

Introduction

The article offers an overview of the reception, discussion and proposals for circulation channels of the sacred musical works by the composers of the Imperial Chapel of Rudolf II in the Iberian world. This includes the territories of Spain and Portugal, as well as some places in Latin America. The territories under the dominion of the Hispanic Monarchy, in the Rudolphine era and later, such as the Spanish Netherlands, have been excluded due to their complicated configuration in terms of courts and ecclesiastical centres, and also because they had very different distribution and channels than in the Iberian Peninsula.¹ Nor I will enter into to discuss this subject in Italian territories such as Milan, Naples or Sicily. Although the control and the political and religious organization in these viceroyalties could be more similar to the American viceroyalties, but the proximity to the Italian centres of influence and the particularities of each place exceed the main target of this paper.²

The main topic of this article is, first of all, to show an overview of the sacred works. Therefore, I want to emphasize the adjective sacred since, from my studies and observations, it can be said that the secular music, mainly the madrigals by Philippe de Monte or the works of Mateo Flecha the Younger, had a totally different distribution and reception than his sacred works.

A first section reviews the works by authors and the current musical sources, in case they are preserved. Besides, I also offer some comments and analysis on the reception and interpretative contexts. The members of the Imperial Chapel are included. Furthermore, I have added a brief section listing the sacred works of authors who were in Prague at some time during the Rudolphine period and whose works are known. In the second part of this article, the focus is on the distribution channels and procedures of how these works came to the Iberian world.

¹ For a historiographic approach see René VERMEIR, Dries RAEYMAEKERS and José Eloy HORTAL MUÑOZ: 'Courts and households of the Habsburg dynasty: history and historiography', in: René VERMEIR, Dries RAEYMAEKERS and José Eloy HORTAL MUÑOZ, *A constellation of courts: the courts and households of Habsburg Europe, 1555-1665* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014), pp. 7-19. Also see Nicolette MOUT, 'Core and Periphery: The Netherlands and the Empire from the Late Fifteenth to the Early Seventeenth Century', in: Robert J. W. EVANS - Peter H. WILSON, *The Holy Roman Empire, 1495-1806: A European Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 203-215; and Anne-Laure VAN BRUAENE, 'The Habsburg Theatre State: Court, City and the Performance of Identity in the Early Modern Southern Low Countries', in: Robert STEIN - Judith POLLMANN, *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300-1650* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 131-149. José Eloy HORTAL MUÑOZ, *Los asuntos de Flandes. Las relaciones entre las Cortes de la Monarquía Hispánica y de los Países Bajos durante el siglo XVI* (Saarbrücken: Editorial Académica Española, 2011).

² See Manuel Rivero RODRÍGUEZ: *La Edad de Oro de los virreyes: el virreinato en la Monarquía Hispánica durante los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 2011).

Ferrán ESCRIVÀ LLORCA

Valencia International University

Sacred works by the Rudolf II Imperial Chapel composers in the Iberian world: circulation, reception and context

Abstract

This article offers an overview about the circulation of the Sacred Music by composers of the Imperial Chapel in the Iberian world. This is possible due to preserved musical sources and other varied documentation such as inventories, book catalogues and personal documentation. The article also introduces how these works were a singularity within the court institutions and private libraries. Therefore, although some works were disseminated through several places, the reception was quite scarce and was reduced to private cenacles.

However, the circulation of music books, instruments and musical agents between the courts of Madrid, Lisbon, Vienna and Prague in this period was not, in any case, somewhat anomalous. Moreover, some members of the imperial chapel, as in the case of Philippe de Monte, were habitual in some of the libraries and inventories in the Iberian world. Although, most of these were the profane works that, probably, could have arrived through different channels than the sacred works.

Keywords: history of music; Bohemian Lands; Renaissance; Rudolf II; Imperial Chapel; Iberian world; sacred music; musical transfer; Monte, Philippe de; Regnart, Jacob; Kerle, Jacob; Felis, Stefano; Massaino, Tiburtio; diplomacy

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Philippe de Monte

Some considerations on Philippe de Monte's works needs be mentioned. There are few known references to his sacred work, and even less are preserved. Despite of being a composer very well represented by his madrigals, his presence in sacred music is limited to a few libraries and circulation was scarce. Nevertheless, it is recorded that his music was in many libraries in the Iberian world and of which quite a few copies have been preserved. Even so, the presence of his work in Cuzco could be an piece of evidence that it did have more repercussion and that nowadays we have lost a great part of the sources or, on the contrary, it would only respond to a particular fact of a shipment of books from some particular patron. There is still much to be studied in this direction.

One of my hypotheses is that the books in Juan de Borja's library corresponding with the numbers #10 and #11 could be the printed works by George de La Hèle and that there would have been a misinterpretation in the inventories.³ This could be in line with Kate van Orden's point about the importance of joint bindings, as is the case for the editions by Philippe de Monte and de la Hèle.⁴ These are bound together in several inventories, or similarly, with works by Philippe Rogier instead of de La Hèle, as in the Cuzco cathedral.⁵

Besides, I would like to mention the *Codex Lerma* (NL-Uu 3 L16) which contains some pieces by Philippe de Monte that come from his *Il Terzo libro di madrigali a sei voci* of 1585 (RISM M 3365), as well as from Alessandro Striggio from *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci* (1566; RISM S 6953) containing one of the hits of the time such as 'Nasce la pena mia'. I bring up these works because the main use of this codex, designed for the wind musicians in the collegiate church of Lerma, was for religious services.⁶

Table 1:
Philippe de Monte

Item No.	Description	Title (according to RISM)	Date	RISM	Place	Current Source
147	Sacrarum Cantionum. Phelippe de Monte a5. Lib. 5	<i>Sacrarum cantionum cum quinque vocibus quae vulgo motetta nuncupantur, liber quintus, Venezia: gli eredi di Girolamo Scotto</i>	1579	M 3316		
147	Mottetes ou Sacrarum Cantionum. Phelippi de Monte . a 6. & 12. lib 1	<i>Sacrarum cantionum cum sex & duodecim vocibus, quae vulgo motecta nuncupantur ... liber primus, Venezia: Angelo Gardano</i>	1985	M 3319	João IV Library	
193 (b)	Do mesmo . a 6. lib 2 (above in the inventory Madrigals by Monte) (same author)	<i>Sacrarum cantionum cum sex vocibus quae vulgo motecta nuncupantur ... liber secundus, Venezia: Angelo Gardano</i>	1587	M 3321		
193 (c)	Do mesmo . Lib 4. (same author)	<i>Canto 1 libro quarto de motetti 1 di Filippo de Monte 1 nouamente da lui composti & dati in luce. 1 libro quarto 1 con privileggio. 1 in venetia appresso li figlioli 1 di antonio gardano.</i>	1575	M 3314?	João IV Library	

³ See Ferran ESCRIVÀ LLORCA, *Eruditio, Pietas et Honor: Joan de Borja i la música del seu temps (1533-1606)* (PhD. València: Universitat Politècnica de València, 2015), pp. 339-341, https://www-researchgate.net/publication/282730957_Eruditio_Pietas_et_Honor_Joan_de_Borja_i_la_musica_del_seu_temps_1533-1606.

⁴ Kate VAN ORDEN, *Music, authorship and the book in the first century of print* (Berkeley - Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014), pp. 65-67.

⁵ See Robert STEVENSON, *Renaissance and Baroque musical sources in the Americas* (Washington DC: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1970), p. 249. Also see Robert M. STEVENSON, *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (Washington: Pan American Union, 1960), p. 69.

⁶ See Willem ELDERS, 'The Lerma Codex: A Newly-Discovered Choirbook from Seventeenth-Century Spain', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 20/4 (1967), pp. 187-205. See also Juan Ruiz JIMÉNEZ, 'The Mid-Sixteenth-Century Franco-Flemish Chanson in Spain. The Evidence of Ms. 975 of the Manuel de Falla Library', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 51/1 (2001), pp. 25-41.

Item No.	Description	Title (according to RISM)	Date	RISM	Place	Current Source
193 (d)	Sacrarum cantionum. Do mesmo. a5. Lib 6. (same author)	<i>Sacrarum cantionum cum quinque vocibus quae vulgo motetta nuncupantur, liber sextus, ?</i>		?	João IV Library	
193 (e)	Do mesmo. a5. Lib. 7. (same author)	<i>Sacrarum cantionum cum quinque vocibus quae vulgo motecta nuncupantur ... liber septimus, Venezia: Angelo Gardano</i>	1600	M 3326	João IV Library	
9	Otro de mano de misas de felipe de mon[te] encuadernado. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Ancor che col partire</i> [Cipr. de Rore] (4v.), fols. 2^v-3^r ▪ <i>Missa super Ancor che col partire</i>, author. Philippus de Monte (4v.), fols. 4^v-22^r ▪ [<i>Missa sine nomine</i>] (4v.), fols. 23^v-43^r ▪ <i>Reviens vers moi</i> [Philippus de Monte] (5v.), fols. 44^v-45^r ▪ <i>Missa super Reviens vers moy</i>, author. (4v.), fols. 45^v-67^r ▪ [<i>Missa sine nomine</i>] (4v.), fols. 68^v-89^r ▪ <i>Inclina cor meum</i> [Philippus de Monte] (5v.), fols. 91^v-93^r ▪ <i>Missa. Inclina cor meum</i> (5 v.), fols. 93^v-118^r ▪ <i>O altitudo</i> [Ciprianus de Rore] (5v.), fols. 121^v-124^r ▪ <i>Missa super O altitudo divitiarum</i> (5v.), fols. 124^v-155^r ▪ <i>Nasce la pena mia</i> [Alessandro Striggio] (6v.), fols. 156^v-158^r ▪ <i>Missa super Nasce la pena mia</i> (6v.), fols. 158^v-180^r ▪ <i>Ultimi miei sospiri</i> [Philippe Verdelot] (5v.), fols. 183^r-185^r ▪ <i>Missa Ultimi miei sospiri</i> (6v.), fols. 185^v-212^r 	Choirbook (ms.)			Juan de Borja's Post-mortem inventory (acquired by his nephew the Duke of Lerma)	B-Bc 27089
10	Otro de mano como el antecedente. (same author)	Choirbook (ms.)	1578?			B-Bc 27085 ? Print: de La Hèle
11	Otro como el de arriba. (same author)	Choirbook (ms.)	1578?			US-NYhsa 392/264 ? Print: de La Hèle
37B / 38	Çinco cuerpos de phelipe de monte.	Motets 5vv (print)		M 3311-3314; M 3316 M 3326?		
40	Otro libro de misas de mano en ciento y treinta y ocho [reales] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Missa Confitebor [tibi Domine]</i>, fols. 67^v-99^r ▪ <i>Missa La doce vista</i>, fols. 100^v-132^r 	Choirbook (ms.)	b. 1581?			B-Bc 27086

Item No.	Description	Title (according to RISM)	Date	RISM	Place	Current Source
	Otro juego de motetes de Phelippo de monte en cinco cuerpos	Motets 5vv (print)				
	Primeram[en]te Vn juego de Motetes con 2º y 3º libro l de Palestina: a 5. 6. 7. 8.] y Canciones de Phelippe de monte y otras l Canciones de Tiburcio Masayno y chançonetas de gas l par acosta y Madrigales de Nicolao de la Casa en l seis cuerpos pequeños.	Motets / Madrigals (print)			Inventory of Cuenca Cathedral, 1611 ⁷	
XXIII – #2/877	Missa ad modulum Benedicta es. ... autore Philippo de Monte Sac: Caes: Ma.tis Phonasco. Antuerpiae Christophorus Plantin: 1579. toma ut [supra?]	<i>Missa ad modulum Benedicta es, sex vocum</i> , Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 6vv	1579	M 3315	Wolf Rumpf von Wielross Library ⁸	Bound up together with George de La Hèle <i>Octo missae</i> , Plantin, 1578
	<i>Missa ad modulum Benedicta es sex vocum [Phelippe de Monte]</i>	Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 6vv	1579	M 3315	Cuzco Cathedral (Peru)	Bound up together with Philippe Rogier <i>Missae Sex</i> , Madrid: ex Typographia Regia, 1598
66 [168]	Item un llibre Filip de Monte Moteta ·5· vocibus.	Motets 5vv (print)		M 3311-3314; M 3316 M 3323?	Inventory of Joan Laurient (Barcelona, 31/3 1604) ⁹	

Disattribution of Monte works in E-Bbc 608 & E-Boc 6

There are two musical sources in Barcelona with works attributed to Philippe de Monte that are still replicated in several repositories and publications. Some recent studies have removed the attribution, hopefully definitively, of these works to Monte.

I quote and translate Andrea Puentes-Blanco in his doctoral thesis:

Regarding the attribution of the Marian antiphon 'Ave Regina caelorum' to the Flemish composer Philippe de Monte (1521–1603), this authorship has been questioned. The attribution appears in Georges van Doorslaer's (1921) study on the life and work of this composer but is pointed out as doubtful in *The New Grove Dictionary* (2001).

A more recent study on Philippe de Monte's motets (Michael Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte*, 2009) has discarded the possibility that Monte is the author of this piece. On the other hand, E-Bbc 608 is not the only manuscript that contains the attribution to 'Montes'. The piece is concordant with the work of the same text that appears in Ms. 6 of the Orfeo Català (E-Boc 6, no. 14) and we find another attribution to 'Montes' in a work of the manuscript E-TZ 5 of Tarazona Cathedral (a 'Kyrie' from a mass on fols. 67^v–68^r), as well as in several pieces mentioned in inventories of currently lost polyphony books of that institution. Among the ten works assigned to 'Montes' in the Tarazona book inventories, only two titles coincide with works by Philippe de Monte, so it does not seem that 'Montes' can be identified with Philippe de Monte.¹⁰

⁷ *Libros que dio el S[en]or maestrescuela Couarrubias l y por el S[en]or don fran[cisco] de alarcon su sobrino*. See José Luis de la FUENTE CHARFOLE, 'Inventarium Librorum Musicae: Nueva aportación documental sobre el archivo musical de la Catedral de Cuenca (siglos XVII–XVIII)', *Anuario Musical* 62 (2007), pp. 171–204.

⁸ By H. Blotius, 1583 / Uclés Collection.

⁹ See Emilio ROS-FABREGAS, 'Libros de música en bibliotecas españolas del siglo XVI (y III)', *Piegos de bibliofilia* 17 (2002), pp. 17–54, here p. 47.

¹⁰ See Andrea PUENTES-BLANCO, *Música y devoción en Barcelona (ca. 1550–1626): Estudio de libros de polifonía, contextos y prácticas musicales*, PhD. Diss. (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2018), p. 122:

Jacob Regnart

Jacob Regnart's works are, a priori, a curiosity in the Iberian world and their diffusion is very rare because they are limited and located in the libraries displayed. It is striking, however, that of all the masses that were copied in the manuscript that belonged to Juan de Borja, at least four of these masses that are included in the handwritten notebooks are not known. Namely: *Missae Come Granta Vita* (6v); *Missae Ibant apostoli* (a4); *Missae Las vofez vous* (a4); and *Missae Beata virgo* (a4).¹¹

Most probably they corresponded to others with different titles or some 'sine nomine' but

Table 2: the loss of these sources does not allow us, at this point, to know more about the issue.¹²

Jacob Regnart

Item No.	Description	Title (according to RISM)	Date	RISM	Place	Current Source
355	Colorarium missarum Sacrarum. Iacobo Regnardo , a4. 5. 6. 8. & 10.	<i>Corollarium missarum sacrarum, ad imitationem selectissimarum cantionum suavissima harmonia a quatuor, quinque, sex, octo & decem vocibus</i> , Frankfurt: Nikolaus Stein (Wolfgang Richter)	1603	R 736	João IV Library	
357	Missae Sacrae. Ad imitationem selectissimarum Cantionum. Iacobo Regnardo . a5, 6 y 8.	<i>Missae sacrae ad imitationem selectissimarum cantionum suavissima harmonia, a quinque, sex, & octo vocibus</i> , Frankfurt: Nikolaus Stein (Wolfgang Richter)	1602	R 734.	João IV Library	
355	<i>Nove Cantiones Sacrae</i> Francisco Iacobo Pascazio Carolo Regnart fratribus Germanis. a4. 5. & 6.	<i>Novae cantiones sacrae, quatuor, quinque et sex vocum, tum instrumentorum cuius generi, tum vivae voci aptissimae. Authoribus Francisco, Jacobo, Pascasio, Carolo Regnart fratribus germanis. Ecce quàm bonum et quàm iucundum habitare fratres in unum</i> , Douai: Jean Bogard	1602	R 729 B/I: 1590 ¹⁰	João IV Library	

«Respecto a la atribución de la antifona mariana 'Ave Regina caelorum' al compositor flamenco Philippe de Monte (1521–1603), esta autoría ha sido cuestionada. La atribución figura en el estudio de Georges van Doorslaer (1921) sobre la vida y la obra de este compositor, pero aparece señalada como dudosa en *The New Grove Dictionary* (2001). En un estudio más reciente (2009) sobre los motetes de Philippe de Monte de se ha descartado que Monte sea el autor esta pieza. Por otro lado, E-Bbc 608 no es el único manuscrito que contiene la adscripción a "Montes". La pieza es concordante con la obra de igual texto que aparece en el Ms. 6 del Orfeo Català (E-Boc 6, no. 14) y encontramos otra atribución a "Montes" en una obra del manuscrito E-TZ 5 de la Catedral de Tarazona (un 'Kyrie' de una misa en los fols. 67v–68r), además de en varias piezas mencionadas en inventarios de libros de polifonía actualmente perdidos de esa institución. Entre las diez obras adscritas a "Montes" en los inventarios de libros de Tarazona solamente dos títulos coinciden con títulos de obras conocidas de Philippe de Monte por lo que no parece que "Montes" pueda identificarse con Philippe de Monte.» Translation by the author.

¹¹ See ESCRIVÀ LLORCA, *Eruditio, Pietas et Honor* (< note 3), p. 348.

¹² See Walter PASS, *Thematischer Katalog Sämtlicher Werke Jacob Regnarts (ca. 1540–1599)* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1969).

Item No.	Description	Title (according to RISM)	Date	RISM	Place	Current Source
VIII / IV 809 (K77-78, #8)	aliquot cantionam [cantonum?] siue Motectarum. ex veteri atq[ue] nouo Testamento collectarum quatuor uocum. autore Jacobo Regnart works by Jacobo Regnart Flandro[?] Sac. Caes. Ma[ie]statis Musico II Noribergae Catherinae Gerlachi et haeredes de Montaj Anno 1577.	<i>Aliquot cantiones, vulgo motecta appellatae, ex veteri atque nouo testamento collectae, quatuor uocum, [Nürnberg: Katharina Gerlach & Johann Bergs Erben]</i>	1577	R 732	Wolf Rumpf von	Bound together with Utendal, Le Miastre, Lechener, Kerle, Des Buissons. E-Mc S-3900 / S-3901
XI / [VII] [822-834 lost]	Sacrarum aliquot Cantionum, quas Moteta vulgas appellat. ... autore Jacobo Regnart Flandro Sac: Caes: Ma:ti:s musico. Monachij excudebat Adamus Bergk. A[nno] M. D. LXXV.	<i>Aliquot cantiones, vulgo motecta appellatae, ex veteri atque nouo testamento collectae, quatuor uocum, [Nürnberg: Katharina Gerlach & Johann Bergs Erben]</i>	1575	?	Wielross Library (by H. Blotius) 1583 // Uclés Collection	Bound together with Vento, Dressler, Gastritz, Khöffel, Paminger. E-Mc S-3870 / S-3871 / S-3872
XIX / [XII 858-860]	Selectissimarum Sacrarum Cantionum, quas ulgo Muteta uocant ... trium uocum: ex optimis ac praestantiss: quibusq[ue] diuinae Musices autoribus ... Louanij Petrus phalesius. an[no] 1569.	<i>Selectissimarum Sacrarum Cantionum, quas ulgo Mute-ta uocant ... trium uocum: ex optimis ac praestantiss: quibusq[ue] diuinae Musices autoribus ... Louanij Petrus phalesius. an[no] 1569.</i>	1569	1569 ⁵⁻⁶		Anthology. E-Mc S-3862 / S-3863 / S-3864 <i>Liber secundus & Tertius</i>
17	Seis quadernos con cubierta de papel açul	Manuscrip. "dos libretes que son bajo y quinta pars de misas. Las misas que contienen son: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1a Come Granta Vita (a6) ▪ 2a Quodlibetica (a6) ▪ 3a Verba mea (a5) ▪ 4a Ibant Apostoli (a5) ▪ 5a Las vomez vous (a4) ▪ 6a Beata Virgo (a4) Su autor es Jacobus Regnart			Juan de Borja's post-mortem inventory (acquired by his nephew the Duke of Lerma)	In Olmeda-Barbieri correspondence

Jacob Kerle

Jacobus Kerle's works are even rarer in the Iberian world. If we exclude the editions from Rumpf's library, which we will discuss later, the presence of a Mass book in the Jesuit college could be due to a tradition of circulating music by authors related to the Society of Jesus. Perhaps it could have been in the early stages of a Jesuit institution with Kerle as endorsed by Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, as Christian Leitmeir has well studied.¹³ Or with more sense, a second hypothesis would be more plausible, about a circulation of music between schools of the Society in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as happened with many other works.¹⁴

About the Kerle hymns preserved in Barcelona, they come from the same centre. Andrea Puentes-Blanco notes in his doctoral thesis that this edition, along with two others held in the Biblioteca de Catalunya by Willaert and Girolamo Belli, comes from the private collection of the bibliophile Carreres i Dagás. The previous circulation of these sources is unknown. The author proposes, from the annotations, that these prints were in use in the Catalan area dur-

¹³ See Christian T. LEITMEIR, *Jacobus de Kerle (1531/32-1591): Komponieren im Spannungsfeld von Kirche und Kunst* (Turnhot: Brepols, 2009).

¹⁴ See Daniele V. FILIPPI, "Ask the Jesuits to Send Verses from Rome": The Society's Networks and the European Dissemination of Devotional Music', in: Robert Aleksander MARYKS (ed.), *Exploring Jesuit Distinctiveness. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Ways of Proceeding within the Society of Jesus* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 62-80.

ing the seventeenth century.¹⁵ The publication of the library of João IV is confusing. It must be an edition like the one in Biblioteca de Catalunya, although it is indicated 'Flandro I[m]presi'.

Table 3: The other edition listed in RISM (K 442) is also Roman.

Jacob Kerle

Item No.	Description	Title (according to RISM)	Date	RISM	Place	Current Source
	Quatuor missae suavissimis modulationibus refertae	<i>Quatuor missae suavissimis modulationibus refertae, quarum una quatuor, reliquae vero quinque vocibus concinendae ... adjuncto in fine Te deum laudamus</i> [2 identische Ausgaben mit unterschiedlicher Widmung an Erzbischof Gebhard von Köln und an Kaiser Rudolf II.]	1582 (1583)	K 454	Inventory of Jesuit College library at Salamanca. Made in 1777 (2 years after the collections were transferred to the University of Salamanca) ¹⁶	
VIII / IV 809 (K77-78, #8)	Libri Motetorum Jacobi de Kerle quatuor et quinq[ue] uocum ad iuncto in fine. Te Deu[m] laudamus. Sex uocum quorum nihil adhuc in luce[m] est editum. // Monachij Adamus Berg. a[nn]o 1573. Omnia haec sunt forma quarta oblonga excusa.	<i>Liber mottetorum, quatuor et quinque uocum, adiuncto in fine. Te Deum laudamus, sex uocum.</i> [München: Adam Berg]	1573	K 451		Bound together with Utendal, Le Miastre, Lechner, Regnart, Des Buissons.
VIII / IV 809 (K77-78, #8)	Selectarum quarundam Cationum Sacrarum modis Musicis quinq[ue] et sex uocum recens compositorum per Jacobum de Kerle Noribergae Theodoricus Gerlachenus a[nn]o 1571.	<i>Selectae quaedam cationes sacrae modis musicis quinque et sex uocum.</i> [Noribergae in officina Theodoricus Gerlatzeni M.D.LXXI.]	1571	K 447	Wolf Rumpf von Wielross Library (by H. Blotius) 1583 // Uclés Collection	E-Mc S-3900 / S-3901
XV / VIII 845-840	Libri Modulorum quaternis quinis et senis uocibus, autore Jacobo de Kerle Flandro Inpense // Parisijs Adrianus le Roy et Rob. Ballard. a[nn]o 1572.	<i>Liber modulorum quaternis, quinis et senis uocibus.</i> [(Paris): Adrian Le Roy & Robert Ballard]	1572	K 448		Bound together with Utendal, Le Miastre, Lechner, Regnart, Des Buissons. E-Mc S-3895 / S-3899
	Hymni totius anni secundum ritum Sanctae Rom. Eccl. et Magnificat cum quat. et quin. Vocibus auctore Iacobo de Kerle Flandro y Prensi	<i>Hymni totius anni secundum ritum Sanctae Rom. Eccl. et Magnificat cum quat. et quin. uocibus</i> [Magnificat fehlt], [Roma: Antoine Barré]	1558 (1560) ?	K 441 ?	Biblioteca de Catalunya (E-Bbc) ¹⁷	E-Bbc M0591 bis
423. Madrigals	Hymnos a todo anno, & Magnificas. Iacobo de Kerle . Flandro I[m]presi. a4 & 5	<i>Hymni totius anni secundum ritum Sanctae Rom. Eccl. et Magnificat cum quat. et quin. uocibus</i> , [Magnificat fehlt], [Roma: Antoine Barré]	1558 (1560) ?	K 441 ?	João IV Library	

¹⁵ See PUENTES-BLANCO, *Música y devoción en Barcelona (ca. 1550-1626)* (↵ note 10), pp. 279-280.

¹⁶ See Iain FENLON, 'Artus Taberniel: Music Printing and the Book Trade in Renaissance Salamanca', in: Iain FENLON and Tess KNIGHTON (eds.), *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2006), pp. 117-146, here p. 145.

¹⁷ PUENTES-BLANCO, *Música y devoción en Barcelona (ca. 1550-1626)* (↵ note 10), p. 122.

Alessandro Orologio

Works by Alessandro Orologio just appears in the João IV library.¹⁸

Table 4:
Alessandro Orologio

Item No.	Description	Title (according to RISM)	Date	RISM	Place	Current Source
112	MOTTETES. Cantica Sion in terra aliena. Alexandro Orologio . a8.	<i>Cantica Sion in terra aliena a mysticis Israelitibus, octo vocibus concinenda</i> , Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti	1627	O 128	João IV Library	
12	Cançonetes. ALESSANDRO UROLOGIO . a 3. lib. 2. (prob. Madrigals)	Prob. ? <i>Canzonette a tre voci ... libro primo</i> , Venezia: Angelo Gardano	1593	O 122		

Other composers in Rudolphine Prague

It is also worth mentioning some authors, who appear in the inventories and libraries worked and who, although they were not in the Imperial Chapel, were in Prague for some time and had ambitions to serve to the Emperor Rudolf. Among them stands out Stefano Felis and Tiburtio Massaino.

Felis was in Prague in 1580 at the service of Nuncio Antonio Puteo. His music had some impact since it appears together with Carl Luython and Jacob Regnart in several mass choir-books in Prague. Felis addressed his edition of masses to Philip de Croy, special ambassador of Philip II in Prague.¹⁹ His third book of motets for five voices appears in the library of João IV,²⁰ as well as in the archive of the cathedral of Valladolid.²¹ His *Liber secundus motectorum* is also listed in the Portuguese library. I think that the entries in these libraries are presumably more closely linked to the Spanish rule over Bari and Naples than Imperial connection.

Table 5:
Stefano Felis

Item No.	Description	Title (according to RISM)	Date	RISM	Place	Current Source
308	MOTTETES. STEFANI FELIX Barenfis. a 5. lib. 3.	<i>Motectorum cum quinque vocibus. Liber tertius</i> , Venezia: Gerolamo Scotto	1591	F 208	João IV Library	
37	Do mesmo. a5. 6. & 8. lib. 4. (same author)	<i>Cantvs Stephani Felis regalis ecclesiae s. Nicolai bariensis canonici liber qvartvs motectorvm, quæ quinis, senis, ac octonnis, concinuntur vocibus, nunc primum impressus. venetiis, apud iacobum vincentium.</i>	1596	F 209		
315	Stefano Felis Barenfis. A 5. 6. & 8. Lib2	<i>Liber secundus motectorum quinis senis octonisque vocibus</i> , Venezia: Angelo Gardano	1585	F 206		
23 [37]	Felix Barenfis, Stephano . <i>Motetorum ... Liber Tertius</i>	<i>Motectorum cum quinque vocibus. Liber tertius</i> , Venezia: Gerolamo Scotto	1591	F 208	Valladolid Cathedral	

Although some texts refer to the fact that Rudolf II called Tiburtio Massaino from Rome to work in the Imperial Chapel, according to the researchers' agreement, it is not sure that this was the case. His music is well represented in the library of João IV with the *Trionfo di Musica*,²² probably the collection of madrigals where he appears, among other authors, prominently represented. Among his listed sacred works, his motets for seven voices and the responsories and passions for Holy Week stand out.²³

¹⁸ See Paulo CRAESBEK, *Primeira Parte do Index da Livraria de Musica do Muyto Afto, e Poderoso Rey Dom João o IV, Nosso Senhor* (Alcobaça: Livraria d'Alcobaça, 1649), p. 22.

¹⁹ See Laura HAFNER, 'Mass Compositions by Stefano Felis in a Prague Choir Book', paper read at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Prague 2017. This paper is part of her PhD in progress about the musical foundation of Jacobus Chimarraeus and especially on the Prague choirbooks kept in Cologne.

²⁰ See CRAESBEK, *Primeira Parte do Index da Livraria de Musica do Muyto Afto* (↵ note 18), p. 64.

²¹ See Soterraña AGUIRRE-RINCÓN and John GRIFFITHS, 'The formation of an exceptional library: early printed music books at Valladolid Cathedral', *Early Music* 37/3 (2009), pp. 379–400.

²² See CRAESBEK, *Primeira Parte do Index da Livraria de Musica do Muyto Afto* (↵ note 18), p. 64.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 99.

Item No.	Description	Title (according to RISM)	Date	RISM	Place	Current Source
324	TIBURTIJ MASSAINI, & outros. a6. lib. J.	<i>Tiburtii Massaini musici cremonensis, Motectorum cum quinque, et sex vocibus, liber primus. Nunc primum in lucem deditus, [Venezia: Gioseffo Guglielmo] ?</i>	1576 ?	M 1268 ?		
325	TIBURTIJ MASSAINI. Mottetes ou Sacrarum Cantionum. A 7. Lib I.	<i>Sacrarum cantionum septem vocibus, liber primus ... cum basso ad organum, opus trigesimum tertium, Venezia: Alessandro Raverii</i>	1607	M 1287	João IV Library	
411	TIBURIO MASSAINO. Querimoniae, contem Responorios, & Pyxiones da Dominga de Ramos, & da sexta feria. Obra 34.	<i>Quaerimoniae cum responsoriis infra hebdomadam sanctam concinendae, et passiones pro Dominica Palmarum, & feria sexta ... opus XXXVIII, Venezia: Alessandro Raverii</i>	1609	M 1288		

Table 6:

Tiburto Massaino Distribution

Perhaps one of the most impressive music collections of the Early Modern Age is from Wolfgang Rumpf von Wielross, that is currently identified as the 'Colección Uclés' and is preserved in the library of the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música in Madrid.²⁴ This collection has recently been studied in depth, including diplomatic relations and the movement of music between the Courts of Vienna/Prague and Madrid by Erika Honisch, Tess Knighton and myself.²⁵ The article offers an approach to the catalogue made by the imperial librarian Hugo Blotius, as well as the events that took place since the death of the Austrian diplomat until today: the universal knowledge in a library. As a very brief summary, we can say that Rumpf von Wielross had a library of more than 1,000 books that were catalogued by the imperial librarian Hugo Blotius in 1583. The music books, one of the largest sets of music prints preserved today from a single collection, of which 120 books contained 106 printed editions. His books were sent to Spain, sometime in the early seventeenth century which we cannot specify, to the monastery of Uclés, a priory of the military order of Santiago. From this vast collection, approximately 70 books of music are conserved, most of them, as mentioned, in the library of the Real Conservatorio de Música de Madrid (E-Mc).

I have already written about the books of Juan de Borja, Philip II's ambassador to the Imperial Court and Empress Mary's steward, among many other duties. When he died in September 1606 his music books and instruments were inventoried to be sold at auction. Most of the books were bought by his nephew, the powerful Duke of Lerma, who was a valid representative of King Phillip III, to establish a music collection for his newly created foundation in the collegiate church of Lerma.²⁶ These books, along with many others, were catalogued for several centuries until they were taken away at the end of the nineteenth century by Federico Olmeda, who was the organist of Burgos Cathedral. Olmeda, in turn, exchanged some copies with Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, whose music collection became the seed of the music section of the Spanish National Library. The other books were sold by the German antiquarian Karl Hiersemann to various institutions. Nowadays the music books of Juan de Borja that are still preserved can be found in Brussels, Madrid, New York, London and Cambridge (at Harvard). Borja's inventory books were more than one hundred books in almost forty printed editions and seven manuscripts.²⁷

What can be said about the library of John IV? The Portuguese king from 1640 was one of the most outstanding patrons of the arts, specifically of music, of his time. His library was de-

²⁴ See Tess KNIGHTON, *Catálogo de los impresos musicales de la Colección Uclés* (Cuenca: Instituto de Música Religiosa, 2009).

²⁵ See Erika S. HONISCH, Ferran ESCRIVA LLORCA and Tess KNIGHTON, 'On the Trail of a Knight of Santiago: Collecting Music and Mapping Knowledge in Renaissance Europe', *Music & Letters* 101/3 (2020, August), pp. XXX.

²⁶ See Trevor DADSON, 'Music Books and Instruments in Spanish Golden-Age Inventories: The Case of Don Juan de Borja (1607)', in: Iain FENLON and Tess KNIGHTON (eds.), *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2006), pp. 98–116.

²⁷ See ESCRIVA LLORCA, *Eruditio, Pietas et Honor* (↵ note 3), pp. 186–224, 329 and ff.

stroyed during the 1755 Lisbon earthquake. He constantly requested his ambassadors to obtain new musical editions, especially of sacred music, madrigals and instrumental music.²⁸ In this library, Monte and Regnart's works are rare, but they are among the few represented. Most probably this music would not be the newest for that time. In contrast, a multitude of madrigals and songs by Monte appear, including his *Madrigali Spirituali* or an edition of *La Ruzina*. Besides, authors such as Striggio, Orologio, Flecha and other composers from Central Europe are better represented in the field of secular music. Without a doubt, this library is considered one of the largest and most important collections of polyphonic music in the Modern Age.

Some considerations must be given about the works in America. On the one hand, the historical inventories of the libraries of American cathedrals are not so well known, although the works of Stevenson and others are of great value.²⁹ We cannot know if there were more circulation and shipments of music from the Imperial Chapel. However, as Maria Gembero suggests, the presence of a significant number of works by Italian and Central European composers such as Lasso and Philippe de Monte suggests that the repertoire performed in America was not limited to the works produced by the New World chapel masters (mostly Spanish or of descent) and that, therefore, there was a great deal of internationalism.³⁰

In this point, we cannot miss the opportunity to include—even if it is a little daring—the name of Orlando de Lasso. Even though we are well aware of the significance of Lasso's music in the courts and ecclesiastical centres under Habsburg dominion, it is worth emphasizing that one of the first ways of entering the sacred music—but not only—in the Iberian world was through the same channels used for imperial musicians. The libraries of Juan de Borja and Rumpf von Wielross—as well as probably some other bibliophile still to be worked on in-depth—were among the first to have Lasso music in Spain and Portugal. Although indeed, Rumpf's books arrived later, most references to the works of the Munich-based master in inventories and Spanish libraries are later than the last quarter of the sixteenth century. According to Jambou, Lasso's music was already circulating, at least since years before 1578, when Hernando de Cabezón published his father's (Antonio) posthumous works. Among the *glosas* (variations) for organ in tablature appears the chanson 'Suzanne un jour...'.³¹ Another of the early channels of reception of Lasso's music was the Jesuit schools, which perhaps set the pattern for the performance of his music within the post-Tridentine canon, as were Palestrina, Guerrero or Victoria as was already done in many cathedrals and church centres.³²

Lasso mention serves introduces the final part of the article that discusses about the *Novi Thesauri Musices*. As is well known, this edition has a strong connection with the Imperial Chapel, although the edition is more than a decade before the rise to the throne of Rudolf II. In the Iberian world there were, at least, three copies of this work of five volumes but usually bound together by voices. That is, in six part-books. Chronologically, the first recorded copy

²⁸ See Mario de SAMPAIO RIBEIRO, *Livraria de Musica de el rei D. Joao IV. Estudo musical, historico e bibliográfico* (Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da Historia, 1967). See also Joaquim de VASCONCELLOS, *Ensaio critico sobre o Catalogo d'el-rey D. João IV* (Porto: Imprensa portuguesa, 1873). See also CRAESBEK, *Primeira Parte do Index da Livraria de Musica do Muyto Afto* (↵ note 18).

²⁹ See Robert STEVENSON, 'The Music of Colonial Spanish America', in: Leslie BETHELL, *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. 2: *Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 771–798. A recent publication should be considered Leonardo J. WAISMAN, *Una historia de la música colonial hispanoamericana* (Buenos Aires: Gourmet Musical Ediciones, 2019). Also see other works cited by Robert Stevenson.

³⁰ See María GEMBERO USTÁRROZ, 'Circulación de Libros de Música Entre España y América (1492–1650): Notas Para Su Estudio', in: Iain FENLON and Tess KNIGHTON (eds.), *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2006), p. 157. Stevenson also indicates that a 'Misa de Bomba' was preserved as a parody of the ensalada *La Bomba* by Mateo Flecha the Elder, published in Prague in 1581, from an edition in tablature by Miguel de Fuenllana (1554). See STEVENSON, *Renaissance and Baroque musical sources in the Americas* (↵ note 5), p. 68.

³¹ See Louis JAMBOU, 'Contribution à l'étude de la réception et de la transmission des œuvres de Lassus dans la Péninsule Ibérique', *Ostinato Rigore* 4 (1995), pp. 127–138. The author does not go into detail about how and when Lasso's musical works reached the cathedral archives and libraries listed.

³² See Robert KENDRICK, 'Music among the Disciplines in Early Modern Catholicism', in: Daniele V. FILIPPI and Michael NOONE (eds.): *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 47–48; Juan Ruiz JIMÉNEZ, 'Música de Francisco Guerrero, Tomás Luis de Victoria y Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina en el paisaje sonoro de Goa (1588)', *Paisajes Sonoros Históricos*, 2019, <http://www.historicalsoundscapes.com/evento/986/goa>; Juan Ruiz JIMÉNEZ, 'Preliminares y fiesta de la beatificación de Ignacio de Loyola (1610)', *Paisajes Sonoros Históricos*, 2016, <http://www.historicalsoundscapes.com/evento/568/sevilla>.

was a wedding gift from the publisher himself, Petrus Giovanelli de Gandino, to Philip II in 1570, on the occasion of the Catholic King's marriage to his niece Princess Anne of Austria (Habsburg)—sister of the future Emperor Rudolf II. One of the cliché phrases of the family inevitably comes to mind: 'Bella gerant alii, tu Felix Austria nube.' In the letter, Giovanelli praises that amid of so much religious calamity, the most serene and invincible king [Philip II] shines in the Christian firmament with great splendour. The author emphasizes that he has dedicated his life to the service of the 'Clarissima Illustrissimaque domus Austriaca' which reigns uniquely in the Christian universe. Iovanellus offers this gift to be enjoyed in the wedding of his majesties and solemnly performed by the king's musicians.

Petrus Giovanelli's letter, dated 25 July 1570 in Vienna and written in Latin, is kept in the State collection of the Simancas Archives (E-SIM, *Estado*, 664, fol. 83 and following), together with many more documents of a bureaucratic nature and diplomatic correspondence, some of which are encrypted. If it is in this collection of documents, the books and the letter most likely have travelled through a special agent or along with some specific shipment. It is quite obvious that the promoter needed certain guarantees of arrival for his gift. One hypothesis I propose is that this gift would have arrived with Queen Anne's entourage. Initially, the entourage had to go from Vienna to Genoa to embark for Barcelona, but for many reasons, the trip was made overland and by riverboat to Flanders. On August 23, 1570, a list of 'people, clothes and horses' were ordered to do and they were to embark from Berga—Zelanda—to Spain. Among the members of the chapel was the chaplain Mateo Flecha. Flecha, who at that time was in the service as Empress Maria's chaplain, is one of the agents who travelled on several occasions between the courts of Madrid and Vienna/Prague, as some studies have pointed out, among them that of Michaela Žáčková Rossi who is always a great help for this type of work.³³ Flecha could be one of the agents in charge of carrying this precious wedding gift. Another possibility, in this same scenario, is found within the same personnel of the chapel. Among the chapel boys appeared 'Lambertus de Sayve', who according to the studies was already a renowned soprano singer in Emperor Ferdinand's chapel at least since 1562. In this regard, it should be noted that the Saynne (or Sayve) family had several singers in the musical chapels linked to the Habsburgs and not always the documentation can clarify who was who, although the hypothesis is plausible since Saynne is linked to the return entourage of Archdukes Rudolf and Ernest of Austria years later after their return to Vienna after the formative years at the court of his uncle Philip II.

The books are now lost, but they were listed in the inventories of Philip II in 1600. The inclusion of the books in the chapel of the Alcázar (Royal Palace) in Madrid suggests that they may have been used in some celebrations, bearing in mind that the Archdukes Rudolf and Ernest, nephews of Philip II, were at court during those years and have a motet dedicated to them in the fifth volume or perhaps in the marriage or feast in honour as was the express wish of Petrus Giovanelli. In the description, we may read:

"Seis libros de un tamaño en quarto grande impresos en Venecia, en papel, de motetes, y luminada en la segunda hoja con las armas Reales y en la quinta con el Retrato del Rey Fernando, encuadernado en Cuero colorado y papelón con escudo de harnas reales Doradas. [Nº 68]"³⁴

The other two copies of the *Novi Thesauri Musices*, as can be expected, were among the books of Juan de Borja and Rumpf von Wielross. Undoubtedly, the presence of editions of the *Novi Thesauri* in the Iberian world was a real curiosity, although, as shown below, in general, the works of the composers linked to the Imperial Chapel were also a rarity.

Conclusion

In summary, the works and printed editions of music by authors of the Imperial Chapel in the Iberian world are rare. Even so, some are quite significant. It is clear that the main way of transmission of this music was the diplomatic networks and directly the musical interests of the ambassadors themselves.

³³ See Michaela ŽÁČKOVÁ ROSSI, *The Musicians at the Court of Rudolf II. The Musical Entourage of Rudolf II (1576–1612) Reconstructed from the Imperial Accounting Ledgers* (Prague: KLP – Koniasch Latin Press, 2017).

³⁴ Luis ROBLEDÓ ESTAIRE, Tess KNIGHTON, Cristina BORDAS IBÁÑEZ and Juan José CARRERAS (eds.), *Aspectos de La Cultura Musical En La Corte de Felipe II* (Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid. Editorial Alpuerto, 2000), p. 385.

Curiously, it is very surprising that there are no references to music by important authors such as Philippe de Monte, Jacob Kerle or Jacob Regnart in the collection of the Royal Chapel of the Spanish Kings. It is not possible to determinate, at the moment, if this could have been related to the almost null relationship between Tomás Luis de Victoria and the Flemish masters as Philippe Rogier, George de La Hèle or Gery de Ghersem. In the royal inventories, no works by Victoria appears. He was chaplain to the Empress in the Descalzas Reales in Madrid, and a frequent figure in pro-imperial circles along with the Empress, Juan de Borja or the imperial ambassador Hans Khevenhüller.

To finish the article, we should go in the opposite direction. In 1591, on one of Khevenhüller's trips to Prague and Vienna, it was among his possessions

'several cases [...] and in one of them some books on ecclesiastical music for the chapel of the Serenísimo Emperor'.³⁵

Although we might suspect that Khevenhüller himself was who sent the music books, the fact is that the ambassador himself indicates to Rudolf II the details of this case. He remarks that

"a very singular and esteemed person in music in Spain and even in Rome has given me music books for V. M. [Your Majesty], which will be difficult to send because they are very large, [...] I recommend that he be made to deserve it and because he is very esteemed by the Empire."³⁶

This person was none other than Tomás Luis de Victoria who remitted his printed works to a multitude of institutions and patrons in search of graces. From the description of the ambassador, it can be assumed that these were some of the editions in choirbook format. Probably from the Roman editions, or perhaps several copies in the form of a miscellany. Unfortunately, there is no documentation of the arrival or presence of these works at the Imperial Court. However, it is a good starting point for further research into the circulation of musical material among the Habsburg courts.

Several works mentioned in the article can be geolocated in different events on the *Paisajes Sonoros Históricos* website with the label 'Musica Rudolphina'.³⁷ This helps to better understand the distribution of works and authors, the institutions or libraries that owned them, as well as relations with other types of agents (composers, performers, patrons, etc.).

³⁵ E-SIM, *Cámara de Castilla*, Libros de Cédulas de paso, 362, fol. 470^v. Reproduced in Alfredo ALVAR, *El embajador imperial Hans Khevenhüller (1538–1606) en España* (Madrid, Boletín Oficial del Estado. Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación, 2015), p. 63. Original text: "diferentes cajas [...] y en una de ellas algu nos libros de música eclesiástica para la capilla del dicho Serenísimo Emperador". Translation by the author.

³⁶ Letter from Khevenhüller to Rudolf II, Madrid, 22 February 1591. Reproduced in Tatjana LEHNER, *Johann Khevenhüller – ein Diplomat am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts: seine Briefe an Rudolf II. 1591–1594*, PhD. Diss. (Vienna: Universität Wien, 2007). I am grateful for this information to Rubén González Cuerva. Original text: "persona muy singular y estimada en la música en España y aun en Roma me ha entregado libros musicales para V.M., que costará mandar porque son muy grandes, [...] recomienda que se le haga merced por ello y porque es muy estimado de [la] Emp[er]atr[iz]". Translation by the author.

³⁷ <http://www.historicalsoundscapes.com/ciudades-interconectadas>.