduction, but also a "very short" one. As stated, the *Introducción* lacks an extensive apparatus in any sense, being restricted to a brief sentence

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<sup>360</sup> Vicente Bécares Botas queries whether Rodrigo de Escobar, who appears in the *actas capitulares* of Salamanca Cathedral, was a relative of Cristóbal de Escobar. See Appendix A, "Biographies."

introducing the work and its author,<sup>361</sup> and simply the word “Finis” in capital letters at its conclusion.<sup>362</sup> Though an introductory primer on plainchant, it contains no actual musical notation, obviating the need for a woodcutter. The lack of music and other woodblock features, such as tables, wheels, and other images common in later treatises, suggests the need to cut costs due to the high expense of paper, which could account for up to 70% of production expenses.<sup>363</sup> Moreover, the work, printed in quarto, only takes up two sheets. The main text body is surrounded by a citation gloss for referenced theorists, but it otherwise contains no other apparatus or diagrams, save for the brief title and author and the word ‘Finis’ at the end. The text body, furthermore, is only made up of one type size, which Cuesta Gutiérrez terms the “1.a tip. gót., 2.a época.”<sup>364</sup> Its lack of a dedicatee or patron may also account, in part, for its bare-bones format; vice-versa, the print may have not required a patron due to its size and content.<sup>365</sup> In essence, the *Introducción* represents a low-cost effort, reflecting its status as a very early, if not the earliest, music primer. Its lack of several elements common to the other treatises suggests either a cautious entry into the market (i.e., testing whether there was a demand for small music treatises), and/or a keen desire to keep costs minimal.

Its brevity and simplicity suggest a low price point. However, its lack of musical notation means that it remained incomplete. As Mazuela-Anguita suggests, the missing information (notation, etc.) was perhaps supplied orally by the tutor. Mazuela-Anguita also notes the tendency for *artes* to synthesize a wide variety of information, tying the desire for brevity to the

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<sup>361</sup> “Esta es una introduccion muy breve de canto llano / compuesta por el bachiller christoval de escobar.” Escobar, *Esta Es Una Introduccion Muy Breve de Canto Llano*, fol. 1r.

<sup>362</sup> Escobar, fol. 4v.

<sup>363</sup> Mazuela-Anguita, “Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista,” 64.

<sup>364</sup> Cuesta Gutiérrez, *La Imprenta En Salamanca: Avance al Estudio de La Tipografía Salmantina (1480-1944)*, 93.

<sup>365</sup> Also noted in Ramos López, “Spanish Treatises on Musica Practica c. 1480-1525: Reflections from a Cultural Perspective,” 482.

invention of the mechanical clock.<sup>366</sup> Indeed, we already see the beginnings of this tendency as the result of market pressures in 1504.

Its accessibility and cheapness represent attempts to capture as wide a base as possible, responding to the increased demand for liturgical prints and ecclesiastical positions resulting from monarchical policies.<sup>367</sup> In short, any aspiring religious comprising Cathedral staff, parish church employees, and monastics both within Salamanca and outside its walls, would require knowledge of plainchant to read and properly perform the liturgy.<sup>368</sup> Likewise, many musical amateurs in the city would also find use for such a book, perhaps with private tutors. Ramos López accounts for the lack of a dedicatee for the *Introducción* on account of its small size.<sup>369</sup>

### **i. Counterpoint and Polyphony**

Only two of the treatises discuss polyphony: Diego de Puerto's *Portus musice* and Domingo Marcos Durán's *Sumula de canto de organo*.<sup>370</sup> The similarities between Puerto and Durán are most apparent through emphasis. Both works culminate in discussions of *contrapunto*. Puerto moves from *canto llano* to *canto de órgano*, followed by *contrapunto*; Durán's *Sumula* covers *canto de órgano* followed by *contrapunto*. Galán Gómez notices the emphasis represents a significant turnaround from earlier treatises: while the *Sumula* (1503?), *Portus musice* (1504), Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui's *Arte de canto llano* (1508), and Francisco Tovar's *Libro de*

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<sup>366</sup> Mazuela-Anguita, "Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista," 54–55, 60–61.

<sup>367</sup> See Chapter 2, section 1.d., "Other Locations Linked to Musical Instruction," section 3.b., "Galician Reforms" and section 3.3., "Patrons."

<sup>368</sup> See chapter 2, section 1.c., "Cities and Towns," and section 1.d., "Other Locations Linked to Musical Instruction."

<sup>369</sup> In contrast, all three of Durán's Salamanca treatises contain dedicatees. Ramos López, "Spanish Treatises on Musica Practica c. 1480-1525: Reflections from a Cultural Perspective," 482.

<sup>370</sup> Puerto, *Portus Musice*, fols. a6v-b3r; Marcos Durán, *Sumula de Canto de Organo: Contrapunto y Composicion Vocal y Instrumental: Pratica y Speculativa*.

*musica practica* (1510) all culminate in *contrapunto*, the Escorial Anonymous (1480), Ramos' *Musica practica* (1482), and Podio's *Ars musicorum* (1495) begin with *canto llano*, followed by *contrapunto*, and ending with *canto de órgano*.<sup>371</sup> The shift appears congruent with music education at Salamanca and the emphasis on improvisation as a polished artform.<sup>372</sup> Moreover, while both *Musica practica* (1482) and *Ars musicorum* (1495) are large Latin treatises on *música práctica*, the Salmantine treatises are small and make significant use of Castilian.<sup>373</sup> suggesting a musical hierarchy, wherein an emphasis on *canto de órgano*, with improvisation not requiring knowledge of the "art" itself,<sup>374</sup> requires both the use of Latin and a larger amount of text: this emphasis has the effect of increasing the price of the book as well as its scholarly look.

Knighton, Fiorentino, and Galán Gómez connect the treatises to contemporary improvised polyphony.<sup>375</sup> As part of their discussion of *contrapunto* and *canto de organo*, both Durán and Puerto include tables of acceptable intervals.<sup>376</sup> Knighton has also found an interval table ascribed to Juan de Urrede inserted into a copy of Gaffurius' *Practica Musicae*.<sup>377</sup> In her article on the Urrede tables, Knighton draws a comparison to Guilelmus Monachus,<sup>378</sup> whom Fiorentino describes as one of the sources for *fauxbourdon* practice in Iberia.<sup>379</sup> Diego de Puerto

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<sup>371</sup> Galán Gómez, "La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la Sumula de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Duran como modelo," 90.

<sup>372</sup> See section 1.3., "Music Education at Salamanca."

<sup>373</sup> See section 1.3., "Language."

<sup>374</sup> Galán Gómez, "La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la Sumula de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Duran como modelo," 90.

<sup>375</sup> Knighton, "Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500," 11–36; Fiorentino, "Canto llano, canto de órgano y contrapunto improvisado: el currículo de un músico profesional en la España del Renacimiento," 147; Galán Gómez, "La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la Sumula de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Duran como modelo."

<sup>376</sup> Puerto, *Portus Musice*, fols. 1v–2v; Marcos Durán, *Sumula de Canto de Organo: Contrapunto y Composicion Vocal y Instrumental: Practica y Speculativa.*, fols. 1r–4r.

<sup>377</sup> See section 1.3., "Musical Education at the University of Salamanca" and Knighton, "Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500."

<sup>378</sup> Knighton; Fiorentino, "Canto llano, canto de órgano y contrapunto improvisado: el currículo de un músico profesional en la España del Renacimiento."

<sup>379</sup> Fiorentino, "La Música de 'Hombres y Mujeres Que No Saben de Música': Polifonía de Tradición Oral En El Renacimiento Español," 25–26.

presents his table under the title “*de contra puncto visus*.”<sup>380</sup> as Fiorentino describes, the term “visus” or “viso” denoted young choirboys.<sup>381</sup> As demonstrations of the efficacy of the tables, Puerto and Durán both include short polyphonic examples toward the end of their respective treatises.<sup>382</sup> Knighton connects Urrede’s tables to Puerto’s demonstration of their use, noting the similarity between Puerto’s resultant four-voice piece and the works of the *Cancionero de Palacio*.<sup>383</sup> Treatises containing contrapuntal tables are included below.

Durán’s polyphonic example proves significantly more elaborate than Puerto’s and may represent a shift in focus. Puerto includes his example under a larger section on “contrapunto.”<sup>384</sup> After the tables, Puerto labels his chapters “*Forma de componer a tres voces*” and “*Para echar los contras altos*,”<sup>385</sup> upon which he includes the four-voice implementation of the rules, the *Exemplum trium et quattuor vocum*.<sup>386</sup> On the other hand, Durán’s polyphonic demonstration comes after a series of vocal exercises, though Durán also notes their applicability to instrumental playing (*tañer*).<sup>387</sup> Moreover, while Durán titles his work *Cum spiritu sancto*, emphasizing the sacred use of polyphony, Puerto leaves his example piece void of any lyrical content.

Galán Gómez notes that Durán’s example piece, *Cum sancto spiritu*, at first appears too rhythmically complex and too in-line with Franco-Flemish polyphony to be related to extemporized practice: however, its placement after the series of complete and exhaustive

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<sup>380</sup> Puerto, *Portus Musice*, fol. b1v.

<sup>381</sup> See section 4.3. “Choirboys,” for a full discussion of this group. Fiorentino, “Canto llano, canto de órgano y contrapunto improvisado: el currículo de un músico profesional en la España del Renacimiento,” 156.

<sup>382</sup> Puerto, *Portus Musice*, fol. b3r; Marcos Durán, *Sumula de Canto de Organo: Contrapunto y Composicion Vocal y Instrumental: Pratica y Speculativa.*, fols. 3r–3v.

<sup>383</sup> Knighton, “Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500,” 34–36.

<sup>384</sup> Puerto, *Portus Musice*, fol. b1r.

<sup>385</sup> Puerto, fol. b2v.

<sup>386</sup> Puerto, fol. b3r.

<sup>387</sup> Marcos Durán, *Sumula de Canto de Organo: Contrapunto y Composicion Vocal y Instrumental: Pratica y Speculativa.*, fol. civ(v).

vocal exercises suggests that the piece represents an extremely high level of masterful improvisation.<sup>388</sup> Galán Gómez further argues that this interpretation of the work proceeds from Durán's didactic attitude and the musical culture in Salamanca. Its placement under the auspices of *canto de organo*, and Durán's focus on sacred polyphony, also suggest that, while complex, *Cum sancto spiritu* represents the epitome of masterful improvisation demanded of cathedral singers.<sup>389</sup> Indeed, Durán highlights that the exercises are meant to inculcate mastery of the subject in the student:

...to very quickly develop the singers in solfa and lyrics so that they are very skilled in everything. And they are generic steps that can be attributed and applied...And continuing this procedure, they have very quickly become accustomed to singing with ease, and they will be very skilled and sufficient in it.<sup>390</sup>

In essence, both Puerto and Durán place emphasis on performance practice, in turn tying them to extemporized polyphony and the musical culture surrounding the *Cancionero del Palacio*. Likewise, the level and genre of improvised singing are distinct, and correlate with their respective ages upon publication: Durán was somewhere between 38 and 39 upon the publication of the *Sumula*, while Puerto would have been in his late teens or early 20s.<sup>391</sup> Their positions in life may have reflected their imagined markets: since Durán was older and well-established, his treatise targets more advanced audiences, while Puerto's treatise and relative youth corresponds to its young target market.

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<sup>388</sup> Galán Gómez, "La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la Sumula de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Duran como modelo," 324–25.

<sup>389</sup> Galán Gómez suggests Durán may have been a teacher at the Cathedral. See Appendix A, "Biographies."

<sup>390</sup> "...para muy presto desenvolver a los cantantes en la solfa e letra como sean muy diestros en todo. E son pasos genéricos que los pueden atribuir e aplicar...E continuando este proceder, habituarse han muy presto en la desenvoltura del cantar, e serán en él muy diestros e suficientes." Translation mine. Marcos Durán, *Sumula de Canto de Organo: Contrapunto y Composicion Vocal y Instrumental: Pratica y Speculativa.*, fol. civ(v).

<sup>391</sup> See Appendix A, "Biographies."

As such, *Portus musice* and the *Sumula de canto de organo* maintain a large number of similarities.<sup>392</sup> In a review of Galán Gómez' work on Domingo Marcos Durán's *Sumula*, Giuseppe Fiorentino mentions that, while Galán Gómez views the *Sumula* as likely older than *Portus musice*, each could have come before and influenced the other. By the publishing of *Portus musice* in 1504, Durán was likely in his early 40s.<sup>393</sup> Puerto, probably in his late teens or early 20s, was a generation under Durán. Durán's attested stay in the city and his likely pedagogical activities, whatever their nature, suggest that the source of influence came from Durán rather than Puerto. Fiorentino's rightful skepticism of ordering the treatises *Sumula de canto de organo* and *Portus musice* on the basis on Durán's greater influence are warranted. However, *Lux bella* was published 12 years before. In essence, we can trace a direct line from Ramos de Pareja to Durán, and from Durán to Puerto via the woodblock wheel. The employment of the wheel on the title page further suggests that Durán's treatise had achieved a significant amount of popularity and iconicity, enough for the wheel to be a potential marketing technique. Nevertheless, Puerto does not cite or mention Durán anywhere in his treatise. The replicated wheel and lack of attribution further suggest Puerto was competing directly with Durán: while Durán had three books on the market required to emulate the full year of university lectures, Puerto aimed to outdo him by including not only the full course load, but by also including a treatise for calculating the months and feasts as well as the summary of the vihuela's construction.<sup>394</sup>

Puerto's need for significant marketing apparatus, evidenced by the elaborate title page, unusual format, tiny font, and language use, further suggests a need to break into the market. On

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<sup>392</sup> Also noted by Galán Gómez, "La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la Sumula de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Duran como modelo," 28.

<sup>393</sup> See Appendix A, "Biographies."

<sup>394</sup> Puerto, *Portus Musice*, fol. b4r.

the other hand, Durán's *Sumula* remains light on its marketing apparatus, resting on Durán's established reputation and the captive ecclesiastic/student markets, as Durán's treatise was likely the first on *canto de órgano* and *contrapunto*. The marketing competition between the two contains another layer of tension for Puerto, namely, the lack of an assured patron. While Puerto names Ampudia as part of the prologue, the dedication to Ampudia must be inferred and no other dedicatee or patron appears. In essence, Puerto appears to lack financial backing from a wealthy, powerful individual. Conversely, Durán's *Sumula* has the backing of Alfonso II de Fonseca, a major patron of the arts, the University, and the Convento de la Anunciación in Salamanca, among other patronage activities. Indeed, the name Alfonso de Fonseca may have sufficed to attract attention from buyers, given the significant influence of the Fonseca family in the city. The difference in format and apparatus between Puerto and the Durán set presents modern readers with a picture of their intended markets.

The content of *Portus musice* suggests that the book was designed for polyphonic and contrapuntal use. The Castilian gloss of *Portus musice* has given several scholars pause. Robert Stevenson placed the blame of the miniscule type on Diego de Puerto, citing that Juan de Porras was "forced" to employ the miniscule text on account of the amount of information.<sup>395</sup> Galán Gómez describes the work as a "commercial vision."<sup>396</sup> Indeed, it contains the greatest proportion of apparatus to text of any Salmantine treatise. The title page features woodcut diagrams and is far more elaborate than any of the other title pages in the Porras corpus, including the liturgical books. Moreover, its distinctive text-gloss format may have been eye-catching to intellectual consumers, who may have recognized the format from language treatises

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<sup>395</sup> Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music In The Age Of Columbus*, 86.

<sup>396</sup> Galán Gómez, "La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la *Sumula* de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Duran como modelo," 175.

of the same period.<sup>397</sup> Puerto's offer constitutes the full year represented by Durán's three treatise, compressed into one slim volume. *Portus musice's* unique format represents a summary of marketing techniques from the era in an attempt to position this treatise in the market dominated by Durán.

*Portus musice* also retains the greatest number of ties to the University, evidenced by Puerto's position at the Colegio de San Bartolomé along with the coat of arms of the Colegio on the title page. In this manner, *Portus musice* visually appeals to its target market. The emphasis on polyphony, lately tied to Urrede and the *Cancionero de Palacio*, reflects the flourishing of secular music in Salamanca.<sup>398</sup> Including the vihuela section, however carelessly, is also a response to the growing use of musical instruments among the student body, a phenomenon which the University sought to curtail. In its focus on instrumental and polyphonic forms, *Portus musice* bears the influence of student life at the University.

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<sup>397</sup> See Chapter 2, section 2.c., "Language Reforms," for a more in-depth comparison of these works.

<sup>398</sup> Juan del Encina counts among the composers active in Salamanca during this period; Anchieta may have also been in the city, though it remains a matter of speculation. Hans Gysser and Juan de Porras both printed editions of Encina's *Cancionero de todas las obras*.

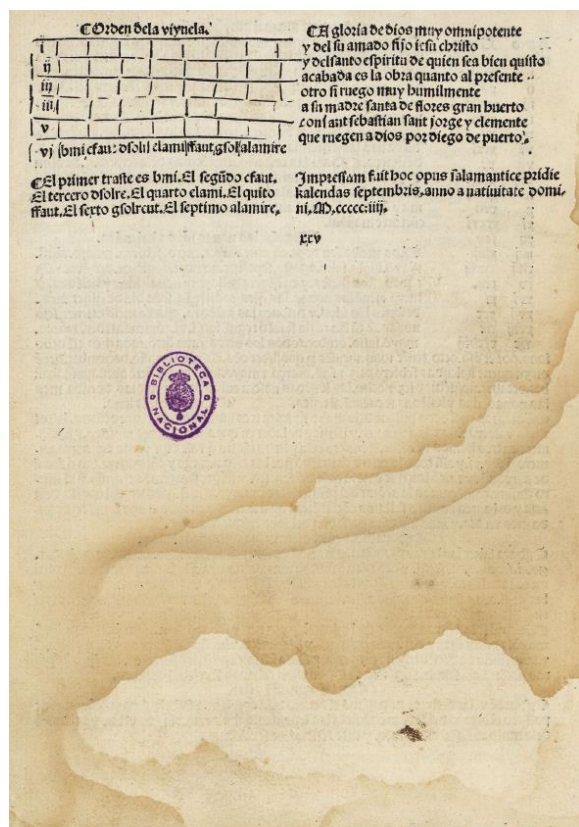


Image 3.15.: Diego de Puerto, *Portus musicae*, fol. b4v [description of vihuela strings, upper left-hand corner]. Salamanca: Juan de Porrás, 1504.

IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>399</sup>

#### 4. Target Markets for Music Treatises

This section offers a summary of the conclusions drawn in section 3. Where applicable, it presents analogous treatises and treatise owners to show the plausibility of a proposed target market. Section 4.4 provides a table of imagined markets and comparison with current scholarship. Juan de Porrás ran his music printing business on target markets, tailoring treatises and liturgical books to the demands of specific populations. The following examines these populations and lists them from least to most likely primary markets.

<sup>399</sup> Puerto, *Portus Musicae*, fol. b4v.

### a. Choirboys

Only *Portus musice* displays features aimed at *mozos de coro* or *seises*. The use of the terms *nuevos*, *contrapunto viso*, and *vulgares* may be interpreted as referring to choirboys. Fundamentally, however, the strategy can hardly have solely encompassed choirboys, given the relatively low social class of the boys as well as the low numbers present in the cathedrals, ranging from six to, at most, a dozen *mozos* in any given cathedral. While *maestros de capilla* may have valued such a treatise for teaching the young singers, choirboys can hardly be considered the primary target market for the treatise. Nevertheless, this population, especially given Porras' catchment area, may have provided a secondary market for the work. This conclusion accords with the findings of Bartolomé Martínez.<sup>400</sup>

### b. Students

Several elements tie the music treatises to University culture at the turn of the century. Durán's treatises employ the terms *Comento* and *Sumula*, both of which were common titles of university texts. Both professors and students appear to have lacked basic Latin skills, while Latin forms a significant feature of three out of four treatises, but never in total: *Portus musice*, in particular, may have a double purpose as a Latin primer. The terms "*nuevos*" and "*vulgares*" in *Portus musice* may refer to, in addition to the *mozos de coro* mentioned above, incoming students to the music courses at Salamanca. The timeline of *Portus musice* suggests a link between its publication and the school year.

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<sup>400</sup> Bartolomé Martínez supplies the title *Portus musice*, but gives the author as "Alfonso de Castillo." The reference confuses *Portus musice* with a lost treatise, likely a bibliographical ghost, from the same year. See Appendix B, "Catalogue." Nonetheless, Bartolomé Martínez clearly reference *Portus musice*, rather than the lost treatise. Bartolomé Martínez, "Enseñanza de La Música En Las Catedrales," 622.

However, claiming a direct link between the treatises and the music course at the University appears too simplistic. First, neither Escobar, Durán, nor Puerto obtained the position of Chair for Music at the University of Salamanca, reducing the probability that the works were intended for the classroom.<sup>401</sup> Furthermore, as noted by Ramos López, Puerto's status as cantor implies student status, suggesting his work was not used in the classroom. In terms of potential market size, the student population of music courses at Salamanca was at most 40 or 50 students, which reduces further if students share books, and, as such, cannot constitute a primary market. Finally, the student market was already served by Italian treatises on the practical side and Boethius on the theoretical side.

As such, in accordance with Ramos López, no evidence currently exists to tie the treatises to classroom pedagogy. Students, especially wealthy ones, would have constituted a secondary market for these works, particularly in their capacity as music amateurs. The perceived University influence of these works relies more on the status achieved by its graduates and cantors, and the printed texts they encountered, rather than as market strategies for targeting the student population. Therefore, this chapter proposes that while University influence certainly remains apparent in the treatises, students, in their capacity as pupils, were not the imagined market for these works.

### **c. “Those who wish to enjoy music”**

On the other hand, polyphonic treatises appear related to amateur markets. Durán especially appears to take advantage of a market of amateurs. Musical amateurs, of which students may have formed a significant part, appear explicitly in the marketing apparatus of the

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<sup>401</sup> Compare, for example, Francisco de Salinas later in the century.

treatises. Puerto may also have intended the vihuela not just for students but, given the popularity of the vihuela during the early 16th century, for the upwardly mobile in general. The *Comento sobre lux bella* specifically mentions “those who are of very low rank;”<sup>402</sup> likewise, the *Sumula de canto de organo* mentions “others of any status,” the latter of which explicitly refers to an amateur market.<sup>403</sup>

From the 15<sup>th</sup> through the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Mazuela-Angueta defines four groups of individual owners of *artes de canto*, either of plainchant or polyphony: royalty, nobility, clergy, and “civil servants and independent professionals.”<sup>404</sup> These owners belonged to upper middle-class, urban wealthy, and aristocratic milieux. Amateur interest in polyphony during this period seems assured: for the years 1490 to 1510, Leonor Pimentel, a noblewoman; Isabel I; Juan Alonso Pérez de Guzmán y de Ribera, a nobleman; and Yolanda de Soria, a merchant’s wife; all owned *libros de canto de órgano*,<sup>405</sup> The minimum number of sheets, density of the text, brevity of content, and completist programs emobied by Durán and Puerto suggest variable markets of amateurs: Escobar and Puerto would have been on the cheaper end of the scale, with Durán’s *Comento* and *Sumula* appealing to higher class or intellectual audiences, due to their size and content. In this regard, musical amateurs appear to form the foremost secondary market of treatises.

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<sup>402</sup> “...los que son de muy baxa ralea.” Marcos Durán, *Comento Sobre Lux Bella*, 1498, fol. a2r.

<sup>403</sup> “...otros de qualquier estado...” Marcos Durán, *Sumula de Canto de Organo*, fol. a1v.

<sup>404</sup> “Funcionarios y profesionales liberales.” On page 164, Mazuela-Angueta further notes that artisans and merchants in Valladolid also have books appear in their inventories; vernacular *artes* would have been accessible to this group as well. Mazuela-Angueta, “Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista,” 165.

<sup>405</sup> Mazuela-Angueta, “Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista. Volumen II: Apéndices,” 215.

#### d. Clergy

The clergy forms the most significant target population for which we have evidence. All the treatises consistently market themselves to the clergy and other ecclesiastical officials, contain liturgical material, contain Latin to varying degrees, and were purchased by clergymen and women. Ecclesiastic markets account for the bulk of buyers of Salmantine *artes*.

Durán specifically targets the clergy: the *Sumula* advertises to “*los ecclesiasticos*,” while the *Comento* states, as one of its goals, to correct the “*confusion, discordia, y error se quite delas personas ecclesiasticas...*” In accordance with this market, the music treatises largely deal with liturgical music with only two exceptions: Durán’s mention of “*De vos y de mi quexoso*” and Puerto’s polyphonic examples at the end of his treatise, which are seemingly devoid of sacred or secular connotations.

The Fonseca were the patrons of Durán and were concerned with the musical declamation of the liturgy, with these treatises forming the pedagogical portion of the musical reform. Porrás maintained connections with the Fonseca family, as well as other bishops, and Franciscan publications, including the *Manuale chori*, which contains the most music of any Porrás or Gysser publication.

The potential market for these works, given the reformist context and Porrás’ wide catchment area, would have been enormous. Cathedrals maintained hundreds of employees, all of whom would have needed knowledge of music. Latin diction was a concern for bishops and the monarchy; likewise, three of the four treatises contain Latin text and the music notation consistently appears tied to the syllable. Indeed, the two ex-libris of the Porrás-Gysser corpus are both monks. Owners from 1490-1520, as identified by Mazuela-Anguita, were often members of the clergy or ecclesiastical institutions, such as an entry in 1506 from the Biblioteca de la

Colegiata de Santander, and the 1517 inventory of Juan Picart, “priest of the parish of la Seo de Zaragoza.”<sup>406</sup> Nuns also owned *artes de canto*, exemplified by Catalina de Sámano, who owned “twenty small *canto* books.”<sup>407</sup> At least three nunneries existed in the city during the period: of these, both the Convento de Santa María de Consolación (de las Dueñas) and the Convento de la Anunciación (de las Úrsulas) present a particular interest, since they only accepted nuns from noble families, corresponding to the high status of Sámano.<sup>408</sup> Though clergy may, in part, be derived from university students who graduated from the University of Salamanca, given Porras’ catchment area and patrons, the clergy who required and had access to these works likely formed a much more significant group than Salmantine pupils.

#### e. Synthesis

Fundamentally, given the wide range of sheets, kinds of content, and range in marketing apparatus, each treatise appears designed for a specific target market or markets. These defining aspects are covered above and in section three. Table 3.10. provides a summary of the imagined markets for each of these treatises. In order by date, Escobar’s short, 2-sheet offering on plainchant appears aimed at a widest public; Durán’s *Comento*, with its large size and thorough discussion of plainchant, targets ecclesiastics as a primary market, with a secondary market of musical intellectuals; Durán’s *Sumula* likewise advertises directly to the clergy, with secondary markets of musical amateurs and, perhaps, student amateurs; Diego de Puerto’s *Portus musice* targets musical amateurs and choirboys, though its timeline suggests a relationship with the

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<sup>406</sup> “Juan Picart, sacerdote de la parroquia de la Seo de Zaragoza.” Mazuela-Anguita, 216.

<sup>407</sup> “En segundo lugar, la biblioteca de Catalina de Sámano, una monja de clase alta, consistía en sesenta libros, entre los que encontramos ‘veinte libros pequeños de canto.’” Mazuela-Anguita, “Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista,” 442.

<sup>408</sup> Martínez Frías, “La Fundación Del Convento de Santa Úrsula de Salamanca y Su Posible Relación Posterior Con El Foco Hispanoflamenco Toledano,” 161.

school year; and, finally, Durán's *Lux bella* targets, again, the clergy, as well as musical amateurs, particularly evidenced by its patron, Bernardino Manrique de Lara.

Table 3.10.: Imagined Markets for the Porras Treatises

<b>Title</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Proposed Market</b>
<i>Introducción muy breve</i>	Escobar	1490-1501	Wider public
<i>Comento sobre lux bella</i>	Durán	1498	Clergy
<i>Sumula de canto de organo</i>	Durán	1502-1503	Clergy, amateurs, [students]
<i>Portus musice</i>	Puerto	1504	<i>Mozos de coro</i> , [students]
<i>Lux bella</i>	Durán	1509	Clergy, amateurs

These music treatises appear to participate in the full circle of musical life of early 16th-century Spain. They respond to the increased demands on the populace to be musically literate, the reformed liturgy, the interest in extemporized polyphony, and the growth of instruments as accepted music among wide portions of the populace and student body, evident in the *Sumula* and *Portus musice*. Fundamentally, the idea that prints were produced in response to demand arising from the University curriculum is, at present, an unfounded assumption which goes against current evidence of the sources. However, the University still remains a plausible, though small, market for the music treatises.

### 5. Synthesis of Chapter 3

This chapter establishes the presence of multiple markets for each treatise printed by Porras and Gysser. In general, findings reduce the role of the University of Salamanca as a primary market, and emphasize the role of ecclesiastical institutions, both in financing liturgical

books and treatises, as well as the wide range of potential ecclesiastical markets established in chapter 2.

Second, it presents new understandings of several of the prints. *Portus musicae* represents the greatest ties to the University, perhaps owing to Puerto's age and position, though it may have been intended as a means of promotion. Durán's *Sumula de canto de organo*, through its format, appears to maintain several ties to both the Fonseca and the royal court. Section 2 suggests ties between *Manuale Chori* and the activities of the Fonseca. Likewise, it agrees with Rial Costas' finding that the *Missale Auriense* was a precursor or trial-run for the *Missale Compostellanum*, while specifically noting the role of the typeset music, or lack thereof.

On a larger scale, this chapter establishes format as a significant means of understanding early music publications in cultural contexts. This method allows researchers to peer into the mindset and understanding of musical practice of the given period: here, we see the interlocking mechanisms of court, university, and church. This interlocking provided Porrás and Gysser with the funds and markets to publish musical works and, in Porrás' case, to sustain that production for over two decades.

## Chapter 4: Conclusions

### 1. Summary of the Thesis

This thesis sheds light on the Salmantine music prints published between 1494 and 1512, revealing a wealth of hidden figures involved in the production of liturgical prints and printed treatises. Salamanca, at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, maintained an active network of bishops, whose reformation activities required music texts. These markets were buttressed by amateur and intellectual markets which were beginning to emerge as a significant force even at this early date.

In Chapter 1, section 1.a., three research questions were posed. Taken together, the main goal of the study was to explore the Salmantine music corpus and to understand why Salamanca was a significant music printing center in the 1490s and 1500s. The thesis answers the first question, “Who was involved in Salmantine music production?” through a collection of names collated from the music prints and the *actas capitulares* of Salamanca Cathedral. Of these people, Alfonso II de Fonseca, and potentially his son, Alfonso III, appear as prominent patrons invested in musical activity. Chapter 2 suggested additional links associated with the Fonseca family, links which may have direct bearing on the Porrás Press and its materials. This finding leads directly to question 3, “Why were patrons invested in music printing?” from which historical evidence strongly suggests that musical reform in the liturgy sponsored by various members of the royal family lead directly to the music publishing activities of the Porrás Press as well as, to a lesser extent, Juan Gysser. The involvement of the Fonseca family, their network, and their connections with several of the Salmantine music prints constitutes a significant finding of the thesis.

Another important finding concerns the prints themselves. The financing of the *Missale Compostellanum*, as well as the financing of Durán's Salmantine treatises, relate to the activities of the Fonseca family, while the *Missale Abulense* was printed for another reformist bishop, Alfonso Carrillo de Albornoz. Chapter 3 established the *Missale Auriense* as a typological precursor to the *Missale Compostellanum*. Chapter 2 also established the influence of language reform, itself partially tied to music reform, and its influence on *Portus musice*. The intersection between these reforms further enlightens our understanding of the musical format, with a particular emphasis on solidifying Latin pronunciation as seen in the careful text underlay. Nebrija emerges as a peripheral figure associated with language reform and connected to the Fonseca family. The investigation of the numerous people (patrons, editors, authors, etc.) who appear in the corpus leads back to these cultural reforms.

Question 2 asked "What markets did Salmantine printers and authors expect?" The study of names, places, and institutions tied to the prints established Porras' clientele and probable catchment area. The area encompasses much of northwestern Iberia, with Galicia forming an empty market both lacking in significant competition and maintaining ties to Porras through the archbishops of Santiago, Alfonso II and III de Fonseca. Chapter 3 established primary and secondary markets for the music treatises, with the clergy emerging as primary target markets for each, again bearing the influence of ecclesiastical reforms. Only the intended market for *Portus musice* remains unresolved, though an investigation of its format revealed much about Diego de Puerto himself, including his position at the University and his life circumstances. The investigation of format further refined these primary markets with varying degrees of intellectual and/or amateur engagement.

## 2. Analysis of Juan de Porras' Business Practices

While the thesis body focused mainly on the evidence found in the music books and their relationship to the cultural sphere, the research also developed several important conclusions concerning Porras' business practices in regards to music printing.

Before delving into the analysis proper, chapters 1 and 2 established Porras as the main driver of music printing in Salamanca, as well as the first consistent music printer on the Peninsula, a position largely overshadowed in musicological scholarship by attention to early printing in Seville. Chapter 3, section 1 proposed that, in fact, Porras maintained connections in Seville, where his father and Diego Sánchez de Cantalapiedra had potentially set up a proto-press in the 1470s.

Porras worked with existing music markets. German printers established the nascent music print industry, beginning in 1492 with the first edition of *Lux bella*, later taken over by native Spanish printers. Margarita Restrepo, in her comparative study of German printers of music incunabula, fully establishes the musical activities of these printers and their motivations.<sup>409</sup> German printers worked with bishops and monastic houses. However, the market for music production was so unreliable that many turned to other trades or methods of income. Pablo Hurus, for example, likely traded saffron in addition to his activities as a printer. Restrepo concludes that many early German printers were fundamentally unsuccessful in their ventures.<sup>410</sup> Generally, due to high risk, printers often coalesced into teams. Juan de Porras, who may have known many of these printers, appears to have borrowed from German-speakers in the profession. His printing profile echoes that of other Germans and Iberian music production as a

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<sup>409</sup> Restrepo, "German-Speaking Printers and the Development of Music Printing in Spain (1485-1505)."

<sup>410</sup> Restrepo, 56–59.

whole. Porras employed existing marketing practices, those originally imported from the German *Sprachgebiet*, into his output.

Porras appears to have integrated and expanded the business inherited from his father. While Alonso de Porras was a bookseller, as was Porras by the time of the trial with Catalina González de Valdivieso, Porras fought for ownership of the printing press. By 1491, he obtained full control of the press and was printing consistently after 1496, while continuing to travel and finance editions during the 1490s and 1500s, precisely the timeline for the music prints. Inheriting a solid business model based on university texts and legislative print, and the associated contacts from this business, may have provided Porras with solid financial footing to delve into music publishing. His connections to prominent patrons likely lowered initial barriers to entry and encouraged music print production over the period under study. After the *Missale Auriense* and *Missale Compostellanum*, he acquired two music typesets, with S2 representing increased investment in music printing. His expansion further diminished risk, since he had consolidated the means and expertise for printing music into his own business. Moreover, his approach to integration occurred over the course of at least a decade, suggesting that Porras expanded his business with caution, responding to increased financial opportunity, rather than acquiring materials all at once.

On a cultural scale, we see that the role of Salamanca in music printing had its origin in the reform movements of the church by the Fonseca and other bishops and archbishops, buttressed by Ferdinand and Isabella. All the Salmantine prints relate, in one form or another, back to the reform activities of these historical personages. The University trained and attracted educated musicians. The protection of the institution, regardless how spotty, promoted the flourishing of print in its early decades.

Moreover, that the expression of musical reform occurred in print appears to rest on Alonso de Porrás' connections with the Fonseca and Nebrija, as well as Salmantine printers' connections to the University, the combination of which allowed Juan de Porrás to print in a niche industry. Associated printers such as Gysser and Rodríguez de la Passera engaged in Salmantine music production. As a result, Porrás and, to a lesser extent, Gysser, dominated music printing in Salamanca and northwestern Iberia. The study shows that Juan de Porrás was one of the first music printers in Iberia and virtually controlled northwestern music print production.

From the perspective of Porrás, this process was accomplished through partial vertical integration of the business, in acquiring music type, woodblocks, text type, multiple business fronts, printing, bookselling, and financing. Porrás' markets extended to the underserved region of northwestern Iberia, and took advantage of a network of bishop-reformers. Moreover, Porrás appears to have outlasted and/or outcompeted the first and second generations of early printers in Salamanca, with historical records suggesting both his business acumen and influence on printers, such as Juan Gysser, through the 1500s.<sup>411</sup> Porrás appears to have benefited from gift economies suggested by patronage, partial monopoly of music printing, and the emerging market economy for printed books. By integrating and expanding the business and serving a wide geographic range, Porrás was able to make music printing financially feasible.

Porrás and Gysser further tailored their music treatises to a variety of markets. Contrary to current understandings of the treatises, namely, that they were printed for the University or the clergy, the *artes de canto* represent a wide range of offerings meant to encapsulate all possible

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<sup>411</sup> Norton contends that Porrás was the only active printer in 1510. Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)"; Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 165, 194, 207-8, 219.

markets. While their motivation may have been ecclesiastical in nature, in part responding to the new demand caused by musical reformation in the Iberian Kingdoms, their format and marketing apparatus constitute attempts to appeal to different societal groups. None of the treatises appear to capture a niche or captive market, but suggest several kinds of buyers. The *Introducción muy breve*, for example, represents an appeal to the widest cross-section of 15<sup>th</sup>-century Salmantine society, due to its cheapness and brevity, as well as its use of the vernacular.

Music printing in Salamanca appeared at the conjunction of two major lines of authority and influence. One comes directly from the ecclesiastical reforms and appointments of the monarchy in the post-Expulsion period, running through their powerful episcopal supports, such as the Fonseca family, who in turn were patrons of schools, theorists, and musical activities in the city, their dioceses, and elsewhere. The second stems from the general populace and interest in extemporized polyphony, partly expressed through lower middle-class musical figures who achieved positions of authority at a university dedicated to practical musical education, through the professional roles of chaplain, *maestro de capilla*, the Chair for Music, and the substitute for *contrapunto*. In both instances, the major market was the rapidly growing and extremely lucrative ecclesiastical employees, all of whom would need, at the very least, a basic understanding of plainchant and polyphony practiced in the Cathedrals. The unique conjunction of these two phenomena results in the music books printed in the city from the 1490s until around 1510.

Though Porrás continued to print up to at least 1520, his music production ceased, as far as we know, after 1512. No exemplars of surviving musical works, either religious or didactic in nature, appear in the city until the 1530s. This lacuna in music production suggests the impetus and motivation for music printing dried up around this year, as the markets for music prints did

not simply vanish. Patron-bishops of the Porrás music prints all died around this date, as shown in Appendix A. In particular, the Porrás Firm completed the *Missale Bracharense*, the last music print in the corpus, on 8 March 1512, four days before the death of Alfonso II de Fonseca on the 12<sup>th</sup>. In light of this coincidence, a full investigation of the Fonseca family, other bishops with a presence in Salamanca, and familial ties to the nobility would prove fruitful to putting early music printing in a wider social context.

In short, the production of music prints in Salamanca results from several different factors unattributable to the University alone. In de-emphasizing the role of the University in the music treatises, I hope not to deny their large influence in music printing from Salamanca, but rather to point to equally significant factors, including politics and other markets, which fostered a continuous music printing period of nearly 20 years.

### **3. Areas of Further Research**

The thesis presents far more avenues of inquiry than it resolves. Importantly, it reveals a network of overlapping patrons, musicians, and consumers that dominated the musical landscape of northwestern Iberia during the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. While musicologists have done much to trace the overlapping careers of theorists and music professors, relatively little has been done to similarly connect musicians with bishops, patrons, and other intellectuals. More work needs to be done to analyze the Portuguese elements of the corpus, both in relation to the Kingdom of Portugal, exemplified by the *Missale Bracharense*, which contains the coat of arms of the Kingdom yet employed a Salmantine printer, and to the urban connections with Salamanca, exemplified by the copy of the *Comento sobre lux bella* currently owned by the

Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, which features Portuguese annotations.<sup>412</sup> A full study of music type likewise remains an unexplored avenue of inquiry, one which would greatly clarify the production of music during the early Iberian printing period and may provide dating clarifications for some of the prints.

One of the most significant findings of the thesis, the involvement of the Fonseca family in the Porrás Press, still lacks the general context of their overall patronage activities, movements, and familial relationships. As an example, we know Alfonso II de Fonseca also commissioned several liturgical works in manuscript, often using his own coat of arms along with the shield of the Catholic Monarchs, as discussed by Castillo-Ferreira.<sup>413</sup> This thesis adds to our knowledge of the patronage activities of the Fonseca dynasty in music, and a comprehensive study of their involvement in musical reform is now possible. The ties to the royal courts, suggested generally by the Fonseca bishops and other bishops implicated in the books, and specifically through the case of the *Sumula de canto de organo*, also remains to be explored. While the focus of this study only encompasses the formatting and cultural ties of the treatises, greater understanding will come through investigations of cathedral and university archives and relationships between musicians, printers, and patrons, the latter often familial.

Lastly, the combined methodology proposed by the thesis can now be applied to other early music printers in Iberia. The availability of digitized books, online databases, and a significant wealth of secondary sources allows for comparative, multi-disciplinary study.

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<sup>412</sup> See Appendix B, “Catalogue,” no. 4, “Comento sobre lux bella.” Domingo Marcos Durán, *Comento Sobre Lux Bella* (Salamanca: Juan Gysser, 1498), Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, INC. 1355.

<sup>413</sup> Castillo-Ferreira, “Chant, Liturgy, and Reform,” 291.

#### 4. Final Thoughts

We have a very good idea of the inner workings of Salmantine music production and the motivations for that production. This thesis provides a preliminary methodology and glance at these motivations. By looking at the prints from a cultural perspective, we gain new perspectives on the purposes of music print production and an understanding of how the industry worked in its earliest years. Porrás appears as an astute, if conservative, businessman, who was the first to make printing music in Iberia financially feasible. The reform movements associated with University and Church form the major impetus for this production, even as popular demand for printed *artes* grew among amateur markets. The “tradition” of music treatises remarked upon by Tess Knighton represents but a small piece of a much larger puzzle, one which deserves sustained attention from scholarship in an interdisciplinary and global fashion: the availability of online catalogues and digitized prints now permits this kind of cultural study. We can now culturally situate music production and practice during the Salmantine golden age.

## Appendix A: Biographies

This appendix presents the results of the Index of Names gathered from the music prints, as well as the members of the Porrás family who appear in the *actas capitulares*.

### 1. Printers

The first printed books in Salamanca arrived sometime before 27 January 1480, when works appear Bishop Gonzalo de Vivero's will.<sup>414</sup> J.L. Martín, as quoted by Bécares Botas, mentions that Salamanca had "More than fourteen families lived in Salamanca [at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century] from this activity [*librera*]."<sup>415</sup> As tradesmen with wealthy clientele, printers set up shop around the Cathedral and the University (frequently rendered *las puertas de la Escuela*) on what is now the Calle de Libreros in Salamanca. As such, they rented their houses from the Cathedral itself.

#### a. The Porrás Press

Given the early date, Porrás emerges from a substratum of printers (Bécares Botas provides the term "proto-printers") whose work does not survive, but whose names, professions, and official activities were recorded by the Cathedral Chapter.<sup>416</sup> The documents greatly enhance our current understanding of Porrás' life and activities. The *actas* also preserve information on his father, **Alfonso de Porrás**, his wife, **Leonor Alonso**, his father-in-law, **Diego Alonso**, and a

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<sup>414</sup> Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)," 87.

<sup>415</sup> Bécares Botas, 87.

<sup>416</sup> Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)."

business partner, **Juan de Montejo**. Otherwise, biographical information must be pieced together from contracts and colophons.

The trial of Catalina González de Valdivieso versus Juan de Porras represents the other significant primary source on early printing in Salamanca. The trial provides information on **Alfonso de Porras, Juan de Porras (I)**, his son, also called Juan, and Juan de Montejo, his business partner in 1487, perhaps unwanted.<sup>417</sup>

*Table A1: The Porras Press*<sup>418</sup>

<b>Name</b>	<b>Relation to Juan de Porras [I]</b>	<b>Profession</b>
Alfonso de Porras [I]	Father	Bookseller
Diego Alonso	Father-in-law	Merchant <sup>419</sup>
Juan de Porras [I]	Self	Bookseller, Printer
Leonor Alonso	Wife <sup>420</sup>	[Bookseller? Printer?]
Juan de Porras [II]	Son	Printer
Alfonso de Porras [II]	Son	Printer <sup>421</sup>

### **Alonso/Alfonso de Porras (? – before 5 May 1487)**

Father of **Juan de Porras**. He formed a partnership (*sociedad*) with Diego Sánchez de Cantalapiedra first in Seville, moving to Salamanca sometime during the 1470s. One of the first

<sup>417</sup> See **Juan de Porras**.

<sup>418</sup> This table merely outlines the direct relations of Juan de Porras and their involvement (or lack thereof) in the business. Other persons involved prior to Porras' full control of the firm include Juan de Montejo, Pedro de Salaya, Catalina González de Valdivieso and her children, Andrés, Juan, Diego, and María. The exact evolution of the firm lies beyond the scope of this thesis, and other studies have already examined the business. For a breakdown of the partnerships present in Salamanca, and a more detailed explanation of the firm's evolution, see Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)"; López-Varea, "Typography and Illustration in Fifteenth-Century Salamanca: The Porras Press"; Varona García, "Identificación de La Primera Imprenta Anónima Salmantina"; María Eugenia López-Varea, "La Imprenta Incunable En Salamanca," in *Dos Siglos de Materialidad Del Libro: Estudios Sobre Manuscritos e Impresos Entre Los Siglos VIII y XIX* (Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2017), 265–79.

<sup>419</sup> Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)," 91.

<sup>420</sup> Bécares Botas, 92.

<sup>421</sup> Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 208.

attested printers in Salamanca,<sup>422</sup> his first securely attributed publication was the *Introductiones latinae* by Antonio de Nebrija, printed 16 January 1481.<sup>423</sup> The association with Nebrija appears to have placed the business on solid financial footing, laying the groundwork for Juan de Porras' music printing activities. According to Varona García,<sup>424</sup> Alfonso de Porras

...undertook to contribute 300,000 maravedís to the business and, in exchange, obtained the participation of a fourth part 'of what was done and worked in the said city of Seville,' where Diego Sánchez de Cantalapiedra already had a workshop, and a fifth part of what was printed in the Salamanca workshop.<sup>425</sup>

His name appears in the lawsuit levied by Catalina González de Valdivieso, Sánchez de Cantalapiedra's widow, in 1487 against Juan de Porras, where he has already died.<sup>426</sup>

### **Juan de Porras (1450s – 22 November 1527)**<sup>427</sup>

Following the work of Vicente Bécares Botas, Juan de Porras arrived in Salamanca with his father, **Alfonso de Porras**, sometime in the 1470s to establish a press there.<sup>428</sup> Juan de Porras appears to continue established associations with Sevillian printers, perhaps affecting the publication of *Lux bella* in 1492 from the *cuatro compañeros alemanes*.<sup>429</sup>

<sup>422</sup> Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)," 88.

<sup>423</sup> He may also be the printer of the 1480 *Leyes que en las Cortes de Toledo ordenaron los reyes Fernando V e Isabel I de Castilla, 8 Mayo 1480*, though the anonymity of early printers in Salamanca makes assigning responsibility a slippery task.

<sup>424</sup> Varona García, "Identificación de La Primera Imprenta Anónima Salmantina," 26.

<sup>425</sup> "Por la demanda sabemos cómo posiblemente por los años 70 Diego Sánchez de Cantalapiedra y Alfonso de Porras formalizaron la sociedad en la que éste se comprometía a aportar al negocio trescientos mil maravedís y a cambio obtenía la participación de una cuarta parte 'de lo que se fiziese e obrase en la dicha çibdad de Sevilla,' donde Diego Sánchez de Cantalapiedra ya tenía un taller, y una quinta parte de lo que se imprimiese ene el taller de Salamanca." Varona García, 26.

<sup>426</sup> Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)," 85; Varona García, "Identificación de La Primera Imprenta Anónima Salmantina."

<sup>427</sup> For the death date Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)," 85.

<sup>428</sup> See **Alonso/Alfonso de Porras**.

<sup>429</sup> See chapter 3, section 1., "Shared Features."

Juan de Porras appears in trial records from 5 May 1487. This trial was brought by Catalina González de Valdivieso, the widow of Diego Sánchez de Cantalapiedra, to Juan de Porras. In the appeal, Porras claims that

...at the death of his father, Alonso de Porras [i.e., sometime between 1483 and 1487], he was younger than 25 years old and was absent from Salamanca and, in the meantime, Juan de Montejo represented him in the workshop. On his return, he had to denounce him because he had taken over the printing press and a trial against him followed.<sup>430</sup>

Though Porras lost to Sánchez de Cantalapiedra's widow, López Varea notes that Porras was able to continue the business.<sup>431</sup> The trial records also show that both Alonso de Porras and Juan de Porras functioned as booksellers. As such, the *Missale Auriense* and *Missale Compostellanum*, printed by Rodríguez de la Passera in conjunction with Porras, likely result from Porras' role as bookseller and financial intermediary.

After the trial records, the *actas capitulares* provide us with the most information on Porras' activities. Porras appears in the *actas* as both "maestro de los moldes" (master of moulds, i.e., printer-businessman) and "librero" (bookseller). From 8 August 1487, three months after the trial, the *actas capitulares* show Porras as one of the contracted printers for the *Missale* for Salamanca, of which no copies have survived, if printed. At that date, Juan de Montejo and Juan de Porras are listed as a partnership.

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<sup>430</sup> Due to the inability to date the death of Alonso de Porras, Juan de Porras' date of birth remains unknown, though probably somewhere between 1450 and 1462. López Varea dates Alonso de Porras' death sometime between 1483 and 1485. Porras lost the appeal. "El demandado va relatando cómo a la muerte de su padre Alonso de Porras, él era menor de veintinco [sic] años y estaba ausente de Salamanca y mientras tanto en el taller llevaba su representación Juan de Montejo. A su regreso tuvo que denunciarle porque se había apoderado de la imprenta y siguió un juicio contra él." Varona García, "Identificación de La Primera Imprenta Anónima Salmantina," 28; López-Varea, "La Imprenta Incunable En Salamanca," 271.

<sup>431</sup> López-Varea, "La Imprenta Incunable En Salamanca," 272.

On 27 September 1490, **Diego Alonso** appears in the *actas* as Juan de Porras' father-in-law. As such, prior to 1490, Porras married **Leonor Alonso**. Varona García mentions that their son was also named Juan.<sup>432</sup>

After 1491, Juan de Porras gained full control of the press. That same year, Porras transferred at least two houses to his wife, Leonor, in December.<sup>433</sup> Porras formed several contracts during the years to follow, often involving significant amounts of travel:

1491: Porras appears as a financier in 1491 for the *Siete Partidas*, published by Meinardo Ungut and Estanislao Polono in Seville,

1494/1495: Finances the *Missale Auriense* and *Missale Compostellanum*. Published by **Rodríguez de la Passera** in Monterrey,<sup>434</sup>

1496: Cuesta Gutiérrez contends Porras left for Coimbra. Cuesta Gutiérrez follows the work of Augusto Ferreira, who found several contracts pertaining to Porras in the city archives,<sup>435</sup>

12 December 1496: Porras appears in Santiago de Compostela to for the *Missale Compostellano*,

1499: Porras again appears with Meinardo Ungut and Estanislao Polono as financier for *De consolatione philosophiae*,

1500: Porras appears as one of the team of financiers from Salamanca for the *Missale Segobiense*, published in Venice by Johannes Emericus Spira,<sup>436</sup>

1501: Johannes Gherlinc printed a *Breviarium Auriense* "for Juan de Porras" in Salamanca.

The arrival of **Juan Gysser** in 1500 ushered in a period of collaboration between the two printers (see **Juan Gysser** for the nature of their business relationship). Norton contends that Porras was the only printer in the city in 1510, demonstrating the stability and longevity of the

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<sup>432</sup> Varona García, "Identificación de La Primera Imprenta Anónima Salmantina," 30.

<sup>433</sup> See **Leonor Alonso**.

<sup>434</sup> Cabano Vázquez and Díaz Fernández, *Missale Auriense: 1494*, 15–16.

<sup>435</sup> Cuesta Gutiérrez, *La Imprenta En Salamanca: Avance al Estudio de La Tipografía Salmantina (1480-1944)*, 18.

<sup>436</sup> The society was represented by Fernando de Jaén, implying that Porras did not travel to Segovia during this period. Fermín de los Reyes and Marta M. Nadales, "The Book in Segovia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Accident, Chance, Necessity?," in *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 350.

business compared to other second-generation Salmantine printers.<sup>437</sup> Porras continued to print works from the Salamanca houses up until at least 1520.

In broad strokes, Porras' output appears dominated by university material, unsurprising given his proximity to the *Escuelas Menores* and the protection bestowed on printers by the University itself.<sup>438</sup> María Eugenia López-Varea, among others, notes the close relationship between Nebrija and the Press, particularly in its early years, where Nebrija's texts appear to have provided the Press with solid financial footing.<sup>439</sup> A third group of important texts were legislative prints for the Catholic Monarchs, as well as synods and constitutions for several dioceses.

Upon his death in 1527, he appears as the tenant of five houses, three on the Rúa Nueva (now Calle de Libreros), one of which passed to Juan de Junta on 9 December, and two on the Calle Traviesa, perpendicular to the Rúa Nueva.<sup>440</sup>

### **Leonor Alonso**

Sometime before 1490, Leonor Alonso married Juan de Porras. Her father was the merchant Diego Alonso: on the 27 September 1490, Juan de Porras appears as renting houses from the Chapter, while Diego Alonso appears as *fiador*.

On 2 December 1491, the *Actas capitulares* note the transfer of at least two houses on the Calle de Libreros from Juan de Porras to Leonor, his wife, for improvements amounting to 1,100

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<sup>437</sup> Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 219.

<sup>438</sup> Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)," 86.

<sup>439</sup> López-Varea, "Typography and Illustration in Fifteenth-Century Salamanca: The Porras Press," 172.

<sup>440</sup> On page 85, Bécares Botas lists 22 November 1527 as Porras' death date, though on 102 says he died "...around the end of the summer, or in October, of 1527": "Luego Juan de Porras tuvo que morir hacia finales del Verano, o en octubre, de 1527..." Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)," 102.

maravedís.<sup>441</sup> Whatever her role, it appears she played a significant enough part in the business to require her own houses.

## b. Other Printers

### Gonzalo Rodríguez de la Passera

Both the *Missale Auriense* (1494) and the *Missale Compostellanum* bear the mark of Gonzalo Rodríguez de la Passera. From the colophon of the broadsheet “Relación das reliquias da Catedral de Santiago de Compostela,” Passera originally came from Asturias.<sup>442</sup> Passera formed a partnership with **Juan de Porras** in 1494 for both missals. While the nature of their partnership remains under scrutiny, it appears that, for the *Missale Auriense*, Porras was a major financial contributor with Passera conducting its actual execution. Norton contends that the “List of relics and indulgences” accords with a typeset used in 1497 and 1504, and that Passera “was still at Monterrey in 1512.”<sup>443</sup>

### Juan (Hans) Gysser [fl. 1500-1512]

Juan Gysser arrived in Salamanca in 1500 “with new types (for Juan de Porras).”<sup>444</sup> Gysser’s 70 G employed by Porras after 1502. Norton suggests Gysser may have been financially reliant on Porras.<sup>445</sup> 1502/1503 saw the printing of the *Regula sancti Augustini*, “presumably a joint work with Porras,” as it employs Porras’ type 8, 91 G.<sup>446</sup> Gysser was an

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<sup>441</sup> Bécares Botas, 92.

<sup>442</sup> Cabano Vázquez and Díaz Fernández provide a facsimile of the broadsheet. “Uxío Carré dátao como posterior a 1496 cando a sociedade Porras e Pasera xa estaba disolta.” Cabano Vázquez and Díaz Fernández, *Missale Auriense: 1494*, 14, 43.

<sup>443</sup> Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 155.

<sup>444</sup> Bécares Botas, “Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510),” 86.

<sup>445</sup> Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 194.

<sup>446</sup> Norton, 194.

active printer from 1501-1509, later appearing as an employee of the Porrás press in 1512. Porrás also used Gysser's ornamental material in the *Missale Placentine* and the *Missale Abulense*.<sup>447</sup>

## 2. Authors

### **Cristóbal de Escobar (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century)**

Attested in the *Introducción muy breve de canto llano*. No data exist concerning Escobar's life. His treatise, the *Introducción muy breve de canto llano* (1496?) tells us that he had attained the degree of *bachiller*, likely at the University of Salamanca. The *actas capitulares* mention a certain Rodrigo de Escobar, *librero*, who had houses on the Calle de Libreros and the Puerta del Río, behind the Cathedral. Bécares Botas questions whether the two are related.<sup>448</sup>

### **Diego de Puerto (fl. early 16<sup>th</sup> century)**

Author of *Portus musice*. All information concerning his life comes from the proemium of the work. Puerto describes himself as chapel cantor of the Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé and was likely in his early 20s by the publication of the treatise.<sup>449</sup> As a chaplain, he would have come from humble origins and been on full scholarship to attend the University. He further tells the reader that he had received a benefice in Laredo on the northern coast of Iberia, in present-day Santander.

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<sup>447</sup> See Appendix B, "Catalogue," no. 12, "Missale Placentine," and no. 13, "Missale Abulense."

<sup>448</sup> Bécares Botas, "Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510)," 91.

<sup>449</sup> Accords with Rey Marcos' evaluation of *Portus musice* as displaying a certain youthfulness on the part of its author. Rey Marcos and Romero de Lecea, *Portus musice de Diego de Puerto*, 16; García Fraile, "La vida musical en la Universidad de Salamanca durante el siglo XVI," 26–27.

### Domingo Marcos Durán (ca. 1465 - ?)

Attested in *Comento sobre Lux bella*, *Sumula de canto de órgano*, and *Lux bella* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.).

Born in Garrovillas de Alconétar to Juan Marcos and Isabel Fernández (see **3. Parents**). All dates and elements of his biography, save for his publications, are subject to scrutiny. I chose to follow Santiago Galán Gómez' version of events. We do not know why Durán did not take the traditional Spanish naming conventions from his parents, i.e., as Domingo Marcos Fernández. Galán Gómez suggests he may be *converso*, owing to the number of *converso* Duráns from Alconetar present in Salamanca at around the same time.

1465 remains the generally accepted approximate birth date for Durán. In the *Sumula de canto de órgano*, Durán states that he has been engaged in the study of music for 25 years. If we accept 1503 as the year of publication for the *Sumula de canto de órgano*, with 1465 as a near-correct birth year, we may estimate that Durán enrolled at the University around 1478. This dating would suggest he was 13 or 14 when he enrolled. Whatever the case, Durán was likely attending University courses in the late 1470s or early 1480s.

Durán studied liberal arts and philosophy at university.<sup>450</sup> By 1492, Durán had received his *bachiller*.<sup>451</sup> Durán wrote three treatises: *Lux bella* (1492, 1509, 1518), *Comento sobre Lux bella* (c. 1503), and *Sumula de canto de órgano*. That Durán's *Lux bella* went through three editions remains a remarkable feat: most Iberian music treatises never saw reprinting.<sup>452</sup>

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<sup>450</sup> F.J. León Tello, "Durán, Domingo Marcos," Grove Music Online, 2001, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000008373>.

<sup>451</sup> The first edition of *Lux bella* (1492) accredits him as such. Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music In The Age Of Columbus*, 64.

<sup>452</sup> Stevenson suggests that "Less than a half-dozen of the very numerous Spanish Renaissance instructors won the testimony to their popularity of a reprint or an enlarged edition." Robert Stevenson, 65.

Durán's profession also remains unknown. Santiago Galán Gómez suggests that Durán either held the Chair for Music or taught out of his home.<sup>453</sup> This proposal stems from Galán Gómez' own appraisal of Durán's treatises as the work of a careful and experienced pedagogue.

It was once believed that by 1526, Durán was *maestro de capilla* for the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, dying sometime before 5 September 1529.<sup>454</sup> However, Barrios Manzano, in citing López Calo, posits that the Compostela Durán represents a certain Lorenzo Durán.<sup>455</sup>

### 3. Patrons and Dedictees

#### **Alfonso de Fonseca y Acevedo (Alfonso II de Fonseca) (c. 1437 – 12 March 1512)**

Archbishop of Santiago de Compostela from 1486 until 1500, when he retired the seat in favor of his son, Alfonso III de Fonseca. He was thereafter named Titular Patriarch of Alexandria.<sup>456</sup> Attested as patron of the *Missale Compostellanum*, *Comento sobre lux bella*, and *Sumula de canto de organo*.<sup>457</sup>

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<sup>453</sup> Galán Gómez, "La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la Sumula de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Duran como modelo," 30.

<sup>454</sup> Barrios Manzano, "Domingo Marcos Durán. Un teórico musical extremeño del renacimiento. Estado de la cuestión.," 93.

<sup>455</sup> Barrios Manzano, 93; Galán Gómez, "La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la Sumula de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Duran como modelo," 30.

<sup>456</sup> "Archbishop Alonso de Fonseca y Acevedo [Catholic-Hierarchy]," accessed March 30, 2022, <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bfonyac.html>.

<sup>457</sup> The following articles provide a fleshed-out biography: Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares, "Alonso II de Fonseca y Acevedo"; G. y Valdes, "El Arzobispado de Santiago En Tiempos de Don Alonso II de Fonseca."

**Alfonso Carrillo de Albornoz (died 14 June 1514)**

Bishop of Catania from 8 November 1486 until his appointment to the bishopric of Ávila in 1496.<sup>458</sup> In 1489, he traveled to Galicia to head the nascent ecclesiastical reform there.<sup>459</sup>

Attested as patron of the *Missale Abulense*.

**Francisco de Zúñiga**

Prominent noble of Monterrey, attested as patron of the *Missale Auriense*. Identity currently insecure.

**Pascual Rebenga de Ampudia (1442 – 19 July 1512)**

Bishop of Burgos from 1496 until his death in 1512.<sup>460</sup> Attested as a possible dedicatee of *Portus musice*. Diego de Puerto received a benefice in the diocese.

**Juan de Castilla y Enríquez (1460 – 30 October 1510)**

Bishop of Astorga from 23 June 1494 until 14 February 1498, whereupon he received the bishopric of Salamanca. He held the seat until his death in 1510.<sup>461</sup>

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<sup>458</sup> “Bishop Alfonso Carrillo de Albornoz [Catholic-Hierarchy],” accessed March 30, 2022, <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bcardal.html>.

<sup>459</sup> Ríos Rodríguez, “La Preparación de La Reforma En Galicia. Alonso Carrillo de Albornoz y La Diócesis Auriense En 1489.”

<sup>460</sup> “Bishop Pascual Rebenga de Ampudia [Catholic-Hierarchy],” accessed March 30, 2022, <https://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bampudia.html>.

<sup>461</sup> “Bishop Juan de Castilla [Catholic-Hierarchy],” accessed March 30, 2022, <https://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bcastilj.html>.

#### 4. Parents

Both Domingo Marcos Durán and Diego de Puerto include their parentage in the proemia of their books. Likely, this description of their families relates to discriminatory policies at the University of Salamanca, reflecting the need to prove ancestry in order to attend. Lario argues that the Colegio de San Bartolomé, starting in 1488, tampered with its own constitution, arguing that it had always enforced *limpieza de sangre*.<sup>462</sup> The injunction was intended to exclude and discriminate against *conversos* and those of Jewish descent. The policy also drove up numbers of students from the upper classes and the nobility since entrants had to prove their lineage. Scholars have connected Durán,<sup>463</sup> Juan del Encina, and his brother, Diego de Femoselle,<sup>464</sup> to *converso* populations in Castile. Students on scholarship were also required to provide evidence of lineage, which functionally restricted entry to the University to the middle class and noble farmers who could afford the inspections. The Colegio de San Bartolomé maintained at least ten chaplaincy positions in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as a source of funding for students.<sup>465</sup> As one of the chapel cantors and effectively on scholarship, Puerto would have been subject to the injunctions concerning *limpieza de sangre* as well as injunctions against those with parents in unfavorable trades. Whether the references to the parents of Durán and Puerto present in their treatise are there for the explicit reason of *limpieza* or not remains to be seen. However, the inclusion of this information lends weight and legitimacy to the authors, particularly in the post-expulsion climate.

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<sup>462</sup> de Lario, *Escuelas de imperio. La formación de una elite en los Colegios Mayores (siglos XVI-XVII)*, 170–71.

<sup>463</sup> Galán Gómez, “La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la Sumula de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Duran como modelo,” 20.

<sup>464</sup> Isabel Pope and Tess Knighton, “Encina [Enzina], Juan Del [Femoselle, Juan De],” Grove Music Online, January 20, 2001.

<sup>465</sup> García Fraile, “La vida musical en la Universidad de Salamanca durante el siglo XVI,” 18.

### **Juan Marcos and Isabel Fernández (before 1503)**

Parents of **Domingo Marcos Durán**. They lived in Garrovillas de Alconétar, in present-day Extremadura. We do not know why Durán chose not to use his mother's last name, Fernández. Both had died sometime before 1503 upon the publication of the *Sumula de canto de organo*, where Durán uses the euphemistic epithet "que ayan santa gloria."

### **Pedro de Rada and Catalina Martín de Puerto**

Parents of **Diego de Puerto**, likely from Laredo, in present-day Cantabria. Nothing else about them is currently known.

## **5. Others**

### **Alfonso de Castilla**

Rector of the University of Salamanca from 1502.<sup>466</sup> Diego de Puerto mentions him in *Portus musice* as the work's editor. Likely, this editorship came through the recently enacted law of the Catholic Monarchs regarding book publication. However, this responsibility normally fell to the Bishop of Salamanca. Despite the apparent discrepancy, the law was sporadically enforced until later in the century. Provided the strong connections between Cathedral and University, and Diego de Puerto's status as student cantor, Alfonso de Castilla likely filled the role of examiner.<sup>467</sup>

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<sup>466</sup> Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music In The Age Of Columbus*, 64.

<sup>467</sup> See Appendix B, no. 9, "Portus musice," for more details concerning Castilla's identity.

## Appendix B: Catalogue

This catalogue presents all music prints produced in Salamanca or involving a Salmantine printer. For prints completed after 1500, type descriptions are taken verbatim from Norton. For 1490-1499, text types were deduced from Luisa Cuesta-Gutiérrez and María Eugenia López-Varea.<sup>468</sup> Each entry includes the following information:

### **#: Short Title**

Full title, if available

**Author**

**Catalogues**

**Date**

**Description:** Text rows/columns and size | Music rows/columns and size (types if applicable, see Appendix C)

**Digital Copy**

**Holding institutions**

**Language**

**Patron or Dedicattee**

**Place**

**Price**

**Printer**

**Print Run**

**Notes**

**Size**

Length

Width

No. of sheets

Where a field has no information, as is often the case with the field, “Price,” the field is simply omitted.

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<sup>468</sup> Cuesta Gutiérrez, *La Imprenta En Salamanca: Avance al Estudio de La Tipografía Salmantina (1480-1944)*; López-Varea, “Typography and Illustration in Fifteenth-Century Salamanca: The Porras Press.”

The following catalogues are included in the catalogue. Short titles used in the following entries appear in brackets:

[Cuesta-Gutiérrez]: Cuesta-Gutiérrez, Luisa. *La imprenta en Salamanca: Avance al estudio de la tipografía salmantina (1480-1944)*. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad Salamanca, 1981.

[IB]: Alexander S. Wilkinson, ed., *Iberian Books: Books Published in Spanish or Portuguese or on the Iberian Peninsula before 1601* (Boston: Brill, 2010) AND/OR “Iberian Books,” Database, <https://iberian.ucd.ie>

[ISTC]: “ISTC (Incunabula Short Title Catalogue),” Database, [https://data.cerl.org/istc/\\_search](https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search)

[Martín Abad]: Julián Martín Abad. *Catálogo bibliográfico de la colección de incunables de la Biblioteca Nacional de España*. Vol. 1. Biblioteca Nacional de España: Madrid, 2010.

[Norton]: Norton, F. J. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.

[USTC]: “USTC,” Database, <https://ustc.ac.uk/>

[Valverde]: Cristino Valverde del Barrio, *Catálogo de Incunables y Libros Raros de La Santa Iglesia Catedral de Segovia* (Segovia: Imp. de “El Adelantado,” 1930)

[Vindel]: Francisco Vindel, *El Arte Tipográfico En España Durante El Siglo XV: Salamanca, Zamora, Coria y Reino de Galicia*, vol. II, IX vols. (Madrid: Góngora, 1946)

## 1. Introducción muy breve de canto llano

Esta es una introducción muy breve de canto llano / compuesta por el bachiller christoval de escobar.

**Author:** Cristóbal de Escobar

**Catalogues:** Cuesta-Gutiérrez: p. 93

IB: 7003

ISTC: ic00978200

USTC: 767577

Vindel: Salamanca, 76

**Date:** 1490-1501

**Description:** Text: 34 lines to a page, 91/92 G (“1.a tip. gót., 2.a época”).<sup>469</sup> | Music: none.

**Holding institutions:** Berlin, Germany. Staatsbibliothek.

**Language:** Castilian

**Place:** Salamanca

**Printer:** Juan de Porras

**Notes:** *Iberian Books* gives 1501; ISTC and GW give “after 1500?”; Mazuela-Anguita gives 1498, while noting the traditional date of 1496 and citing Martín Galán’s date of 1490-1491;<sup>470</sup> Cuesta-Gutiérrez gives 1496;<sup>471</sup> Vindel gives *ad quem* 1496; Jesús Martín Galán gives 1490-1491.<sup>472</sup> Bécara Botas suggests Rodrigo de Escobar as a relative of Cristóbal de Escobar.<sup>473</sup>

**Size:** 4°

Size not available.

2 sheets

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<sup>469</sup> See Table 3.7.: “Density of the Music Treatises.”

<sup>470</sup> Mazuela-Anguita, “Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista. Volumen II: Apéndices,” 47.

<sup>471</sup> Cuesta Gutiérrez, *La Imprenta En Salamanca: Avance al Estudio de La Tipografía Salmantina (1480-1944)*, 93.

<sup>472</sup> Cited in Mazuela-Anguita, “Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista. Volumen II: Apéndices,” 47.

<sup>473</sup> Bécara Botas, “Los Agentes Del Libro Incunable Salmantino (1483-1510),” 91.

## 2. Missale Auriense

**Author:** [Diocese of Ourense]

**Catalogues:** IB: 6355

ISTC: im00646130

Martín Abad: M-116

Vindel: Galicia, 2

**Date:** 3 February 1494

**Description:** Text: 31-33 lines in two columns: 153 G.<sup>474</sup> | Music: 9 5-line staves in two columns: M1.

**Digital Copy:** <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000176350>

**Holding institutions:** Madrid, Spain. Biblioteca Nacional. INC/1128

Ourense, Spain. Archivo Histórico Provincial.

**Language:** Latin

**Patron or Dedicatee:** Francisco de Zúñiga

**Printer:** Gonzalo Rodríguez de la Passera, Juan de Porras (financier)

**Notes:** A 1493 inventory for Ourense Cathedral relates that a manuscript missal "...is in Monterrey in the printing house."<sup>475</sup> Without a doubt, this mention relates to the *Missale Auriense*, finished in 1494.

The exemplar at the Biblioteca Nacional is printed on paper, while the parchment exemplar is housed in Ourense Cathedral. ISTC gives 5 parchment leaves held at the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Ourense and names an imperfect volume at "Ourense BCap," likely referring to the Biblioteca del Cabildo of the Cathedral (Ourense BC). USTC and IB only list the Archivo Histórico Provincial.

The identity of Francisco de Zúñiga remains insecure. César Olivera Serrano, in his study on the lords of Monterrey, provides a full family tree, where a "Francisco de Zúñiga," the only one in the tree, is clearly marked as "señor de Galve y Baides," a related branch of the family.<sup>476</sup> According to Olivera Serrano, this Zúñiga maintained correspondence with the royal family.

However, in reference to the patron of the *Missale Auriense*, Benito Rial Costas refers to him simply as the "count of Monterrey,"<sup>477</sup> though, according to Olivera Serrano, the countess at the time was Francisca de Ulloa y Zúñiga. Further investigations of his true identity are beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, Francisco de Zúñiga, whatever the nature of his possessions, was a prominent noble associated with Monterrey during a period of intense ecclesiastical and political reform of the area.

**Size:** 2°

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<sup>474</sup> Odriozola, "El Misal Compostelano Impreso En 1495: La Singular Historia de Un Incunable Del Que Sólo Quedan Hojas Sueltas," 507.

<sup>475</sup> Cabano Vázquez and Díaz Fernández, *Missale Auriense: 1494*, 20.

<sup>476</sup> César Olivera Serrano, "Los Señores y El Estado de Monterrey (Siglos XIII-XVI)," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 80 (2006): 170.

<sup>477</sup> Rial Costas, *Producción y Comercio Del Libro En Santiago (1501-1553)*, 33.

325mm (length)

### 3. Missale Compostellanum

**Author:** [Diocese of Santiago de Compostela]

**Catalogues:** Cuesta-Gutiérrez: p. 94

IB: 6410

ISTC: im00654100

USTC: 333397

Vindel: Salamanca, 78

**Date:** 1495

**Description:** Text: 2 columns of 32 lines each: 122 G, 153 G, 274 G, "...unique among all Spanish missals."<sup>478</sup> | Music: 6 5-line staves in 2 columns: M2.<sup>479</sup>

**Holding institutions:** A Coruña, Spain. Archivo Municipal.

León, Spain. Archivo Histórico Provincial.

Madrid, Spain. Archivo de la Universidad Pontificia Comillas.

Ourense, Spain. Archivo Histórico Provincial.

Pontevedra, Spain. Archivo Histórico Provincial.

Santiago de Compostela, Spain. Archivo Capitular.

**Language:** Latin

**Patron or Dedicatee:** Alfonso de Fonseca, archbishop of Santiago

**Place:** Monterrey

**Price:** Paper: 700 maravedís

Parchment: 2,800 maravedís<sup>480</sup>

**Printer:** Gonzalo Rodríguez de la Passera, Juan de Porras (financier)

**Print Run:** 700 in paper, 50 in parchment<sup>481</sup>

**Notes:** On 13 January 1496, the Cabildo drew up a contract with Juan de Porras for 700 paper and 50 vellum copies of the *Missale Compostellanum*, which Antonio Odriozola describes as significantly high number for the period, though in 1500, 812 missals were ordered for Segovia Cathedral, 12 in parchment (see no. 6). However, it appears that the amount of parchment was an issue, as Porras only delivered 30 in vellum, with 720 in paper. These were successfully distributed through the diocese, as evidenced by church catalogues.<sup>482</sup> 89 sheets of the missal were discovered from 1961 until 1987, seven of which are repetitions of the same page. These have been identified on the basis that, in Iberia, only the *Missale Auriense* and the *Missale Compostellanum* contain 32 lines to a page, and that these pages are unfoliated. The missal for Compostela can be further distinguished from Ourense by the change of capital 'V,' whose form

<sup>478</sup> "...único entre todos los misales hispanos." Odriozola, "El Misal Compostelano Impreso En 1495: La Singular Historia de Un Incunable Del Que Sólo Quedan Hojas Sueltas," 507.

<sup>479</sup> Odriozola, 507, 511.

<sup>480</sup> Vindel, *El Arte Tipográfico En España Durante El Siglo XV: Salamanca, Zamora, Coria y Reino de Galicia*, II:117.

<sup>481</sup> Cuesta Gutiérrez, *La Imprenta En Salamanca: Avance al Estudio de La Tipografía Salmantina (1480-1944)*, 18.

<sup>482</sup> Odriozola, "El Misal Compostelano Impreso En 1495: La Singular Historia de Un Incunable Del Que Sólo Quedan Hojas Sueltas," 500–501.

afterward remained in use in the Porras press.<sup>483</sup> Porras appears to have presented the missals in late 1496, perhaps on his way back from Coimbra.<sup>484</sup>

The result of Passera and Porras' second collaboration, the *Missale composetallanum* was printed at the behest of Alonso II Fonseca following the demonstrated worth of the *Missale Auriense* (Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs). A breviary followed. In the meantime, Fonseca formed a second contract with Nicolaus de Saxonia, a Lisbon printer, whose following *Breviarium compostellanum* (1497) fomented Porras' ire. The whole affair, as well as that of the *Missale Auriense*, is best seen in light of liturgical reforms proposed by the Catholic Monarchs, reforms which Fonseca promoted.<sup>485</sup>

**Size:** 2°

170 x 245 mm.

82 sheets survive of (288?)

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<sup>483</sup> Odriozola, 507.

<sup>484</sup> Odriozola, 505.

<sup>485</sup> See Chapter 2, section 3.b., "Galician Reforms."

#### 4. Comento sobre lux bella

Comento sobre lux bella

**Author:** Domingo Marcos Durán

**Catalogues:** Cuesta-Gutiérrez: p. 100

IB: 4934

ISTC: id00401000

Martín Abad: D-83

USTC: 333498

Vindel: Salamanca, 91

**Date:** 17 June 1498

**Description:** Text: 35 lines: 91/92 G (“1.<sup>a</sup> tip. gót., 2.<sup>a</sup> época”), woodcut initials | Music: 5-6 5-line staves to a page: woodcut.

**Digital Copy:** <http://id.bnportugal.gov.pt/bib/catbnp/321223>

<http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000176809>

**Holding institutions:** Lisbon, Portugal. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, INC 1355.

Madrid, Spain. Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/2165(4).

San Marino, California, United States of America. Huntington Library, 86907.

**Language:** Castilian

**Notes:** The copy owned by the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal contains Portuguese annotations, suggesting an owner of Portuguese origin. Whether the annotator was a student at the University of Salamanca or purchased the book in Portugal remains unknown. The text, appearing on the back page, fol. e6(v), reads as follows:

On top of the page:

C/2 [?] o p[ri]meyro tom se compome [sic] deste diapente // re // la

C/2 [?] deste dia[pen]te [?] ssera[m] re ta sol // re // la did. [?] sobre [?] / a la

1 [?] iij re / re / sol / dia la mj re / a çi sol fa mi //

2 [?] o segu[n]do tom si compõy do mismo diapente

On bottom of page, upside down:

[first 2 lines unreadable]

O segu[n]do tom [rest of the line unreadable]

Q[ue] o p[ri]meyro [unreadable] sseram [unreadable]

E asy amda todo [unreadable]<sup>486</sup>

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<sup>486</sup> I am extremely grateful to Sr. Pedro Mesquita of the Biblioteca Nacional for transcribing this text for me, as the copy is very delicate and unavailable for consultation. Pedro Miguel Teixeira de Aguiar Mesquita, “RE: Request to Consult,” July 12, 2021.

**Owner:** Huntington Library copy: “esta lux bella es de [fray?] Jua[n] de santo tomas frater [illegible]”<sup>487</sup>

**Patron or Dedicatee:** Alfonso II (III?) de Fonseca

**Place:** Salamanca

**Price:** “Artes de comento encuadernadas” valued at 80 sueldos and 80 dineros in 1530 in Salamanca.<sup>488</sup>

**Printer:** Juan de Porras

**Notes:** Ruiz Fidalgo gives the responsibility to Juan Gysser.

**Size:** 4°

38 sheets

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<sup>487</sup> Does this Juan belong to the Real Monasterio de Santo Tomás in Ávila?

<sup>488</sup> Mazuela-Anguita, “Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista,” 237.

## 5. Manuale Segobiense

Manuale Sacramentorum secundum consuetudinem Ecclesiae Segobiensis.

**Author:** [Diocese of Segovia], ed. Diego de Castro

**Catalogues:** Cuesta-Gutiérrez: p. 103

IB: 6649

ISTC: im00212750

USTC: 333570

Valverde del Barrio: 130, 131, 132

Vindel: Salamanca, 109

**Date:** 4 February 1499

**Description:** Text: 91/92 G (“1.a tip. gót., 2.a época”)<sup>489</sup> | Music: up to 6 5-line staves to a page: S1.

**Holding institutions:** Archivo de la Catedral de Segovia: A-43, A-44, A-45, A-46

**Language:** Latin

**Notes:** 2 exemplars in paper (A-43 and A-44), 2 exemplars in parchment (A-45 and A-46).

**Patron or Dedicattee:** (Diego de Castro?)

**Place:** Salamanca

**Printer:** Juan de Porras

**Size:** 4°

A-43 (=Valverde 130): hojas de papel (215 x 155 mm), encuadernación (224 x 166 x 34 mm).

A-44 (=Valverde 131): hojas de papel (232 x 172 mm), encuadernación (247 x 179 x 35 mm).

A-45 (=Valverde 132): hojas de pergamino (238 x 169 mm), encuadernación (254 x 182 x 41 mm).

A-46 (entered into the archive in 1940): hojas de pergamino (235 x 171 mm), encuadernación (251 x 185 x 41 mm).<sup>490</sup>

<sup>489</sup> See Table 3.7., “Density in the Music Treatises.”

<sup>490</sup> Bartolomé de Groot, “Manuale Segobiense,” November 15, 2021.

## 6. Missale Segobiense

Missale secundum consuetudinem Segobiensis Ecclesie.

**Author:** [Diocese of Segovia]

**Catalogues:** ISTC: im00688410

Martín Abad: M-120

USTC: 761327

**Date:** 24 July 1500

**Description:** Text: 39 lines in two columns. | Music: 10 4-line staves in two columns, R19.<sup>491</sup>

**Digital Copy:** <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000106657&page=1> (black and white)

**Holding institutions:** Madrid, Spain. Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Segovia, Spain. Archivo Capitular.

**Language:** Latin

**Patron or Dedicatee:** Ferdinand and Isabella, Catholic Monarchs

**Place:** Venice

**Printer:** Johannes Emericus Spira, ed. Petrum Alfonsi Porcionarium

**Print Run:** 800 paper, 12 parchment

**Notes:** While Juan de Porras was involved in this print as one of the financiers, he is clearly only one of the agents and had little to do with its printing conducted in Venice. The description should not be taken as indicative of Porras' printing style, but rather as a print with which he was involved and perhaps influenced by. The connection to the Catholic Monarchs is noteworthy.

**Size:** 2°

284 h.

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<sup>491</sup> Mary Kay Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 252.

## 7. Missale [Legionense?]

**Author:** [Diocese of León (?)]

**Catalogues:** Norton: 520

**Date:** 1501-1520

**Description:** Text: 35 lines of text in two columns: 153 G, 122 G. | Music: 9 5-line staves in two columns.

**Holding institutions:** León, Spain. Archivo de la Catedral.

**Language:** Latin

**Notes:** Norton tells us that only three leaves remain, found in the Cathedral of León by Antonio Odriozola. They were found as “(1) having served as a title-page to a register of 1583, (2) and (3) as guard-leaves.” For more in-depth presentation of their content, see Norton, 520. Likewise, due to their preservation in the cathedral, the leaves are assumed to have belonged to a missal for the diocese.

Konrad Haebler, Cuesta Gutiérrez,<sup>492</sup> and Francisco Vindel also cite a previous missal for León, printed in Salamanca in 1488.<sup>493</sup> As far as can be deduced from Vindel, Gutiérrez, and Norton, this missal represents a separate publication, rather than a discrepancy in dating. The date corresponds with the partnership of Juan de Porrás and Juan de Montejo in the 1480s.<sup>494</sup> This time period would correspond with the Chapter commissioning the *Missale Salmanticense* by 1487, suggesting that if any printer in Salamanca were to have printed a missal in 1488, the best current candidates would be the firms of Montejo/Porrás or San Vicente/Escobar, who are both mentioned in the 1487 disagreement.

San Vicente/Escobar, according to López-Varea, were active from around 1487-1495, and no works of theirs survive. Escobar first appears in the *Actas* “with companions” (“con sus compañeros”) on 16 February 1487, whereas San Vicente’s first appearance corresponds with the 1487 commission and disagreement. It appears, then, that Montejo/Porrás were a more established firm, with the materials and business acumen left by the Cantalapiedra/Porrás Press, and more works of theirs have survived, perhaps implying a greater output volume. Montejo/Porrás are thus likely the creators of the 1488 missal for León, or this missal represents a 1488 renewal of the two-firm partnership.

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<sup>492</sup> Cuesta Gutiérrez, *La Imprenta En Salamanca: Avance al Estudio de La Tipografía Salmantina (1480-1944)*, 81.

<sup>493</sup> Vindel: Salamanca, 17: “All that is known about this missal is what Sir Diosdado says in the Second appendix, where he copied the above quote from the “Militia Conceptiones,” by D. Pedro de Alva y Astorga. Other quotations from this author have been verified with the passage of time, and for this reason I do not dare to reject the present one.” “Todo lo que de este missal se sabe es lo que Diosdado Caballero dice en el Segundo apéncid, donde copió la cita arriba repetida de la “Militia Conceptiones”, de D. Pedro de Alva y Astorga. Otras citas de este autor se han comprobado andando el tiempo, y por esto no me atrevo a rechazar la presente.” The *Militia Conceptiones* does, indeed, cite a 1488 *Missale Legionensis*. Vindel, *El Arte Tipográfico En España Durante El Siglo XV: Salamanca, Zamora, Coria y Reino de Galicia*, II:26; Pedro d’Alva y Astorga, *Militia Immaculatae Conceptionis Virginis Mariae, contra malitiam originalis infectionis peccati* (Leuven: Typographia Immaculatae Conceptionis, 1663), cols. 1075–1076.

<sup>494</sup> While the dates of their partnership remain unclear, they were in business together until at least 1489. See Appendix A, “Biographies.”

Several leaves of a 1488 *Missale Legionense* from Salamanca are catalogued in a 1995 study by Taurino Burón Castro for the Archivo Histórico Provincial de León.<sup>495</sup> No music is mentioned. However, if music was meant to be included, we could further trace music print in Salamanca back to this date, possibly with Porras' involvement. I hope I have provided enough information here to encourage further study.

**Place:** Salamanca

**Printer:** Juan de Porras

**Size:** 2°

265 x 170 mm.

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<sup>495</sup> Taurino Burón Castro, "Pergaminos impresos inventariados en el archivo histórico provincial de León," *Estudios humanísticos. Geografía, historia y arte* 17 (1995): 104–7.

## 8. Sumula de canto de organo

Sumula de canto de organo: contrapunto y composicion vocal y instrumental: practica y speculativa.

**Author:** Domingo Marcos Durán, ed. Alfonso de Castilla

**Catalogues:** Cuesta-Gutiérrez: p. 119

IB: 4935

Martín Abad: D-82<sup>496</sup>

Norton: 544

USTC: 344201

**Date:** 1502-1503

**Description:** Text: 39 lines to a page: 164 G,<sup>497</sup> 82 G. | Music: up to 8 5-line staves to a page: woodcut.

**Digital Copy:** <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000176807>

**Holding institutions:** Lisboa, Portugal. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. RES 381 P. Madrid, Spain. Biblioteca Nacional. INC/2165(1).

**Language:** Castilian, Latin

**Patron or Dedictee:** Alfonso II de Fonseca

**Place:** Salamanca

**Printer:** Juan Gysser

**Notes:** Alfonso de Castilla was elected to the rectorship only in 1502-1503, while the work's patron, Alfonso II de Fonseca, archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, resigned the archbishopric in 1507.<sup>498</sup> Galán Gómez suggests *Portus musice* was written in imitation of the *Sumula*, placing its printing likely around 1503.<sup>499</sup> Robert Stevenson suggests 1507 with the dedication meant, in fact, for Alfonso III de Fonseca.<sup>500</sup> Stevenson cites his inheritance of the archbishopric in 1506; Alfonso III de Fonseca was appointed the 4 August 1507, making this printing date less likely.<sup>501</sup>

Rather, the rector for the University of Salamanca only held a year-long tenure, confining the dating to 1502 or 1503 and eliminating the possibility that its patron was Alfonso III.<sup>502</sup> Indeed, Norton suggests c. 1503, on the basis of Alfonso de Castilla's rectorship:<sup>503</sup> this dating

<sup>496</sup> D-82 represents the entry for *Lux bella* (1492). The *Sumula*, bound in the same volume in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, precedes *Lux bella*, noted in entries D-82 and D-83. The *Sumula* does not have its own catalogue entry. Martín Abad, *Catálogo Bibliográfico de la Colección de Incunables de la Biblioteca Nacional de España*, I:317.

<sup>497</sup> Juan Gysser used type 164 G from 1500 onward; Juan de Porras also used this type, but only from 1510-1511. Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 165, 194.

<sup>498</sup> "Archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela."

<sup>499</sup> Galán Gómez, "La teoría de canto de órgano y contrapunto en el Renacimiento español: la Sumula de canto de organo de Domingo Marcos Duran como modelo," 28.

<sup>500</sup> Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music In The Age Of Columbus*, 64.

<sup>501</sup> "Archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela."

<sup>502</sup> Enrique Esperabé de Arteaga, *Historia pragmática é interna de la Universidad de Salamanca*, vol. II (Salamanca: Imp. y Lib. de Francisco Núñez Izquierdo, 1917), 7, <https://gredos.usal.es/handle/10366/123248>.

<sup>503</sup> Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 200-201.

remains the most plausible. As confirmation, though Alfonso de Castilla appears as editor in *Portus musice* of 1504, the title of rector does not come with this appearance.<sup>504</sup>

**Size:** 4°

162 x 117 mm.

24 sheets

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<sup>504</sup> Puerto, *Portus Musice*, fol. ai(v).

## 9. *Portus musice*

*Portus: musice correctus seu emendates in quo nemo periclitabitur.*

**Author:** Diego de Puerto, ed. Alfonso de Castilla

**Catalogues:** Cuesta-Gutiérrez: p. 120

IB: 15405

Martín Abad: D-82<sup>505</sup>

Norton: 468

USTC: 341231

**Date:** 30 August 1504

**Description:** Text: 48 lines to a page with marginal gloss: 70 G, 70 G.<sup>506</sup> | Music: 9 5-line staves to a page: woodcut.

**Digital Copy:** <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000176808>

**Holding institutions:** Madrid, Spain. Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/2185(2).

**Language:** Latin with Castilian gloss, 9 pages; Castilian, 3 pages

**Patron or Dedictee:** [Bishop of Burgos, Pascual de Ampudia]

**Place:** Salamanca

**Price:** 25 maravedís?<sup>507</sup>

**Printer:** Juan de Porras

**Notes:** As mentioned in Mazuela-Anguita in 2012,<sup>508</sup> Nan Cooke Carpenter, Collet, and Mitjana all mention a plainchant treatise written by “Alonso del Castillo.” The bibliographic history of this tradition dates back to at least 1869, when the treatise was mentioned under an entry for “Castillo (Alfonso del)” in Alejandro Vidal y Díaz’ *Memoria Histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca*.<sup>509</sup> Díaz’ entry describes Castillo as a music student who eventually reached the doctoral level and received the Chair for Music. This treatise may represent a bibliographical ghost, as no copy survives and Alfonso de Castilla edited *Portus musice* the same year as the purported *arte*. Likewise, Castillo’s purported professorship conflicts with the tenure of Diego de Fermoselle.<sup>510</sup>

Indeed, Alfonso de Castilla edited *Portus musice* a year after his tenure as university rector. This fact suggests, despite the close association between bishop and university rector, that his selection as editor did not occur in conjunction with rectorship duties. Instead, it suggests his

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<sup>505</sup> D-82 represents the entry for *Lux bella* (1492). *Portus musice*, bound in the same volume in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, precedes *Lux bella*, noted in entries D-82 and D-83. The *Sumula* does not have its own catalogue entry. Martín Abad, *Catálogo Bibliográfico de la Colección de Incunables de la Biblioteca Nacional de España*, I:317.

<sup>506</sup> Norton describes the use of the second 70 G type as for “small face; commentary and preface.” Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 170.

<sup>507</sup> Norton, 170.

<sup>508</sup> Mazuela-Anguita, “Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista,” 47.

<sup>509</sup> Alejandro Vidal y Díaz, *Memoria histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca* (Salamanca: Imprenta de Oliva y Hermano, 1869), 427.

<sup>510</sup> Knighton, “Gaffurius, Urrede and Studying Music at Salamanca University Around 1500,” 14.

genuine acumen for music. If the two Alfonsos are, indeed, the same person, and the work remains genuine, the publication of three music treatises from figures closely associated with the university within a span of two years, all under the direction of Castilla, would certainly change our understanding of the musical landscape and would establish Alfonso de Castilla as a major musical force of the period. Nevertheless, the identities of “Alfonso del Castillo” and “Alfonso de Castilla” should not be conflated until further evidence arises.

**Size:** 4°

169 x 121 mm

3 sheets

**10. Manuale chori**

Manuale chori.

**Author:** [Franciscans]

**Catalogues:** IB: 6615

Norton: 480

USTC: 338347

**Date:** 19 November 1506

**Description:** Text: 26 lines to a page: 153 G, 122 G (text to music), 92 G bis. | Music: 4 5-line staves to a page: S2.

**Digital Copy:** <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000015709>

**Holding institutions:** London, United Kingdom. British Library, MK.8.f.16.  
Madrid, Spain. Biblioteca Nacional de España, M-870.

**Language:** Latin

**Patron or Dedictee:** Franciscans (fratres minores de observantia)

**Place:** Salamanca

**Printer:** Juan de Porras

**Size:** 8°

126 x 76 mm.

60? sheets

## 11. *Lux bella* [2<sup>nd</sup> edition]

*Lux bella*: de canto llano aprobada corregida y emendada.

**Author:** Domingo Marcos Durán

**Catalogues:** Cuesta-Gutiérrez: p. 125

IB: 4936

Norton: 559

USTC: 344276

**Date:** 16 July 1509

**Description:** Text: 33 lines to a page: 164 G, 98 G, 62 G. | Music: 6 5-line staves to a page: woodcut.

**Digital Copy:** <http://id.bnportugal.gov.pt/bib/catbnp/224229>

**Holding institutions:** Lisbon, Portugal. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, RES. 378 P.

**Language:** Castilian

**Owner:** Monks of Palmela, Portugal

**Patron or Dedictee:** Bernardino Manrique de Lara

**Place:** Salamanca

**Price:** “20 *Lux bella*” valued at 8 sueldos and 160 dineros in Salamanca in 1530, therefore c. 12.80 dineros per copy<sup>511</sup>

**Printer:** Juan Gysser

**Print Run**

**Notes:** This exemplar represents the only surviving copy of the second edition of *Lux bella*.

**Size:** 4°

161 x 111 mm.

14 sheets

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<sup>511</sup> Mazuela-Anguita, “Artes de canto (1492-1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo Ibérico Renacentista,” 237.

## 12. Missale Placentine

Missale secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Placentine

**Author:** [Diocese of Plasencia]

**Catalogues:** IB: 6357

Norton: 489

USTC: 347647

**Date:** 1509-1510

**Description:** Text: 35 lines of text in two columns: 190 G, 153 G, 122 G, 93 G bis | Music: 9 5-line staves in two columns: S2.

**Holding institutions:** Plasencia, Spain. Catedral.

Toledo, Spain. Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, Colección Borbón-Lorenzana. 1-6890.\*

**Language:** Latin

**Patron or Dedicatee:** Álvarez de Toledo

**Place:** Salamanca

**Printer:** [Juan de Porras]

**Notes:** The Toledo copy wants fol. 170, 171, 301, and 388. The Plasencia copy lacks 20 leaves, including the four absent from the Toledo copy. The colophon does not survive, though the type and ornamental material are consistent with Porras' output.<sup>512</sup>

This missal represents Porras' first surviving printed missal wherein he bears sole responsibility. We know that Bishop Álvarez de Toledo's death delayed printing, meaning Juan de Porras had been commissioned for the project before 1506. Norton mentions that the architectural component used on several title pages also appears in the later *Missale Abulense* and featured detachable and replaceable figures.<sup>513</sup> The *Missale Placentine* also features some ornamental material from Gysser-Liomdedei, as well as material from Brocar at Logroño. Norton suggests that the printing overlaps with the *Missale Abulense*, hence the dating 1509-1510. Before the Plasencia missal, Porras was only involved as a financier for the previous three missals, the *Missale Segobiense*, *Missale Compostellanum*, and *Missale Auriense*. The *Missale [Legionense?]* may be earlier, though its fragmentary survival resists precise dating.

The layout and printing of the music in the *Missale Placentine* remains clear and easy to read. Unlike the *Missale Auriense*, the *Missale Placentine* appears designed for extended musical use.

**Size:** 2°

263 x 170 mm.

308 ff.

<sup>512</sup> Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 180.

<sup>513</sup> Norton, 179.

### 13. Missale Abulense

**Author:** [Diocese of Ávila]

**Catalogues:** Cuesta-Gutiérrez: p. 112 [1500]

IB: 6312

Martín Abad: M-115

Norton: 485

USTC: 768244

Vindel: Salamanca, 112 [1500]

**Date:** 1 February 1510

**Description:** Text: 35 lines in two columns: 153 G (150 on vellum), 122 G, 112 R | Music: 9 5-line staves in two columns: S2, S1 (limited).

**Digital Copy:** <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000098498>

**Holding institutions:** Madrid, Spain. Biblioteca Nacional de España. INC/1044.

**Language:** Latin

**Patron or Dedicatee:** Alfonso Carrillo de Albornoz

**Place:** Salamanca

**Printer:** Juan de Porras

**Notes:** The *Missale Abulense*, praised as the highest-quality early missal by Stevenson, contains a significant amount of illumination.<sup>514</sup> Musically, the missal employs two types, S1 and S2. The missal also employs at least six F clefs; two are sometimes found on the same page.

Francisco Vindel takes umbrage with the date 1510 on the basis of interpretation and type.<sup>515</sup> Stevenson follows the 1500 date, as does Castillo-Ferreira.<sup>516</sup> Martín Abad, while giving a date of 1510, notes the dating ambiguity, but sends the reader to F.J. Norton.<sup>517</sup> Norton's notes on the *Missale Placentine* support a date of 1510, contending that the work could not have been printed before 1509 owing to shared ornamental material between Porras and Gysser.<sup>518</sup> The music type also suggests a later date than 1500, as the missal appears to lack the requisite number of F-clefs and recourse to S1, an issue not encountered in the *Missale Placentine*, despite containing less musical material.<sup>519</sup> The strain on the type corresponds to Norton's suggestion that the printing of the two missals overlapped. Nevertheless, in the event that the true printing date is, in fact, 1500, the choice of date here should not affect any of the conclusions of the thesis, though S1 and S2 may overlap for a shorter period.

On page 160, the 'P' in "Princeps" is in manuscript.

<sup>514</sup> Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music In The Age Of Columbus*, 110.

<sup>515</sup> "Es indudable, por su tipografía, utilizada en libros anteriores a 1500, y no en los de 1510, que su verdadera fecha impresoria fué en 1500 a diez días de las Kalendas de febrero." Vindel, *El Arte Tipográfico En España Durante El Siglo XV: Salamanca, Zamora, Coria y Reino de Galicia*, II:175.

<sup>516</sup> Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music In The Age Of Columbus*, 110; Castillo-Ferreira, "Chant, Liturgy, and Reform," 288.

<sup>517</sup> Martín Abad, *Catálogo Bibliográfico de la Colección de Incunables de la Biblioteca Nacional de España*, I:545–46.

<sup>518</sup> Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520*, 180.

<sup>519</sup> See Table 3.3., "Amount of Music in the Porras Missals/Liturgical Books."

**Size:** 2°

262 x 175mm.

260 sheets

## 14. Missale Bracharense

Missale secundum ritum et consuetudinem alme Bracharensis ecclesie cum plurimis missis novissime additis ac puntuatis et in locis suis positis.

**Author:** [Diocese of Braga]

**Catalogues:** Cuesta-Gutiérrez: 130

IB: 6316

Norton: 499

USTC: 343145

**Date:** 8 March 1512

**Description:** Text: 36 lines to a page: 153 G, 93 G ter, 70 G. | Music: 6 5-line staves in two columns: S2.

**Digitization:** Paper exemplar owned by the British Library:

[https://books.google.ca/books?id=u1ppAAAACAAJ&pg=PP3&source=gbs\\_selected\\_pages&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.ca/books?id=u1ppAAAACAAJ&pg=PP3&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false)

**Holding institutions:** Braga, Portugal. Universidade do Minho - Serviços de Documentação, Res. 594.

Lisboa, Portugal. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, RES. 151 V.

Lisboa, Portugal. Biblioteca da Ajuda.

London, United Kingdom. British Library, C.62.d.8.

Porto, Portugal. Biblioteca Pública Municipal, Y1-1-74.

**Language:** Latin, Portuguese (limited)

**Patron or Dedicatee:** [Diogo de Souza (?)]<sup>520</sup>

**Place:** Salamanca

**Printer:** Juan de Porras

**Notes:** On 75r, the 3<sup>rd</sup> stave's custos indicates D, but the next stave continues on B.

The copy in the British Library is printed on paper, while the exemplar held by the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal is printed on parchment. The parchment appears to have been printed haphazardly, judging by the irregular occurrences and gatherings of hair and flesh sides. Juan de Porras' son, also named Juan,<sup>521</sup> printed a *Breviarium Bracharense* in 1529; Juan de Junta printed a *Manuale Bracharense* from his Salamanca offices in 1538.

**Size:** 4°

168 x 117 mm – Porbase gives 21cm

284 folios

<sup>520</sup> The bishop at the time, Diogo de Souza, does not appear in the Missal in any capacity. The shield on the title page is the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Portugal, though no mention is made of Manuel I, either.



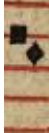
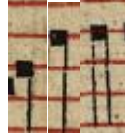
<sup>521</sup> See Appendix A, "Biographies."

## Appendix C: Music Type

None of the consulted catalogues or secondary sources provide descriptions of music type in early Iberian publications. In all likelihood, a typological study of music printing on the Peninsula remains an unexplored field. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic and my own inexperience as a researcher, I did not have the opportunity to measure the music type present in all the prints of Juan de Porrás. Hence, I have only made a preliminary classification of Porrás' music types based on digital copies alone. I hope and expect the labelling here to be amended and specified. At this time, I only wish to point to obvious differences in the type.

This classification stems from the work of Mary Kay Duggan in her *Italian Music Incunabula* of 1992.<sup>522</sup> As all of Porrás' and Passera's music types are Roman, and as size measurements are not currently available, types are marked according to city followed by the chronological number. As Duggan suggests, music type may follow a linear progression from German-speaking foreign printers importing music type.<sup>523</sup> Further research should look to music types employed by German printers during the 15th century: this preliminary research into Juan de Porrás already shows production ties between German and Castilian-speakers.



























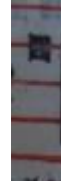



*Table C1: Music Type in Liturgical Prints*<sup>524</sup>

<b>Title</b>	<b>C clef</b>	<b>F clef</b>	<b>Punctum</b>	<b>Lozenge</b>	<b>Virga</b>	<b>Oblique Ligature</b>
<i>Missale Auriense</i>	N/A					N/A

<sup>522</sup> Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 78–79.

<sup>523</sup> Duggan, 73.

<sup>524</sup> Image permissions are cited below.

<i>Missale Compostellanum</i> Currently unavailable. <sup>525</sup>						
<i>Manuale Segobiense</i>				N/A		
<i>Missale [Legionensis]</i> Currently unavailable.						
<i>Manuale Chori</i>						
<i>Missale Placentine</i>						N/A
<i>Missale Abulense</i>						N/A
<i>Missale Abulense</i> (small type, see Appendix B, no. 13)	N/A			N/A		N/A
<i>Missale Bracharense</i>						

<sup>525</sup> Antonio Odriozola reproduces an example of the music notation from the *Missale Compostellanum* in Odriozola, “El Misal Compostelano Impreso En 1495: La Singular Historia de Un Incunable Del Que Sólo Quedan Hojas Sueltas,” 511.

## 1. Missale Auriense

The virgas in the music type appear to lack a set size for the tail. Instead, the tail always extends to the bottom of the staff.



Image C1: *Missale Auriense*, fol. s3r. Monterrey: Gonzalo Rodríguez de la Passera and Juan de Porras, 1494.

IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>526</sup>

<sup>526</sup> *Missale Auriense*, fol. s3r.

## 2. Manuale Segobiense



Image C2: *Manuale Segobiense*, fol. 1r1v-1r2r. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1499.

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE CATEDRAL DE SEGOVIA.<sup>527</sup>

<sup>527</sup> Diego de Castro, ed., *Manuale Sacramentorum Secundum Consuetudinem Ecclesiae Segobiensis* (Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1499), Archivo de la Catedral de Segovia, A-43.

### 3. Manuale Chori

Virga tails tend to be around four stave-lines in length. Some bent stems, e.g., 21r. Only descending oblique ligatures.



*Image C3: Manuale Chori*, fol. 2v. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1506.  
IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>528</sup>

<sup>528</sup> *Manuale Chori*, fol. 2v.

#### 4. Missale Placentine

Virga tails do not extend past lowest stave-line. The higher up the stave a note is, the longer its tail, until it reaches a length of about 4 stave-lines, at which point it does not descend any further.



Image C4: *Missale Placentine*, fol. 58v-59r. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1509-1510.

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA CASTILLA-LA MANCHA, COLECCIÓN BORBÓN-LORENZANA.<sup>529</sup>

<sup>529</sup> Iglesia Católica, *Missale secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Placentine*, fols. 58v-59r.

## 5. Missale Abulense

Music type appearing on folios g7r and g7v display different clefs and shorter virgas than the type which comes after. The rest of the music type in the missal appears to accord with the type applied in *Manuale chori*, the *Missale Placentine*, and the *Missale Bracharense*. The preceding music displays neater and more spaced notation. The smaller virga reappears on folio l2v, again in a short example. However, the next use of type on folio l3r, also a short example, uses the long virga.

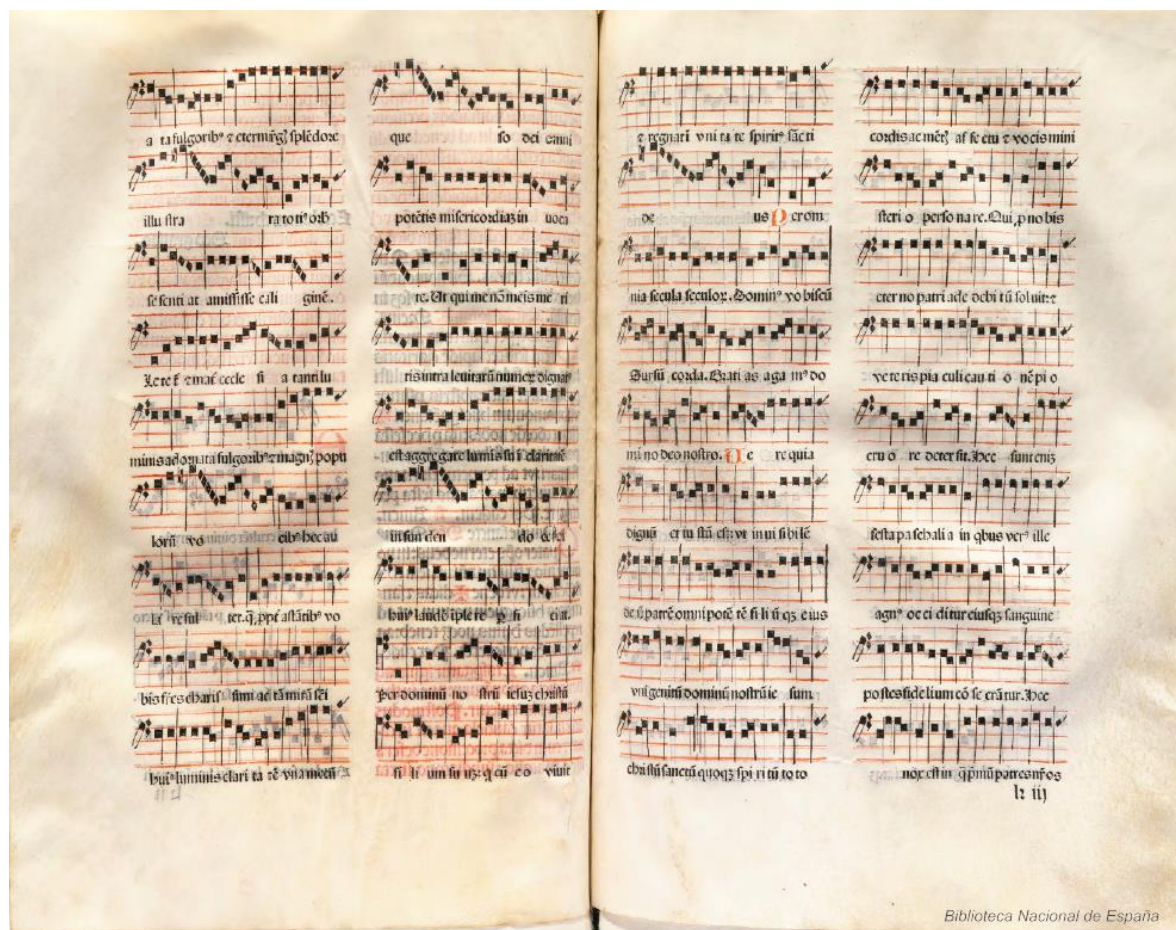


Image C5: *Missale Abulense*, fol. 1r2v-1r3r. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1510.

IMAGE FROM THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA'S COLLECTION.<sup>530</sup>

<sup>530</sup> *Missale Abulense*, fols. 2v-3r.

## 6. Missale Bracharense

Virga tails tend to be the same length, around 3 ½ stave-lines. The missal contains only one oblique ligature.



Image C6: *Missale Bracharense*, fol. 49r. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1512. IMAGE COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE PORTUGAL.<sup>531</sup>

<sup>531</sup> *Missale Secundum Ritus Bracharensis Ecclesie.*, 1512, fol. 49r.

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