

# *Francisco Correa de Arauxo*

## *New light on his career*

Robert Stevenson

### *Foundations of Correa's Fame.*

*Grove's Dictionary* (1954, II, 455), *Baker's Biographical Dictionary* (1957, page 322), the Higinio Anglés-Joaquín Pena *Diccionario de la música Labor* (1954, I, 592-593), and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1952, II, 1691) unite in decreeing Francisco Correa de Arauxo (= Araujo) to have been a brilliant revolutionary who reveled in new dissonances, in calling him one of the paramount composers of the Spanish baroque, and in ranking him as by all odds "the most important organist between Cabezón and Cabanilles". To paraphrase Anglés-Pena:

Correa de Arauxo was at heart a firebrand who combed the classics [Nicholas Wollick<sup>1</sup> = Volcyr (ca. 1480-ca. 1541), Francisco Salinas, Francisco de Montanos and Pietro Cerone among theorists; Josquin des Prez, Nicolas Gombert, Cristóbal de Morales, Antonio and Hernando Cabezón, Diego del Castillo, Jerónimo or Francisco Peraza, and Manuel Rodrigues Coelho among practitioners] searching for exceptional procedures in order to justify his own novelties. In his preface, Correa de Arauxo promised to speed along the progress of Spanish organ music by delivering to the press other treatises, which however he seems never to have had an opportunity to publish. His music combines originality with geniality. Even though fully conversant with prior [Peninsular] composers and eager to imitate them, he so delighted in new and daring discoveries that he stands at a remove from both his distinguished predecessors and contemporaries. As a result, he takes pride of place as the most revolutionary and talented organist of his epoch in Spain... After studying his works, we can declare them a repertory apart that combines a myriad diverse procedures in a beautifully artistic whole.

José Subirá echoes Anglés's praise when mentioning Correa de Arauxo in his 1003-page *Historia de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana* (Barcelona, Salvat, 1953, pages 272, 396, 400-401). However, even without Anglés's endorsement, Correa de Arauxo would deserve high honors in any such book as Subirá's dealing with both Spanish and Spanish-American music. Already eleven years earlier, *Revista Musical Mexicana*, II/2-3 and

5 (July 21, August 7, September 7, 1942, pages 36-39, 65-66, 110-111) had included an article by the authoritative Gabriel Saldívar draping Correa de Arauxo's brow with New World bays of laurel. Entitling the article "Una tablatura mexicana", Saldívar had published in three instalments the facsimiles of six pages excerpted from a seventeenth-century Puebla manuscript of organ music (ciphered in Correa de Arauxo's familiar system of keyboard tablature). On page 5 of this tablature, the following legend between seventh and eighth systems had caught Saldívar's eye: "Tiento de quarto tono, medio Registro, tiple del Maestro Fran<sup>co</sup> correa y son muy elegantes las obras de este Maestro". Since no older organ tablature has thus far been discovered in Latin America, and since to Correa was ascribed the top melody (*tiple*) of this Tone IV tiento to be played on an organ, the notes above Middle C of which were controlled by stops different from the stops controlling Middle C and on down (*Medio Registro*), Correa's historical importance as a fountainhead of New World organ literature had already been clearly revealed by Saldívar's tablature. Moreover, the colonial copyist had appraised Correa thus: "and very elegant are the works of this master".

With such guarantees backing Correa, no one need now be surprised that his epochal *Libro de Tientos y Discursos de Musica Practica, y Theorica de Organo, intitulado Facultad organica* (Alcalá de Henares: Antonio Arnao, 1626) so soon entered the *Monumentos de la Música Española* series (Volumes VI and XII [Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1948 and 1952]). Nor will it seem strange that Correa is the only composer after Victoria whose complete extant oeuvre has been (to date) either published or announced for publication by the Spanish Institute of Musicology.<sup>2</sup>

As if the opinion of native Spanish speakers were insufficient, foreign experts have also joined in applauding the preference thus far shown Correa de Arauxo.

Dragan Plamenac found, for instance, in his careful review of *MME*, Volume VI<sup>3</sup>, that Correa fully merited such timely recognition. Correa's "stature . . . is comparable to that of the greatest keyboard masters of the period in other countries, a Frescobaldi, a Scheidt, a Gibbons, a Titelouze", declared Plamenac. Commenting on the emotional impact of Correa's art, Plamenac wrote that "[his] music displays a somber grandeur" calling "to mind some of the great contemporary works of Spanish painting and literature".

For the task of editing so significant a composer, Anglés chose Santiago Kastner. Despite the seeming liabilities of being a London-born, Dutch-trained, and Lisbon-based scholar who had never taken Spanish citizenship, Kastner<sup>4</sup> --according to Plamenac-- "was almost naturally designated to accomplish the task" of editing Correa de Arauxo. For one advantage, Kastner had had at his disposal in the Lisbon National Library and Biblioteca da Ajuda no less than three copies of the rare 1626 original imprint

--the pair in the Biblioteca Nacional being catalogued as *Reservados 877 V* and *1508 V* [R. 130319] the copy with manuscript appendix at the Biblioteca da Ajuda bearing B.B.A. 38/XII/27 for its call-number<sup>5</sup>.

Moreover, Correa de Arauxo like such other composers contemporary with him in Seville as the two leading Seville Cathedral musicians, Francisco de Santiago (*ca.* 1577-1644) and Manuel Correa (1593-1645)<sup>6</sup> was of Portuguese birth. Or at any rate, so the knowledgeable Diogo Barbosa Machado had testified in his *Bibliotheca Lusitana* [Lisbon: Ignacio Rodrigues, 1747] II, 136; second edition [Lisbon: Bertrand Irmãos, 1933], II, 125. As his authority for such a claim, Barbosa Machado may well have used some annotation in the copy of Correa's 1626 book added to the music-loving João IV's library and indexed in the *Primeira parte do Index da livraria* (Lisbon, 1649). If so, his claim would have become no longer verifiable after the 1755 earthquake and fire destroyed the royal library at Lisbon. But Barbosa Machado's access to the library and his otherwise proven reliability (wen not misled by forgeries) were enough to convince even the dean of Spanish musicologists, who in 1952 wrote, "Man kann ihn für einen Portugiesen halten" (*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, II, "Correa de Arauxo", article, column 1691).

For a third advantage, Santiago Kastner brought to his editorial labors the sympathetic outlook of a *claveciniste*<sup>7</sup> whose own concert appearances the better enabled him to appreciate such tientos as Correa's LVIII-LXI --in which, according to John Ward<sup>8</sup>, "one encounters, perhaps for the first time in history, the type of bravura writing normally associated with the virtuoso pianists of the 19th century". Enjoying such predisposing advantages as those mentioned in this and in the two preceding paragraphs, Kastner could bring off his assignment with an éclat that justified this typical praise: [he] "has done a splendid job of editing a difficult work"<sup>9</sup>.

### *Biographical Résumé.*

However, one darkness did remain undispeled, even after Kastner's fruitful labors. Still obscured was the record of his life from adolescence to death. The same veil shrouding his career that caused Plamenac in 1950 to write "biographical data about Correa's life are exceedingly scarce"<sup>10</sup>, still hung over him like a pall until 1966-1967 when new researches<sup>11</sup>, personally conducted at Seville, Jaén, and Segovia at last brought the true record to light. He began as San Salvador organist on September 1, 1599<sup>12</sup>, not quitting the post until March 31, 1636<sup>13</sup>. On January 11 of the latter year the cathedral chapter at nearby Jaén formally dismissed Miguel García, who although a capital performer had vitiated his usefulness by taking frequent and lengthy unauthorized leaves of absence<sup>14</sup>. With the concurrence of Cardinal Sandoval (1589-1665), the music-loving<sup>15</sup> bishop of Jaén, early in 1636 the Vice-Dean of Jaén sent Correa a written invitation to succeed the delinquent Mi-

guel García --and it was at Jaén as cathedral organist that Correa remained until a better paying organistship presented itself at Segovia Cathedral four years later. His letter resigning as of April 16, 1640, formed a principal item of business at the Jaén Cathedral chapter meeting of May 22 (1640)<sup>16</sup>. Segovia attracted Correa with twin advantages, increased pay and the prestige of a ranked position --that of a cathedral prebendary. Another stroke of fortune further sweetened his move to Segovia. On December 5, 1640, a house owned by the Segovia cathedral chapter became his for life (after a drawing of lots to see which prebendary should get it)<sup>17</sup>. Nonetheless, he died poor in early February of 1655<sup>18</sup>, Juan Sanz having substituted for him on the organ bench during his last months of lingering illness<sup>19</sup>.

Antonio Brocarte<sup>20</sup>, Correa's immediate successor in the organ prebend, reached Segovia no later than June 16, 1655. At once he wished reimbursement for moving expenses<sup>21</sup>. However, the chapter reminded him that even Correa had not been thus reimbursed in 1640 (for the move from Jaén to Segovia). That Brocarte was a not altogether unworthy successor to Correa comes to light in Oporto Municipal Library MS 1577 (Collocação B5)<sup>22</sup>. In this *Libro de cyfra adonde se contem varios Jogos de Versos, ê Obras, ê outras coriosidades, De varios Autores* four Brocarte organ works rub elbows with pieces by such worthies as Bartolomeu [de] Olague = Olaegui,<sup>23</sup> the maestro de capilla at Santiago de Compostela in 1658; Andrés de Sola,<sup>24</sup> appointed first organist of La Seo at Saragossa January 12, 1672; Sola's famous pupil Sebastián Durón; Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia, and others of like stature.

### *Sevillian Career.*

Some knowledge of not only Correa's successors but also his predecessors at all three places --Seville, Jaén, and Segovia-- cannot but predispose the student to a more sympathetic understanding of Correa's own career. To begin with Seville: San Salvador boasted throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a galaxy of organists hardly less stellar than the cathedral itself. If this seems an overbold generalization, the San Salvador list can be compared with the roll of cathedral organists. With the kind permission of Don Juan Miguel García Pérez, *canónigo archivero*, and his assistant, Don Juan Ruiz, the following list of Seville cathedral organists is copied from the *Libro. delas. Entradas. de. Señores. beneficiados. En esta S<sup>ta</sup> iglesia El cual parece corrio en los años desde el de 1500 hasta el de 1700* --an invaluable list of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century prebendaries preserved in the cathedral archive. Between 1540 and 1700 the following eleven virtuosi occupied the Seville Cathedral *Media Ración del Órgano*: Pedro de Villada (named December 23, 1540, died October 15, 1572); Gerónimo de Peraza Sotomayor (seated in the organist's prebend September 1, 1573<sup>25</sup>); Diego del Castillo<sup>26</sup> (appointed April 28, 1581); Francisco de Peraza (elected

May 16, 1584, died June 24, 1598); Pedro de Pradillo<sup>27</sup> (started July 2, 1602, died February 22, 1613); Francisco Pérez<sup>28</sup> (appointed June 18, 1613, died December 23, 1640); Andrés Martínez (named December 15, 1642, died October 13, 1652); Juan Sanz (elected March 10, 1653, elevated to chapelmaster April 23, 1661); José Sanz (succeeded May 5, 1661); Francisco de Medina (took possession February 3, 1671, died June 20, 1694); Joseph Muñoz de Monçerrate (named December 6, 1694).

The complete San Salvador list, although not so easily reconstructed, includes at least the following eight organists active between 1550 and 1650: Francisco de Villegas, appointed October 29, 1547;<sup>29</sup> Hernando de Tapia, named no later than the 1570's<sup>30</sup> (served until death in 1593); Estacio de la Serna, elected to succeed Tapia October 29, 1593<sup>31</sup> (resigned May 6, 1595,<sup>32</sup> to accept appointment as Royal Chapel organist at Lisbon);<sup>33</sup> Miguel de Coria, appointed May 13, 1595<sup>34</sup> (died shortly before September 1, 1599, on which date Francisco Correa de Arauxo succeeded him); Correa (continued, as stated above, until March 31, 1636); Gaspar de Torres, named interim organist April 1, 1636 (served five and a half months); Juan de Espinal, appointed titular organist September 1, 1636 (died shortly before August 20, 1649<sup>35</sup>); Miguel Galván, Espinal's successor (still held the post in 1655<sup>36</sup>, the year of Correa's decease at Segovia).

San Salvador's Hernando de Tapia<sup>37</sup> was invited to occupy the Seville Cathedral organ bench temporarily in 1580-1581 (between the terms of Gerónimo de Peraza and Diego del Castillo). In 1584 Palencia Cathedral was interested in obtaining him. His successor at San Salvador, Estacio de la Serna, rose to the organistship of the Portuguese Royal Chapel --a post held by him from April 1, 1595, to February 25, 1604<sup>38</sup>-- and in later life to the organistship and direction of the music at Lima Cathedral (Peru)<sup>39</sup>. His first tiento occupying folios 207-209 in the manuscript appendix to the Biblioteca da Ajuda copy of Correa de Arauxo's *Facultad orgánica* won Kastner's enthusiastic endorsement<sup>40</sup>.

Did Correa study with any of his San Salvador predecessors? Either Tapia, Estacio de la Serna, or Miguel de Coria is an obvious possibility. His own birth year should help settle the question of other possible teachers. If eighty when death took him in 1655, he would still have been able to play a full round of exhausting services at seventy-eight<sup>41</sup>, and his appointment at Segovia would date from his sixty-fifth year. Under these circumstances, no earlier biennium than "between 1575 and 1577" (*MME*, VI, 12) seems to offer any plausible range within which to fix his birth year. He could easily have been born as late as 1580. Since Gerónimo de Peraza left Seville in 1579, the elder Peraza cannot have been even a "direct influence", much less a teacher. Diego del Castillo left Seville at the close of 1583 to take up his new duties as court organist. Would he have consented to teach a six- or eight-year old? Francisco de Peraza, the most eulogized virtuoso in Sevillian history, seems the likeliest cathedral organist to have taught him, if any,

According to Francisco Pacheco, father-in-law of the painter Velázquez, it was the younger Peraza --not the elder-- who trained a bevy of pupils and who succeeded in placing them advantageously, usually in the Peninsula but two as far away as north Africa.

In his *advertencias, quinto y sexto punto*, Correa credits "Peraza" (no Christian name) with having been the first to cipher some Tone VIII versos with all the F's sharped (final chords built over D). Since Correa remembers a time when no such "música de órgano, accidental" existed, he must surely mean that the younger Peraza, not the older, introduced it. Only if Correa died at ninety years of age and was in his middle seventies when he began at Segovia can the elder Peraza have been the brother to whom he refers. Apart from the problem of dates, the various innovations credited to the younger Peraza by the painter Velázquez's father-in-law --medio registro, for instance <sup>42</sup> --jibe better with the invention of "música de órgano, accidental", considered such a noteworthy novelty by Correa. True, Correa claims that Diego del Castillo took up the idea from Peraza. However, Castillo lived until May 11, 1601, thus giving ample time for any new notion of the younger Peraza to have reached him at court.

Correa's presence in Seville during the entire decade before he began as San Salvador organist can be verified. Among the dozen witnesses called in 1630 to offer testimony confirming his right to sole possession of the San Salvador organ key was a Sevillian grocer named Francisco Rodríguez who claimed having known Correa personally "for over forty years". Several other witnesses testified having known him for "longer than thirty years" <sup>43</sup>.

During this same decade of the 1590's the post of San Salvador chapelmaster had oscillated back and forth between Juan Vargas (appointed Friday January 18, 1592) <sup>44</sup> and Andrés López (elected June 20 of the same year) <sup>45</sup>. On July 23, 1593, the chapter dismissed López for failing to provide polyphony <sup>46</sup>, soon thereafter recalling Vargas. On November 7, 1597, the canons contracted with Vargas to provide special Christmas music costing no more than the year previously <sup>47</sup>. In the same decade, Seville Cathedral hired López and Vargas alternately to assist the sexagenarian Francisco Guerrero in teaching and conducting the cathedral polyphony (*Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, pp. 172-173; also 318 <sup>48</sup> [Andrés López]).

The chapelmasters at San Salvador during the half-century 1600-1650 included: Melchor Cabello, appointed February 22, 1612 <sup>48</sup>, Diego Palacios, named April 26, 1630 (confirmed August 12 of the same year, quit shortly before January 14, 1645), and Ginés Martínez de Galves, appointed January 17, 1648 (reappointed September 17, 1652, after an interlude served by Andrés Botello) <sup>49</sup>. Whatever Correa's own sense of superiority to Cabello, Palacios, or to the various succentors, the San Salvador capitular acts never hint at tense relations between him and the chapelmaster, succentor, or any of his other adult musical colleagues. The act of June 2, 1632, specifies who

these "other" adult musical colleagues were --eight singers and four instrumentalists<sup>50</sup>. The normal number of choirboys throughout Correa's 37 years at San Salvador remained six<sup>51</sup>. However, their thin voices began to be reinforced with castrati no later than August 12, 1630, the date when Gregorio de Merola *cappon*<sup>52</sup> was appointed to sing *triple*. Another *capon* joined the San Salvador choir in 1648<sup>53</sup>. What seems to be the first castrato in the Seville Cathedral choir was hired in 1620; but before Correa left Seville at least another ten had been added to the cathedral lists<sup>54</sup>.

The *ministriles* on regular salary played *corneta* (cornett), *sacabuche* (sackbut), and *bajón* (bassoon). A certain Juan Correa hired on March 18, 1634<sup>55</sup>, to replace Tomás Ribera as cornettist may even have been Francisco Correa de Arauxo's own relative<sup>56</sup>. Interestingly, the scribe who copied accounts in the San Salvador *Quētas de Fabrica de Fin de diciem<sup>bre</sup> de 1636* several times refers to this cornettist Juan Correa as "Francisco" (folio 214, recto and verso), correcting himself in the margin, however, with the note "llamasse Ju<sup>o</sup> correa". Juan Correa continued in office until at least September 2, 1644, when half of his annual salary of 8,000 maravedis was assigned to a new *corneta* named Blas de Barrio<sup>57</sup>.

So far as conjoint performance with the organ is concerned, *Libro 11-de Pleytos Siguiendo los Sin Numero*, folio 899, records that in 1630 at vespers of Our Lady of the Waters *se baxaron los musicos del organo /899<sup>v</sup>/ sin querer tañer*. Following Correa's lead, these instrumentalists marched downstairs from the organ loft, refusing to play. Does such a statement permit our believing that, on occasion, Correa's own organ performances were reinforced by instrumentalists, each playing or glossing a ciphered voice part? If so, a present-day performance of a Correa tiento with organ, bassoon, and cornett, would not violate the performance practice that can now be inferred from San Salvador documents.

The practice in Seville Cathedral<sup>58</sup> itself obviously bears on San Salvador norms, not only because of the musicians traded back and forth between the two but also because it was always the custom of a collegiate church in such a city as Seville to take cathedral usage as its model<sup>59</sup>. Occasionally, the cathedral chapelmaster accepted a San Salvador invitation to examine musical candidates, thus strengthening bonds with the cathedral still further. On November 16, 1611, for instance, candidates for four endowed posts in the San Salvador choir were examined by the nonpareil Alonso Lobo<sup>60</sup> --chapelmaster at Toledo beginning September 22, 1593, and at Seville from March 9, 1604, until death on April 5, 1617.

But to keep its own musical forces intact, the San Salvador chapter required both Estacio de la Serna (October 29, 1593) and Miguel de Coria (May 13, 1595) to promise that they would not accept any other organ jobs, in town or out of town. Serna had to promise not even to go looking for such jobs ("que no trate órgano ninguno"). Only twice during thirty years did the San Salvador chapter give the great Correa himself leave to

compete for vacant organistships --and both those were out-of-town posts<sup>61</sup>. If Correa ever tried out for the Seville Cathedral organ prebend --new organists were appointed in 1602, 1613, and 1642-- neither cathedral nor collegiate records mention it. On May 15, 1654, the San Salvador chapter did by way of exception authorize Miguel Galván to compete for a vacancy in the Seville Cathedral. But Galván failed or found a mere second organistship in the cathedral not sufficiently attractive. At any rate, he continued as San Salvador organist in 1655.

To better himself, Correa during his early years at San Salvador was therefore denied both the pastime of accumulating other posts in Seville<sup>62</sup> and the joy of dickering for a salary to match out-of-town offers. All well and good it may have been for Francisco Palero, the famous Royal Chapel organist at Granada *ca.* 1568 - *ca.* 1591, to have pluralized by holding another church organ position simultaneously<sup>63</sup>. But none of this for Correa. Instead, whatever extra money he made to supplement his organist's wages in the years 1602-1623 had to come from San Salvador itself. One such source of extra income in these years was his salary for keeping the large organ and the small portable<sup>64</sup> in tune.

*Quētas de fabrica de 1601 a el año de 1608* -- the earliest bound volume of San Salvador financial records to yield copious data on Correa's salaries-- contains a section headed *Salario del organista* running from folios 16-17. In 1606 he signed thirteen receipts for his monthly organist's salary, thirteen receipts rather than twelve, because the 3,125 maravedís due for December 1605 were paid on January 9, 1606, but the same sum due for December 1606 on December 31, 1606. The dates on which the majordomo of San Salvador (Juan de Ribera) paid him his cash salary (*Salario del organista*) in other months show that he never had to wait much beyond the end of any one month, and was on occasion paid earlier: February 18, April 8 (March salary), April 18, May 31, June 22, July 31, August 31, September 30, October 31, November 30.

In addition, the organist's yearly perquisites included twelve fanegas of wheat (roughly twenty bushels). Like the rest of the church officials, he wished not the wheat itself but the cash equivalent. Therefore, he usually had to wait until the wheat could be sold, with no surety in advance of either the pay date or amount. On October 2, 1606, he received 108 reales (= 3,672 maravedís) for the sale of the six fanegas allowed him for the six months from September, 1605 through February, 1606. On December 13, 1606, the majordomo paid him another 108 reales for his wheat allowance from March through August, 1606. When added to the 37,500 maravedís budgeted as his *Salario del organista*, the wheat allotment thus increased his cash intake for organ playing to 44,844 in 1606. In other years his wheat brought even more --9,792 maravedís in 1605 for instance<sup>65</sup>.

On the other hand, what he earned for organ tuning remained always the same over a period of twenty years --4,488 maravedís annually. Not only



is this the sum recorded at folios 19 and 144 of the *Quētas de fábrica de 1601 a el año de 1608*, but also it remains the sum paid him as his "Salario del entonador del órgano" two decades later (*Quēt.\* de fábrica de 1617 del año de 1623*, folio 48<sup>v</sup>).

What did the  $44,844 + 4,488 = 49,332$  maravedís for which he signed receipts in the typical year of 1606 mean in comparison with other musicians' salaries at San Salvador? The maestro de capilla, for instance?

The chapelmaster in Seville Cathedral always earned from half to twice as much again as the organist. Not so at San Salvador. Juan de Vargas and Andrés López, active at San Salvador in the 1590's, each received only 12,000 maravedís annually<sup>66</sup>. Melchor Cabello, appointed February 22, 1612, began with only 18,000, a sum increased to 20,000 a little later<sup>67</sup>. Even after a rich priest and his sister left an endowment to raise musical stipends at San Salvador (*Patronazgo del Doctor Melchor Segura de Alfaro y Doña Beatriz de Alfaro*)<sup>68</sup>, the collegiate chapter in 1630 still hired the remarkable Diego de Palacios as chapelmaster for only 15,000 maravedís annually<sup>69</sup>. Palacios should have been well paid --if any-- because he alone among Correa's immediate contemporaries at San Salvador now enjoys much of a musical reputation, earned by his own writings. The Rio de Janeiro Biblioteca Nacional counts as one of its unique treasures a 73-leaf exquisitely copied *Tratado del Canto llano a donde se muestra la verdad, y legalidad, y berdadero conocimiento del canto llano. Escrito, y compuesto por Diego Palacios maestro, que fue en Cadis* [Cadiz Cathedral maestro, 1644-1667] *onde murio*. Brought over with other bibliographic treasures by D. João VI, who resided at Rio de Janeiro from 1808-1821, Palacios's treatise (kindly shown the present author by the erudite Dona Mercedes Reis Pequeno, music librarian) bore XVII, 5, 18, as its Portuguese royal catalogue number. No mere rehash of outmoded theories, Palacios's *tratado* extends Correa's twelve modes to fourteen (*catorceno tono* at fol. 59).

But whatever his merits, even Palacios could continue as San Salvador chapelmaster until *edictos* for a new maestro were distributed January 14, 1645<sup>70</sup>, only because he eked out this meager salary with extra pay for keeping attendance records of ministers on the San Salvador daily duty lists<sup>71</sup>. Despite inflation, the chapter doled out only 15,000 annually to Andrés Botello in 1650-1651 --and therefore lost him the next year<sup>72</sup>. Ginés Martines, named maestro de capilla September 17, 1652, violated custom by being a married man. Four years later he petitioned the chapter to provide his daughter with a dowry<sup>73</sup> and on December 1, 1656, begged of the canons "algun socorro por su mucha neceçidad". To extend any further our scrutiny of seventeenth-century San Salvador maestros would be but to confirm a generalization already amply supported --their pay never permitted them to give full time to the job, never equaled half the organist's stipend, and rarely allowed the collegiate chapter to hold an exceptional maestro for long. Because of the maestros' salary differential, Correa during

his 37 years could always occupy a limelight at San Salvador that might not have been his in a cathedral where chapelmasters were better paid. In 1630, four years after his *Libro de Tientos y Discursos* was published, the San Salvador chapter had at *fábrica* disposal for all musicians' salaries, exclusive of his, the slim sum of 48,116 maravedís<sup>74</sup>. The chapelmaster alone in any of the principal Spanish cathedrals was in 1630 earning more than this.

One other intriguing secret revealed by San Salvador financial documents (the *fábrica* account-books = *Quentas de fabrica*) remains for discussion -- Correa's own signatures. In the San Salvador books of capitular acts, the chapter secretary calls him Francisco Correa organista, Maestro Correa organista, or in later years after he obtained the licentiate degree *el licenciado Correa organista*. Never, however, does the secretary add "de Arauxo" or "de Araujo" after Correa. On the other hand, Correa's fifteen autograph signatures at folios 16-17 (headed *Salario del organista*) and thirteen signatures at folio 19 (*Salario del entonador del órgano*) in the *Quentas de fabrica de 1601 a el año de 1608* invariably read "fr:<sup>co</sup> correa de azeuedo"<sup>75</sup>. What is more, he continued to style himself thus only three years before publishing his *Libro de Tientos y Discursos... compuesto por Francisco Correa de Arauxo, Clerigo Presbítero, Organista de la Iglesia Collegial de san Salvador de la Ciudad de Sevilla* --as can be readily verified by looking at his signatures on folio 48 (recto and verso) of the *Quēt.\* de fabrica de 1617 a el año de 1623*. In this book he always signs "fran:<sup>co</sup> correa de azeuedo presbitero organista desta yg<sup>a</sup>", whether he is receipting monthly instalments of his 37,500-maravedí annual organist's salary or of his 4,488 yearly wages as organ tuner. Why did he prefer "Correa de Arauxo" to "Correa de Azevedo" in 1626? Neither the San Salvador documentation nor, for that matter, any of the records thus far discovered at Jaén Cathedral and at Segovia answers that question. At both Jaén and Segovia, the cathedral acts indeed forbear adding any further family names whatsoever to "Francisco Correa". However, the strictly financial records (*libros de fábrica*) at Jaén and at Segovia might contain his autograph signatures; these books have not yet been consulted. The document which, above all others, should yield an answer would be his will. Hopefully, his testament will soon be found at the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Segovia by either Manuela Villalpando, the distinguished director, or by her husband Juan de Vera, both of whom have already unearthed and published numerous documents of vital interest for musicology<sup>76</sup>.

Apart from the name "Correa de Arauxo", first used in 1626, another change --first documented in the San Salvador capitular act of October 12 in that same year-- deserves mention: his degree status. Always previously, he had been plain "Francisco Correa clérigo" in San Salvador documents, with no mention of his being a licentiate<sup>77</sup>. But at folio 138<sup>v</sup> of *Libro 3 de Acuerdos y Autos Capitulares de 1603 à 1632*, the chapter secretary now

for the first time calls him "el 1.<sup>do</sup> [licenciado] fr<sup>co</sup> correa presuit<sup>o</sup> [presbítero]". Henceforth, he will be *licenciado* and *presbítero* in San Salvador, and also in Jaén and Segovia capitular acts.

Apart from permission to receive priest's orders on the strength of his organ playing alone --a favor for which the canons later considered him ungrateful<sup>78</sup>, the San Salvador chapter also bestowed several other tokens of esteem in the years immediately surrounding 1626. *Libro 3 de Acuerdos y Autos Capitulares*, folio 85<sup>v</sup>, records one such favor dated June 14, 1624<sup>79</sup>.

Today it was decided that the [extra] salary which the Prior has ordered given Francisco de Correa shall be specified as his alone [i. e., not henceforth considered a part of any organist's regular salary], on account of the eminence of his art.

When the majordomo later balked at paying Correa this extra salary as a rightful reward "for the eminence of his art", the chapter sent the majordomo a peremptory message "telling him to arrange with Maestro Correa to pay him what he is due, and not to continue another year discounting what is owed the maestro"<sup>80</sup>.

On January 10, 1625, the chapter "allowed Maestro Francisco Correa, organist, to absent himself on ferial days when organ playing is not strictly necessary, and cancelled a resolution previously passed to penalize him for three days of unauthorized leave that he had formerly taken"<sup>81</sup>. Very possibly 1625 was a year during which Correa was kept busy correcting proof for the 234-leaf *Libro de Tientos y Discursos* published the following year at Alcalá de Henares by the otherwise unknown printer Antonio Arnao<sup>82</sup>.

As a further token of their esteem, the San Salvador canons on October 12, 1626, appointed Correa to a lucrative chaplaincy (endowed by the deceased prior Fernán Pérez). His new duties included celebration of certain Masses and being present at all sung matins specified in the founder's will. Three months later, the chapter confirmed his tenure of the chaplaincy "at the pleasure of the chapter, and during such time as the licentiate Morcillo, proprietor of the said chaplaincy, continues absent"<sup>83</sup>.

As it turned out, the "pleasure of the chapter" lasted until June 14, 1630, on which date *Jayme Antonio, cappellan del coro* took Correa's place<sup>84</sup>.

The extra duties involved may well have led him to resign voluntarily from so time-consuming an endowed chaplaincy. His health had given him trouble already in 1626. On August 30, 1626, the chapter had heard the secretary "read Maestro Francisco Correa's request for another fifteen days leave from [playing the] hours, because of a relapse during his convalescence"<sup>85</sup>, and had immediately granted him the requested leave. Also, he had needed two months leave in 1629 to take care of some private business away from Seville. On June 29, 1629, the chapter had given him the desired two months on condition that he engage a satisfactory substitute. His pupil Antonio Carrasco served as his approved substitute during this lengthy sum-

mer absence<sup>86</sup>. It was this same Antonio Carrasco who was later to carry Correa's music to the New World. In the keyboard tablature mentioned above at page 3 ("Una tablatura mexicana", *Revista Musical Mexicana*, II/2 [July 21, 1942], page 38) appears this legend: "Esta fantasia sse llama scala celite, puso el apellido el Maestro Antonio carrasco, porque es muy bueno tiento de octavo tono . . . en el peru fue Maestro"<sup>87</sup>.

On November 13, 1629, news reached the San Salvador chapter that one of their own number --Canon Alonso Godines-- had been named auxiliary bishop to the aged Cardinal-Archbishop of Seville, Diego de Guzmán (died January 21, 1631). To honor his own chapter, the bishop-designate chose to celebrate his first Pontifical Mass January 6, 1630, in San Salvador, rather than in the more spacious Seville Cathedral. The sumptuousness of the celebration, preceded by equally splendid Vespers, gave Correa one of his rare opportunities to prepare *ein musikalisches Opfer* equal in panoply to the best that the cathedral itself could afford. A contemporary account --extracted in Justino Matute y Gaviria's *Memorias de los Obispos de Marruecos y demás auxiliares de Sevilla* (Seville: En la Oficina de El Orden, 1886 [notes and additions by Joaquín Hazanas y la Rúa]), page 34-- even mentions the fireworks, cannonades, and the tower music ("en los intermedios música en la torre") that lent sparkle to the gala.

With one of their own number now second in command to only the valedudinarian archbishop, the San Salvador chapter began planning at once to upgrade every aspect of the San Salvador cult, especially the music. Even without money on hand to raise salaries, the San Salvador canons on August 12, 1630, drew up a lengthy list of new duty days in the year when the entire band of employed players and singers must perform<sup>88</sup>. Since the chapter on that day enjoined so much new musical activity, without lifting a finger to increase anyone's pay, Correa led a musicians' revolt --the details of which are fully aired in litigation with the chapter now preserved at the Archivo General del Arzobispado<sup>89</sup> in the already several times mentioned *Libro 11-de Pleytos Siguiendo los Sin Número // Fox. 1237. // ZZ*. A bound volume of 1237 leaves, this collection of lawsuits with the San Salvador collegiate chapter bulges at folios 895-937 with the fat record of the canons' contention with Correa.

After he had so lost his priestly decorum in the organ loft as to shout his refusal to plays added services without added pay, the canons remanded him to ecclesiastical prison. While in custody, he confided the key of the portative (*realexo*) to Antonio Carrasco<sup>90</sup>, the same assistant who had served as organist during his two months leave of absence the prior summer. When the key (or keys) to the large organ could not be found among Correa's vestments and other accessories kept in a chest at the church, the canons ordered the lock of the big organ broken. Next, they paid a master locksmith named Alonso Blanco to put new locks both on the organ and at the doors opening into the loft. Although Correa successfully vindicated

his right to sole possession of the organ keys, after calling eleven witnesses --most of whom were tradesmen and had known him for two decades or more, his victory cost him an extremely time-consuming and undignified legal process.

Luis Jofre, representative of the prior and canons in the litigation, not only complained of Correa's ingratitude after having been priested, granted a chaplaincy, given a "notoriously fine salary, as every one recognizes", and accorded "many extraordinary favors from the canons requiring acknowledgment"; but also claimed "that another better and more renowned organist than he" could recently have been had by the chapter for the asking<sup>91</sup>. Who this other "maestro más diestro y graue" may have been, we now have no means of ascertaining. But after having published his 1626 *Libro de Tientos y Discursos*, Correa cannot have relished any such comparison.

Very possibly Correa's powers as an executant had decayed in "recent" years. During 1626 he had served as Rector of the Brotherhood of San Salvador Clergy. This Brotherhood enrolled about thirty priests, each paying twelve reales yearly dues<sup>92</sup>. From Brotherhood funds, a physician, pharmacist, and undertaker were hired. The seriously ill were also relieved with outright money grants. Anyone elected Rector of such a mutual aid society obviously had his hands full. Correa himself no longer held the office in 1629, Andrés Sánchez having succeeded him as Rector<sup>93</sup>. But Correa's continuing in 1629 to mix in many other nonmusical phases of parish life cannot have improved his time for organ practice --and on March 30 of that year earned him a rebuke. Together with another San Salvador priest<sup>94</sup> Correa had earlier that month presumptuously engaged carpenters to build some doors desired by the Blessed Sacrament Confraternity but not by the prior and canons. The canons quite properly took umbrage, and fined both Correa and his colleague for such usurpation of authority<sup>95</sup>.

Apart from time-consuming confraternity and brotherhood business, Correa also lost needed practice hours when he himself fell so ill in 1635 as to require bounty from the very Hermandad de los Sacerdotes of which he had been Rector in the year that *Libro de Tientos y Discursos* was published. On July 14, 1636, the majordomo of the Hermandad certified "having during his term in office charitably relieved the following sick brethren: Maestro Francisco Correa, Licenciado Sotomayor, Juan de Gamasa . . . Pedro de Gálvez, Francisco Moreno"<sup>96</sup>. A spot check of San Salvador *Defunciones 1640 al 1648*, folio 37<sup>v</sup> (the parish archive no longer owns death records for the previous decade), reveals that both Gálvez and Moreno died before July 3, 1640. To qualify for Hermandad sick relief, a member had to prove not only indigence, but also a lengthy and serious illness.

Obviously Correa made a good move to Jaén at Easter of 1636, if for no other reason than because his health immediately improved in another Andalusian capital not so plague-ridden as Seville. Throughout his entire quadrennium at Jaén, and for that matter during his first dozen years at Se-

govia, relevant cathedral records mention no absences on account of sickness. Also, in contrast with the virtuoso performances demanded of him in Seville, the Jaén canons seem to have taken a more immediate interest in his creative ability.

### *Jaén Quadrennium.*

The first Jaén Cathedral act specifically mentioning him documents the Jaén chapter's interest in his ability to compose. Juan de Riscos, who had been Jaén maestro de capilla and a cathedral racionero since September 11, 1598<sup>97</sup>, no longer composed in 1636<sup>98</sup>. Because at Jaén (as at every other major Spanish cathedral of the epoch) no Corpus Christi feast could be celebrated without new chanzonetas, the chapter on April 14, 1636, delegated the task of finding someone to compose the needed Corpus novelties to the cathedral treasurer and to Canon Félix de Guzmán<sup>99</sup>. With such a prize as Correa now on their staff they naturally turned to the new cathedral organist. However, as late as Tuesday, June 10 (1636), neither Correa nor any of the other musicians who had cooperated in providing the week's special music had been paid. Always alert to musicians' needs, the bishop of Jaén --47-year-old Cardinal Sandoval-- therefore asked the chapter "to hear musicians' and others' petitions" and to decide that day how the musicians should be rewarded<sup>100</sup>. Acting on the cardinal's suggestion, the chapter at once decided to pay Correa in kind and two other cathedral musicians in cash. Diego Blas de Guedaja, a popular cathedral ministril, was to receive fifty reales for his vihuela performances during the Corpus Christi octave, Gerónimo de Guevara thirty reales for chanzonetas and Maestro Francisco Correa six chickens for chanzonetas<sup>101</sup>. The chapter then sent the cathedral *obrero* out to buy Correa his six chickens.

For Epiphany music in 1637, the chapter once again paid the vihuelist Diego Blas de Guedexa = Guedeja fifty reales, Gerónimo de Guevara this time forty, and Juan Fernández, who wrote the texts to which the chanzonetas were sung, sixteen reales<sup>102</sup>. On January 8, 1637, the chapter also allotted fifty reales to the organ builder and tuner Juan Baptista Marín<sup>103</sup> --who had served as substitute organist during the awkward interval between dismissal of the absentee Miguel García, January 11, 1636, and Correa's arrival from Seville to succeed García in early April of 1636<sup>104</sup>. Not forgetting his own years of tuning the San Salvador large organ, Correa had himself consented in late 1636 to tune and fix the Jaén instrument<sup>105</sup> (evidently Jaén, like San Salvador, boasted only one large organ in his epoch). But he seems thereafter to have left the tuning and repairing entirely to Marín --limiting himself to an occasional recommendation of how much Marín should be paid for such-and-such organ repairs. As an example, the capitular act of March 31, 1640, reads: "Having seen the master organ repairer's bill and Maestro Correa's recommendation, the canons ordered

him [Marín] paid ten ducats from foundation funds, plus another forty reales for the adjustment that he had made. After discussing whether the master organ repairman should be placed on regular annual salary, the chapter left it to the Provisor to consult with His Eminence [Cardinal Sandoval] and report back"<sup>106</sup>.

Juan de Riscos's increasing senility finally forced the Jaén chapter shortly before December 1, 1637, to hire another titular chapelmaster, José de Escobedo. On that date, those canons who had assisted at the ceremonies when Escobedo was installed as both chapelmaster and prebendary were awarded a cash benefit<sup>107</sup>. Under Escobedo's vigorous leadership, music began to improve immediately. In 1638 he convinced the chapter that a new bassoonist was urgently needed and in 1639 persuaded the canons to call a brilliant cornettist from Ávila. When the Ávila cornettist failed to heed the blandishments of Jaén, Escobedo himself set out on a recruiting tour. The emphasis on woodwinds, vihuelas, and guitars<sup>108</sup> during Correa's four years at Jaén can be conveniently remembered by any contemporary organist bent on reconstructing the sonorities with which Correa was himself most familiar.

Another interesting insight into performance methods in Jaén Cathedral during his epoch comes to light in the act of January 5, 1640 (*Autos, Capitulares de los Años de 1640 = 1641 - 1642*). At that session the chapter enacted new performance rules: organ playing can continue replacing the singing of psalms and canticles only if the clergy earning singers' stipends consent to utter in intelligible voice the appropriate scriptural texts while organist and/or instrumentalists play the verses<sup>109</sup>. (If such a rule was enforced, the Iberian organ verso --at least at Jaén-- anticipated melodrama). When organ substitutes for hymns, the hymn text must be read aloud by someone standing in front of a choirbook stand, ruled the chapter at the same meeting of January 5, 1640.

Because *ministriles* and organist continually shared responsibilities in canticles and psalms, the Jaén chapter often solicited the organist's opinion, prior to engaging a new instrumentalist. For example, the chapter decided July 1, 1639, to delay hiring Tomás Pérez as *corneta* until his skill could be certified by Escobedo and Correa --both of whom were to examine him in "canto de órgano Donde tañe la corneta" ("polyphony where the cornett plays"). Fortunately for the candidate, both Escobedo and Correa agreed on Pérez's *suficiencia*, thus permitting his appointment to a yearly salary chargeable against fábrica funds (plus moving expenses to Jaén).

Only after Correa had assured himself of the Segovia organ prebend did he write the Jaén chapter a letter resigning as of April 16, 1640. Presumably he wrote it after settling in Segovia. At all events the Jaén chapter did not meet to consider it until Tuesday May 22, 1640 (the Jaén act of this date is printed below in footnote 16). On August 3, 1640, the Jaén canons rewarded the youthful Antonio de Suria with a fine cassock for having

substituted *en ausencia del organista*<sup>110</sup>. Francisco de Medina, hired for 2000 reales about this date as Correa's successor, gained on April 12, 1641, a 500-real yearly salary boost (above the 2000 reales regularly budgeted for cathedral organist), on condition that he promise three years' continuous service. Medina stayed even longer, still serving April 8, 1645. Perhaps he is to be equated with the Francisco de Medina who served as Sevillian Cathedral organist from February 3, 1671, until death June 20, 1694.

### *Segovia Postlude.*

One of Cardinal Sandoval's own brothers ruled Segovia diocese as bishop from 1624-1632<sup>111</sup>. Correa's gaining the Segovia prebend at so advanced an age as sixty (he can have been no younger, and was probably nearer sixty-five) speaks well for his growing reputation.

The Segovia Cathedral structure, of which the first stone was not laid until 1525, and the central nave not finished until 1538<sup>112</sup>, failed to compare in antiquity with the remodeled mosque in which Correa had spent his thirty-seven years at Seville. But the tradition of organ playing in Segovia rated among the oldest and best in Spain. Not only did the cathedral always boast first-class organists, but also the Parral Monastery in Segovia could claim so famous a player contemporary with Correa as Fray Pedro Treviño<sup>113</sup>. Professed September 21, 1626, Treviño had studied with the court organist and university *catedrático*, Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo, before entering the Jeronymite religion. According to Pedraza (Correa's predecessor in the Segovia organ prebend), only two organists really existed in Spain around 1630, himself and Treviño.

Another organist in Segovia, *licenciado* Juan Sanz, substituted on the cathedral organ bench from late 1639 until Correa's induction the next Spring<sup>114</sup>. The same Juan Sanz substituted again during Correa's sicknesses and other absences in 1654 and 1655. Although not in the top league with Treviño or Sanz, still another organist was sufficiently competent to draw a cathedral prebend's pay in 1638 -- Juan de Soto<sup>115</sup>. On August 2, 1638, the chapter admonished both Soto and Gerónimo Serrano Millán<sup>116</sup> to study *canto de órgano, contrapunto, y buen modo p<sup>a</sup> el órgano* when playing *hymnos y versos*<sup>117</sup>.

It was the wealth of the cathedral, even after the palmy days of the Segovia wool business were long gone, that still enabled the foundation to support 9 dignidades, 32 canónigos, and 22 prebendaries in Correa's epoch. Howerer hard the times, these 63 cathedral officials could still raise 86,900 reales among themselves in 1651 to continue cathedral building operations<sup>118</sup>. Moreover, they could provide even an organ prebendary with a house, as in Correa's case on December 4, 1640 (see the act quoted below in note 17). Fourteen years later, when this house urgently needed repairs, and Correa was himself too old, sick, and indigent to superintend the needed



renovation, the chapter could vote 200 reales to relieve his poverty and to get the job done<sup>119</sup>.

Since the well-paid Segovia singers and instrumentalists considered themselves so much the cream of the crop, they not infrequently overstepped proper bounds during Correa's fifteen-year term. On February 2, 1642, the chapter voted that *ministriles* must stop wearing hats in indoors processions and dangling swords from their waistbands. The complacent chapelmaster, Juan de León, had winked at idleness and abuses; therefore de himself must henceforth suffer fines for the misdemeanors of his subordinates, decreed the chapter on this same day<sup>120</sup>. The growing tobacco craze took the musicians too frequently away from their duty hours, decided the canons on January 7, 1650, and again on January 11, 1655<sup>121</sup>. Rather than improvising counterpoints above plainsong, as had long been the custom, the singers now felt free in Correa's epoch to drop so onerous a chore. Recalling them to it, the chapter enacted resolutions dated October 4, 1649<sup>122</sup>, and January 11, 1655, the latter of which read in part:<sup>123</sup>

During the psalmody sung at hours on solemn days, the musicians used to garnish the plainsong with contrapuntal tracery, thus endowing Vespers and the other hours with their due importance. But this custom has now fallen into abeyance. The salaried musicians now no longer move up to the choirbook stand, except when singing [written] polyphony. If they are to fulfill their duty, they must stop excusing themselves in order to go out and take tobacco while psalms are being sung. They must reform and be warned of fines if they fail to comply. Delegates from the chapter shall require them to sing while they are in the choir enclosure and to stop playing truant. They have no other duties and it will benefit both the cathedral and themselves for them to sing more. In so doing, their voices will improve.

Another abuse in need of reform came under chapter scrutiny on August 2, 1650, when the canons "agreed that the succentor should always utter intelligibly the words of any psalm verse, whether sung with organ accompaniment or instrumentally performed"<sup>124</sup>. Although the rule sounds somewhat ambiguous, the chapter evidently intended for the succentor to read aloud all those psalm verses during which organ and/or instrumentalists substituted for singers. If this is the sense of the Segovia resolution, it matches the already cited decision of the Jaén Cathedral chapter dated January 5, 1640 (see note 109 below).

Since *ministriles* constantly performed with organ at Segovia (as at Seville and Jaén), candidates for any instrumental vacancy quite properly submitted themselves to Correa's judgment, as well as the chapelmaster's. For instance, both the chapelmaster (Juan de León) and Correa examined the candidates trying out for the post of *corneta* in August of 1644<sup>125</sup>. Apart

from cornetts, Segovia Cathedral also hired new *sacabuche* (sackbut) and *bajón* (bassoon) players during Correa's time. Edictos announcing a tenor *sacabuche* vacancy were distributed January 31, 1653, and the post filled by a virtuoso from Burgos November 27 of that year. A ministril *bajón* vacancy was advertised on February 12, 1653.

Cornetts, sackbuts, and bassoons were all tried and true staples of Spanish cathedral music everywhere from 1550 to 1650<sup>126</sup>. But despite the harp's being the preferred continuo instrument for vernacular song accompaniments, cathedral prebends specifically earmarked for harpists still remained something of a rarity in 1640. The Segovia chapter's award of prebends to harpists during Correa's sojourn therefore makes a welcome footnote to the information on harpists on Spanish cathedral payrolls published in Santiago Kastner's "Harfe und Harfner in der Iberischen Musik des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Natalicia Musicologica Knud Jeppesen* (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1962), page 167. On September 24, 1649 --the same day that Juan de León unsuccessfully tried begging off any further choirboy teaching (because of his many years at this tiresome task)-- the chapter voted on Tomás Montes, *harpista*. The harp accompaniments for villancicos and motetes were costing the choir, as well as the harpist, such long practice hours that on October 24, 1645, the chapter had to give their accountant special instructions<sup>127</sup>. However, when someone that year proposed cutting down the number of Christmas villancicos the chapter refused to brook any such economy<sup>128</sup>. Hard use caused one harp of the cathedral prebendary José del Prado to break that Christmas. But the chapter complacently gave him fifteen ducats (= 510 reales) January 10, 1646, to buy another. Such a sum equaled the organist's salary for five months in 1639, and more than doubled what it cost to relieve Correa's want and to repair his rundown house in 1654. Obviously, therefore, a harp of the kind used in Segovia Cathedral was no simplistic blind bard's instrument.

Correa's last years at Segovia make a sad tale, not because the chapter neglected him but because the infirmities of old age always make melancholy reading. To show their respect, the canons voted on March 22, 1653, to consider him no longer merely a musical prebendary, but a regular prebendary (without voice or vote in chapter meetings)<sup>129</sup>. As regular prebendary, he could count on larger charitable assistance from chapter funds. He needed such aid because beginning December 21, 1653, his physical condition prevented him from any longer discharging normal duties in the cathedral<sup>130</sup>. On May 4, 1654, the chapter voted to succor his distress and to fix up his decrepit house, allotting for these purposes 88 reales from the charity box and 110 reales from another source. Meanwhile the same Juan Sanz who just before Correa's arrival had served as interim organist again mercifully consented to act as organ substitute. However, in contrast with their procedure in 1640, the chapter decided on January 13, 1655, to pay Sanz this time from singers' funds, not the organist's prebend<sup>131</sup> --so that Correa

could continue existing. Even so, Correa died shortly before February 13, 1655, so poor that his estate did not even permit buying candles for a funeral office. The chapter that day voted money for at least one Office of the Dead in his memory<sup>132</sup>.

The bishop of Segovia from March 28, 1648, until Correa's death bore the intriguing name of Francisco de Arauxo (1580-1663): and it is the bishop's death year rather than the composer's that turns up in "Datos biográficos", *Monumentos de la Música Española*, VI, 13. Born at Verín near Lugo, the bishop sprang from genteel stock. Like many of his epoch, he opted to use his mother's family name --Arauxo, rather than his father's-- Hidalgo<sup>133</sup>. A native of Chaves, Portugal, she influenced her son to enter the Dominican order: of which he soon became a leading literary light. After a quarter-century teaching at Salamanca University (1623-1648), he rose directly to the episcopacy with no intermediate administrative steps. Wearied by the problems of governing Segovia diocese (1648-1656), he renounced the see in 1656 to retire to the Dominican house at Madrid, where he spent the next seven years preparing his magnum opus, *Variae et selectae Decisiones Morales* (Lyons: Philippe Borde, Laurence Arnaud [etc.] 1664)<sup>134</sup>.

Dedicated to Pope Alexander VII, these disquisitions show him so widely read that on occasion he can quote even from a letter of Luther to Zwingli, to sustain a point that he himself is interested in making (page 312). His views on the theater take up pages 390-396. Not so stern a moralist as Juan de Mariana, he argues that plays are a licit diversion even for the clergy --provided that lewd actors do not strut on the boards. According to him, Salamanca University banned plays not because of the viciousness of plays themselves but rather because fights broke out continually between town and gown when they were being given.

The bishop's brand of learning, his enlightened attitudes, his being himself half Portuguese, and the bond of the name Arauxo, makes it tempting to believe that the many exceptional kindnesses shown Correa<sup>135</sup> de Arauxo in his declining years at Segovia reflected not only the chapter's respect but also the bishop's personal interest.

#### N O T E S

<sup>1</sup> Cited as "Nicolas Barroducense" in Correa's *advertencias, quinto y sexto punto* and as "Vuolico Barroducense" or simply "Barroducense" in his *punto quinze* (*Monumentos de la Música Española*, VI [Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1948] pp. 40, 47, and 49, Nicholas Wollick made his début with the sections on plainchant in the *Opus aureum* (Cologne: H. Quentel, 1501). The *Enchiridiō musices Nicolai Wollici Barroducensis* (Paris: J. & N. Prevost, 1509) remained a popular textbook throughout the century. The *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, III (1951), 393, christens him an *organista*.

<sup>2</sup> The Biblioteca Central of Barcelona began publication of Higinio Anglés's *opera omnia* editions of Juan Cabanilles (1644-1712) with volumes I-III in 1927, 1933, and 1936, and of Juan Pujol (*ca.* 1573-1626) with volumes I-II in 1926 and 1932.

<sup>3</sup> Review published in *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXVI/2 (April, 1950), pp. 311-314.

<sup>4</sup> Apart from the usual biographies in encyclopedias, Santiago Kastner inspired an extremely useful (although little known) article entitled "Formas, sons, imagens: Macarius Kastner", published in *Integralismo Lusitano: Estudos Portugueses*, I/7 (October, 1932), pp. 385-387, by the longtime director of the Lisbon Conservatório Nacional, Dr. Ivo Cruz.

<sup>5</sup> The eight items of the Ajuda manuscript appendix include: folio 206<sup>v</sup>, a transposition of 28 measures from Correa's 117-bar *Tiento de quinto tono* (fols. 14<sup>v</sup>-16<sup>v</sup>); folios 206, 212<sup>v</sup>-213, two splendid tientos by the longtime Lisbon court organist Diogo de Alvarado (died 1634), the first based on the Spanish *Pange lingua*, the second developing a theme reminiscent of the subjects in Correa's Tientos XXXVII and XLIV; folio 207<sup>v</sup>, a fine Tone VI tiento by the native of Seville, Estacio de la Serna, who preceded Correa on the organ bench at San Salvador, thence removing to Lisbon as court chapel organist 1595-1604, and thereafter to Peru where he served as Lima Cathedral organist until at least 1626; folio 214<sup>v</sup>, a tiento by Peraza (Jerónimo or Francisco); folios 209<sup>v</sup>-212<sup>v</sup>, 216<sup>v</sup>-217<sup>v</sup>, three unattributed tientos. For comment, see *MME*, XII, 12-18, 30; transcriptions at pages 242-276. In *Portugaliae Musica* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1959), I, xii and xxv (footnotes) Kastner identified as also Estacio de la Serna's one of the three anonymous tientos (folios 209<sup>v</sup>-211, printed *MME*, XII, 251-255).

<sup>6</sup> For recently discovered biographical data concerning Francisco de Santiago (family name: Veiga) --whose brilliant professional career began at Plasencia where he served as maestro from February 16-July 15, 1596, who soon thereafter removed to Madrid where upon entering the Calced Carmelite order he was invited to serve as chapelmaster of the Madrid house from *ca.* 1600-1617, and who covered himself with glory during 27 years at Seville Cathedral (appointed chapelmaster April 5, 1617; deceased October 5, 1644)--see R. Stevenson, *Portuguese Music and Musicians Abroad (to 1650)* (Lima: Talleres Gráficos Pacific Press, 1966), pages 10-12, 21<sup>23</sup>-24<sup>35</sup>. Data concerning Manuel Correa [del Campo], *ibid.*, pages 11-12, 24<sup>36</sup>. The four-page printed exchange between Diego Pontac of Granada and Manuel Correa bound in the collection formerly catalogued as MS H-5-11 at the Lisbon Biblioteca Nacional now bears the call-number F. G. 2266.

<sup>7</sup> In the early 1930's Kastner's tours brought him to Portugal where he was among the first to play the Carlos Seixas harpsichord concerto. After a concert conducted by Ivo Cruz a Lisbon reviewer wrote: "Para a execução desta importante peça instrumental vem expressamente a Lisboa o cravista alemão Macarius Kastner". In this epoch he played his own two-manual Pleyel with seven pedals. Kastner's autobiographical letters to António José Torres de Carvalho (Barcelona, November 15, 1935, and Lisbon, March 16, 1936, in the Elvas Biblioteca Municipal) contain further references to his tours.

<sup>8</sup> Reviews of Books section, *Musical Quarterly*, XL/2 (April, 1954), p. 246.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 247.

<sup>10</sup> *Musical Quarterly*, XXXVI/2, p. 312. Four years later Anglés wrote: "Su biografía nos es desconocida" (*Diccionario de la Música Labor* [1954], I, 592).

<sup>11</sup> Except when specifically credited to another archive, all data hereafter cited concerning Correa's Sevillian activities derives from the San Salvador collegiate church documents deposited over 60 years ago in the Archivo General del Arzobispado (hereafter *AGA*). The distinguished Archivero-Bibliotecario, Don Antonio Hernández Parrales, Pbro. (Medinaceli, 2), is also a Beneficiado de la S. M. y P. I. Catedral de Sevilla. Warmest thanks are due him and the two other *archiveros* mentioned next. At Jaén (natal city of the guitarist Andrés Segovia), Don Juan Montijano Chica --who is the soul of the Instituto de Estudios Giennenses as well as being the Jaén canon-archivist and a notable writer-- offered no less valuable help. Documents at Segovia were kindly made available by Don Hilario Sanz y Sanz, whose paleographical gifts make him the ideal canon-archivist of a cathedral famous for its abounding medieval manuscripts.

<sup>12</sup> *AGA*, San Salvador, *Libro segundo de actos Capitulares* [1564-1603], fol. 113v: "En miércoles pri<sup>o</sup> de septi<sup>e</sup> de 1599 a<sup>os</sup> Estando en cab<sup>o</sup> los SS. Prior y can<sup>os</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Salu<sup>or</sup> y auiendo sido llamados de día antes conbiene a saber Ju<sup>o</sup> mñz de la peña prior y can<sup>o</sup> y philipe de almonacir y el bachiller [etc.]... dixeron que en cumplim<sup>to</sup> del edicto que por m<sup>do</sup> de los dhos prior y can<sup>os</sup> fue puesto y fixado en las puertas de la s<sup>ta</sup> ygl<sup>a</sup> de de sevilla en v<sup>te</sup> y seis de junio p<sup>o</sup> probeer y nonbrar el organo q̄ estaua vacuo por fin y muerte de miguel de coria el qual dho edicto se cumplio en vltimo de agosto deste dicho año se juntaron en el dho cab<sup>o</sup> en este día pri<sup>o</sup> de septi<sup>e</sup> y por votos secretos se voto y de nueue votos que entraron a votar en el dho cabi<sup>o</sup> tuuo fran<sup>co</sup> correa siete votos para el dicho of<sup>o</sup> de organista y vn voto tuuo picaforte y el s<sup>r</sup> don gabriel de valcaçer soto dixo que no queria votar".

<sup>13</sup> *AGA*, San Salvador, *Quetas de Fabrica de Fin de diciembre de 1636*, fol. 62v: "Al m<sup>o</sup> fran<sup>co</sup> correa q̄ siruio hasta fin de março de seisçientos y treinta y seis le pertenecen desde primero de Hen.<sup>o</sup> de seisçientos y treinta y quatro hasta el dho día dies mill y noventa y ocho mrs Hassensele Buenos al dho mayordomo en virtud del fin i quito del sal.<sup>o</sup> de organista que en la quenta del se rrefiere a f 26 --que es de todos salarios de organista--. A Gaspar de torres q̄ le suçedio desde primero de abril de seisçientos y treinta y seis le pertenecen desde el dicho día hasta quinze de sep.<sup>e</sup> del dho año q̄ son çinco messes y m.<sup>o</sup> dos mill y çinquenta y siete mrs...". After Gaspar de Torres, Correa's five-and-a-half month interim successor, San Salvador hired Juan de Espinal (= Espinar), another organist with a *licenciado* degree.

<sup>14</sup> Jaén Cathedral, *Autos Capitulares Del año de = 1636 =*, fol. 8v: "Este día los dhos ss auiendo tratado de la plaça de organista, q̄ tiene miguel Garcia, y que no a benido, a seruir Como tenia obligaçion y visto el auto Capitul<sup>ar</sup> de 16 de henero de 1634 en que se hizo aumento, de quinientos R<sup>s</sup> y doce fanegas de trigo condicional que no auia de salir de la ciud<sup>d</sup> Por tiempo de seis años o perder el dicho aumento, y Conferido sobre ello se declaro estar vaca la dha plaça de organista... y que se pongan edictos Para la provey.<sup>on</sup> y se comete al S<sup>r</sup> vice dean [Don Bartolomé de Águilar] haga escribir a la persona q̄ fuere perita en el arte para si quiere benir =". The organ builder and tuner named Juan Baptista Marín meanwhile served as interim substitute.

<sup>15</sup> F. Antonio de Jesús María, *D. Baltasar de Moscoso, i Sandoval* (Madrid: Bernardo de Villa-Diego 1680), section 1397. Primate of Spain after 1646, Cardinal Sandoval claimed descent from St. Francisco de Borja and blood relation to the highest nobility of the realm. Philip III's favorite, the Duke of Lerma, was his uncle.

<sup>16</sup> Jaén, *Autos, Cappitulares de los Años de 1640 = 1641. 1642*, fol. 79 (unnumbered): "Abiendo oydo la carta del l<sup>do</sup> fr<sup>co</sup> Correa organista en q̄ se despide del organo Por estar

R<sup>do</sup> [recibido] en la Sta Yg<sup>a</sup> de segouia Por R<sup>o</sup> [racionero] y conferido se admitio la dejacion desde 16 de abril Passado, y tratado de buscar organista, conferido; sobre ello se rresolvio q̄ se ynformen los dhos ss de organistas...". Correa's interim successor, Antonio de Suria (serving August 3, 1640), gave way to the youthful Francisco de Medina, a permanent appointee (salary raised April 12, 1641) who may have been the same Francisco de Medina appointed organist of Seville Cathedral February 3, 1671 (died June 20, 1694).

<sup>17</sup> Segovia Cathedral, *Actos Capitulares 1637 1638 1639 1640 1641*, fol. 210v: "Y el Cau.<sup>o</sup> ordeno q̄ se haga conforme estatuto y q̄ la dha Cassa [house formerly occupied by a Doctor Triana] corra desde luego por q<sup>ta</sup> del R<sup>o</sup> fr<sup>co</sup> Correa a quien auia tocado". [In the margin: "Y toco por suerte al Sr R<sup>o</sup> fr<sup>co</sup> Correa"].

<sup>18</sup> Segovia, *Actos Capitulares de Cauildo pleno desde 1651 aos 1652 1653 1654 1655*, fol. 184v: "Este dia se propusso que como por los señores ffrancisco Correa y Juan Miguel Racioneros q̄ fueron desta santa Yglesia difuntos no se auia echo mas de el officio del entierro por auer muerto tan pobres como era notorio y que era justo les hiciese vn ofi<sup>o</sup> a cada vno y entendido por el cauildo acordo se les aga y en ellos se ponga la cera que sirbio los dias del entierro =".

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 176 (January 13, 1655): "Aviendose hecho relacion dela Can<sup>d</sup> q̄ se dio a Ju<sup>o</sup> sanz capellan de esta S<sup>ta</sup> Ig<sup>a</sup> en gratificacion de los dias q̄ a acudido a tocar el organo asi en enfermd<sup>d</sup> de el R.<sup>o</sup> fran<sup>co</sup> Correa como en ausencias de dichos organistas y vacantes q̄ a auido dela Racion de Organo con orden de el Cau<sup>o</sup>...". The Juan Sanz who rose from Seville Cathedral organist to Sevillian chapelmaster April 23, 1661, and who resigned February 22, 1673, to become Royal Chapel organist at Madrid (Biblioteca Nacional, MSS 14043, appointment confirmed March 25, 1673) may have been only a homonym. Further data on the Sevillian organist and chapelmaster Juan Sanz in Simón de la Rosa y López, *Los seises de la Catedral de Sevilla* (Seville: Francisco de P. Díaz, 1904), p. 153. José Sanz served as cathedral organist at Seville May 5, 1661 to August 27, 1670, then at Toledo (October 13, 1671), next at the Madrid Royal Chapel (November 3, 1678).

<sup>20</sup> Antonio de la Cruz Brocarte's *Medula de la Musica Theorica* (Salamanca: E. A. García, 1707; copy at Library of Congress [MT 6 A2 C95] denominates him an organist and prebendary of Zamora Cathedral.

<sup>21</sup> Segovia, *A. C. . . . 1651 . . . 1655*, fol. 206.

<sup>22</sup> Transcribed and studied by Barton Hudson in his Indiana University 1961 Ph. D. dissertation, "A Portuguese Source of Seventeenth-Century Iberian Organ Music: *MS 1577*, loc. B, 5, Municipal Library, Oporto, Portugal".

<sup>23</sup> Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 14043 ("Santiago de Galicia, Catedral de"). Diego de Verdugo succeeded Olague in July, 1666.

<sup>24</sup> Lothar G. Siemens Hernández, "Nuevas aportaciones para la biografía de Sebastián Durón", *Anuario Musical*, XVIII, 1963 (Barcelona, 1965), pp. 145-150. Sola's extant works are listed at p. 149.

<sup>25</sup> R. Stevenson, *La Música en la Catedral de Sevilla 1478-1606 Documentos para su Estudio* (Los Angeles: Raúl Espiñosa, 1954), p. 44. However, he began actual service

earlier (March 6, 1573). At the close of 1579 he deserted Seville, preferring Toledo --where he died in 1617. Cf. Anglés-Pena, *Diccionario de la Música Labor*, II, 1737. This lexicon credits him with having been the first to introduce "música de órgano, accidental", using as authority for such a statement Correa de Arauxo's *advertencias, quinto y sexto punto* [MME, VI, 40]. English translation of Correa's remarks (and comment) can be found in R. Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press 1961), pp. 302-303. See also other indexed references to "Peraza, Gerónimo de" in this same book.

<sup>26</sup> Biographical data in *Spanish Cathedral Music*, pp. 162, 164, 232<sup>217</sup>, 302-304. Castillo died May 11, 1601.

<sup>27</sup> Correa couples Manuel Rodríguez de Pradillo with Cabezón in his *undecimo punto* (MME, VI, 43).

<sup>28</sup> The cabildo awarded Francisco Pérez the organ prebend more as a reward for frequent and faithful substituting during the reign of Francisco de Peraza ("que tuuo tanto Brio") than for his own singular gifts. Bernardo Luis de Castro Palacios, "Segunda Parte del Tesoro dela S<sup>ta</sup> Iglesia Patriarcal, y Metropolitana dela Ciudad de Sevilla" (manuscript miscellany in the Biblioteca Colombina, finished 1717), p. 74, calls him "Antonio", not "Francisco" Pérez. Certain other details of Castro Palacios's useful list of cathedral organists conflict with data in the cathedral acts. According to the Seville Cathedral *Actas Capitulares, 1617-1621*, fol. 64, Andrés Martínez became a cathedral organist July 31, 1617, while Pérez still held the prebend.

<sup>29</sup> AGA, San Salvador, *Libro 1º* [de Acuerdos] 1540 à 1583, fol. 20v.

<sup>30</sup> *Spanish Cathedral Music*, p. 162.

<sup>31</sup> San Salvador, *Libro segundo... 1564-1603*, fol. 84v: "En viernes 29 de otu<sup>e</sup> 1593 a<sup>os</sup> estando en cabi.<sup>o</sup> los SS. Prior y can<sup>os</sup> y siendo llamados para elección de organista que esta vacuo por fin y muerte de fer<sup>do</sup> de tapia y auiendose cumplido el ter<sup>o</sup> del edicto que sobre esta Razon se a mandado fijar y no auiendose opuesto por el dho organo otra persona que a Estacio de la zerna y auiendole visto y oydo tañer el organo desta ygla. y visto que es abil y sufficiente todos vnanimos y conformes le nonbraron en el Salario que hasta agora se a dado a su antecesor del dho organo p<sup>a</sup> que tañe en las festiuidades que ocurrieren de duples y semiduples y viernes en la tarde quando se Resare el sabado sigue<sup>e</sup> de nra S.<sup>a</sup> y con condicion que no trate organo ninguno y que se pida a el Sor prouior la probicion En forma deste nuestro nonbram.<sup>to</sup> y ansi lo proueyerō y mandaron". //autograph signature at lower left of this act: *Estacio de la Serna*, ratifying his acceptance of all the conditions.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 91; his May 6 letter of resignation was read and accepted at the San Salvador chapter meeting of May 13.

<sup>33</sup> Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo, "Subsídios para a história da música em Portugal", *O Instituto*, LXXIX (1930), p. 645, quoting Torre do Tombo, *D. Filipe I, Doações*, L.<sup>o</sup> 31, fol. 131 ("Carta de tença a estacio de laçerna, tangedor de tecla").

<sup>34</sup> San Salvador, *Libro segundo*: "Luego yncontinenti los dichos señores -prior y can<sup>os</sup> dixeron que nonbraban y nonbraron por organista desta yglessia de sant salvador A miguel de coria para exerçer el dicho offiçio de organista dela dha ygla con tal q̄ el dño

miguel de coria no pueda en el entretanto que sirbiere el dho organo sseruir otro ninguo ni tomar otro ningun salario pena de que todos los dias de fiestas que faltare les quiten al dho organista dos duc.<sup>os</sup> y ansimismo taña el dho miguel de coria todos los octabas y semi duplex . . .". The act continues with further warnings against unauthorized absence and any outside employment.

<sup>85</sup> San Salvador, *Libro 5 de Acuerdos y Autos Capitulares de 1642 à 1651*, fol. 97v. On Friday August 20, 1649, Miguel Galván petitioned for the post.

<sup>86</sup> *Libro 6 de Acuerdos y Autos Capitulares desde Nov.<sup>e</sup> 1651 à 1656*, act of June 11, 1655. Both Espinal and Galván = Galbán, like Correa himself from 1626 onward, held *licenciado degrees*. On June 2, 1651, the chapter named Galván to a chaplaincy endowed by Pedro de Gálvez (*Libro 5 . . . 1642 à 1651*, fol. 140v).

<sup>87</sup> Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, pp. 162, 232<sup>200</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> Lisbon, Torre do Tombo, *D. Filipe I, Doações, L.<sup>o</sup> 31*, [Chanc. R. 387], fol. 131: "Carta de tença a Estacio de Laçerna, tangedor de tecla"; *D. Filipe 2<sup>o</sup>, Doações, L.<sup>o</sup> 10* [Chanc. R. 427], fol. 353: "Tença a Manuel Rodrigues, capellão e tocador de orgãos da Capella Real". These documents were discovered by Sousa Viterbo (*Tangedor da Capella Real: Manuel Rodrigues Coelho*, four-page extract from *A Arte Musical*, 1908, in his *Obras Varias* catalogued as Reservado 513 P at the Lisbon Biblioteca Nacional).

<sup>89</sup> Stevenson, *The Music of Peru* (Washington: Pan American Union, 1960), pp. 57, 63<sup>84</sup>, 77, 79, 104<sup>88</sup>, 106<sup>81</sup>. Martín de León, *Relacion de las exequias q el ex.<sup>mo</sup> S.<sup>r</sup> D. Iuan de mendoza y luna . . . hizo* (Lima: Pedro de Merchán y Calderón, 1613; [British Museum copy catalogued 1064. i. 9]), fols. 25v-26.

<sup>90</sup> *MME*, XII, 14. As was noted in *MGG*, XII (1965), 567, Kastner identified the tiento in *MME*, XII, 251-255 (transcribed from appendix to the Ajuda copy of Correa's *Facultad orgánica*) as also by Estacio de Lacerna = La Serna. However, in *Portugaliae Musica*, I [Manuel Rodrigues Coelho, *Flores de Música*, Vol. I] Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1959, pp. xxii and xxv, footnotes), he fails to divulge his grounds for this identification.

<sup>91</sup> Not until March 21, 1654, did the Segovia chapter grant Correa a four-months leave of absence on account of his age (*Actas Capitulares de Cauildo pleno desde 1651 a<sup>s</sup> 1652 1653 1654 1655*, fol. 141).

<sup>92</sup> Francisco Pacheco, *Libro de Descripcion de verdaderos Retratos, de Illustres y Memorables varones . . . Sevilla 1599*. (Seville: [facsimile ed.] Rafael Tarascó, 1881-1885), fol. 93: "imitava los medios registros de voz umana . . . que se hallã en todas las misturas de los Organos, siendo el primer inventor dellas . . .". According to Santiago Kastner, "Ursprung und Sinn des 'Medio registro'", *Anuario Musical*, XIX [1964] (1966), p. 63: "Anfangs soll das Spiel mit geteilten Registern hauptsächlich von den Brüdern Francisco und Jerónimo Peraza gepflegt worden sein. Das dürfte zwischen 1590 und 1590 gewesen sein".

<sup>93</sup> San Salvador, *Libro 11-de Pleytos Siguiendolos Sin Numero*, fol. 908 (testimony taken in 1630): "Francisco Rodriguez mercader despeseria [grocer] dijo que conosca el dho franc<sup>co</sup> correa de trato y comunicass<sup>on</sup> de mas tiempo de quarenta años a esta parte y demas de treinta lo a cososido organista en la colegial de San Salvador". *Pedro Van-*



*dieuel mercader despeseria* (*ibid.*, fol. 909<sup>v</sup>) had known Correa 30 years; *Santiago Perez de Buen Rostro maestro de toqueria* [women's hatter] (fol. 910) claimed 26 years' acquaintance; *Graviel* [sic] *Ramirez mercader de guanteria* [glover] (fol. 911) acknowledged 25 or 30 years; *Simon Gonçales m<sup>o</sup> tirador de oro* [goldsmith] living in Francos Street (fol. 913) testified 34 years; *Alonso Bautista m<sup>o</sup> zapatero* [master shoemaker] (fols. 914-915) "about 30 years"; *Francisco Nuñez tratante en vino* [vintner] (fol. 916) "more than 30 years".

<sup>44</sup> San Salvador, *Libro segundo de actos Capitulares*, fol. 76<sup>v</sup>: act headed "Como eligieron a Ju<sup>o</sup> de bargas por maestro de capilla y se le den 12U mrs [12,000 maravedis] de la messa cap<sup>r</sup> [capitular]". Already resident in Seville, "Ju<sup>o</sup> de uargas se a ofresçido de seruir en esta ygla y choro", according to the act.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 79<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 83: "Atento a que en la dha ygla no se exercita El canto de organo por no auer tiple ni quien cante En la capilla que hasta aqui a auido acordaron que desde pri.<sup>o</sup> deste mes de agosto desde dho año de noventa y tres despiden a el maestro de la dha cap<sup>a</sup> y se Entienda no tirar El partido de los doze mill mrs que se le dauan de salario En cada vn ano . . .".

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 104<sup>v</sup>: "En viernes 7 de novi<sup>e</sup> de 1597 a<sup>o</sup>s estando en cabildo los ss. Prior y can<sup>o</sup>s cometier<sup>o</sup> al can<sup>o</sup> Alm<sup>r</sup> [Almonacir] que consierte la musica p<sup>a</sup> la nauidad deste dho año con el m<sup>o</sup> Vargas y q̄ haga lo q̄ mas convenga con el ynteres del año de nov<sup>a</sup> y seis y no mas y ansi lo m<sup>d</sup>aron".

<sup>48</sup> Miguel Cabello became maestro de capilla at the cathedral of Las Palmas (Gran Canaria) in 1613, but remained there only two years. The oldest surviving compositions by any Las Palmas maestro are Cabello's four passions, with additions by Manuel de Tavares (Las Palmas maestro 1631-1636) and Diego Durón (maestro 1676-1731), found in Estante B/XI-1 of the Las Palmas music archive by Lola de la Torre de Trujillo. See her valuable monograph, "El archivo de música de la Cathedral de Las Palmas", published in the revista *El Museo Canario*, Años XXV [1964], nos. 89-92, pp. 183, 186, 202; and XXVI [1965], nos. 93-96, p. 201. The facsimile of Cabello's St. Mark Passion, folios 27<sup>v</sup>-28 [B/XI-1], published between pp. 200-201 in the first instalment of her monograph takes on added interest, now that Cabello's association with Correa is assured.

<sup>49</sup> San Salvador, *Libro 3 de Acuerdos y Autos Capitulares de 1603 à 1632*, fol. 23<sup>v</sup> (February 22, 1612); *ibid.*, fol. 210 (April 26, 1630); *Libro 5 de Acuerdos y Autos Capitulares de 1642 à 1651*, fol. 76<sup>v</sup> (January 17, 1648); *Libro 6 de Acuerdos y Autos Capitulares desde Nov.<sup>o</sup> de 1651 à 1656*, unnumbered page devoted to the act of September 17, 1652 [{"paraque exersa el dicho magisterio que esta baco por ausencia de Andres botello"}].

<sup>50</sup> *Libro 3 de Acuerdos y Autos Capitulares*, fol. 245. During 1649-1652 while Andrés Botello was chapelmaster, the *corneta* and *sacabuche* each earned 8,000 maravedis annually, the *vajón* 6,000 (*Quantas de fabrica de 1649 a el año de 1652*). In 1650 Botello's salary ran 15,000 maravedis annually. The singers gained only 6,000 annually, but the organ tuner received 7,480.

<sup>51</sup> *Quintas de fabrica de 1601 a el año de 1608*, fol. 144: "Los seis moços del coro que sirben en esta yg<sup>a</sup> an de auer en cada vn mes ochenta y seis reales. Los dos moços a

trece Reales Cada vno y los otros dos a catorçe Reales". Whether these six choirboys were more than mere altar boys deserves further investigation.

<sup>52</sup> *Libro 3*, fol. 215: "nombraron en el dho interim a la voz de Tiple a Greg.<sup>o</sup> de Merola cappon".

<sup>53</sup> *Libro 5 de Acuerdos y Autos (1642-1651)*, fol. 78v.

<sup>54</sup> Rosa y López, *Los seises* (see note 19 above), p. 137. All eleven castrati hired by Seville Cathedral before 1635 were native-born Spaniards "principally from places in Aragon, Navarre, and Castilla la Vieja". For data on castrati hired in 1634, 1637, and 1645, by Huesca Cathedral — a see in Aragon with a musical history dating back to the reconquest (1096), see Antonio Durán Gudiol, "La Capilla de Música en la Catedral de Huesca", *Anuario Musical*, XIX [1964] (1966), pp. 38-39.

<sup>55</sup> *Quētas de Fabrica de Fin de diciembre de 1636*, fol. 213v.

<sup>56</sup> Among the various Correas listed in *Defunciones 1640 al 1648*, one of the few San Salvador books still in the church itself (not in the Archivo General del Arzobispado), may be others who were relatives of the organist. See *Defunciones*, fol. 16, col. 2 (Luisa Correa, wife of Gaspar López, living in the "Calle de la Sierpe", died intestate April 2, 1641); fol. 43v, col. 2 (infant child of Bernardo Correa and Felipa de Santiago died January 15, 1643). The Juan Correa mentioned in *Defunciones*, June 2, 1640, cannot have been the corneta in San Salvador. A certain Francisco de Araujo, *cochero*, married to Ysabel Pérez, died July 2, 1647 (fol. 138v); but of course has nothing to do with Francisco Correa de Arauxo = Araujo (cf. *MME*, VI, 12).

<sup>57</sup> *Libro 5 de Acuerdos (1642-1651)*, fol. 35.

<sup>58</sup> See *Spanish Cathedral Music*, indexed entries for "shawms, cathedral use of", "instrumentalists, directions to (1586)"; see also "cornetas", "sacabuches, use of".

<sup>59</sup> William H. W. Fanning's article, "Collegiate", in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Co., 1908), IV, 114, clarifies the relationship between collegiate and cathedral churches. Except for a voice in governing the diocese, capitulars of a collegiate enjoy [ed] "rights and duties similar to the capitulars of a cathedral". After the taking of Seville from the Moors, San Salvador always rated second only to the cathedral.

Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales Eclesiasticos y Seculares de la Muy Noble y muy leal Ciudad de Sevilla* (Madrid: Juan García Infançon, 1677), p. 446, specifically confirmed this when he wrote: "Deuese, fuera de la Matriz, el lugar primero à San Salvador por la superioridad de Colegial, grado, que sin duda tuuo desde su institucion, cō vn Abad, y diez Canonigos". Although the *abadía* was a lay appointment in the gift of the crown, the canons themselves elected the prior. Before 1677 the income from one canonry had been transferred to the Santo Tribunal. The edifice known to Correa no longer exists, but until 1669 the church used a mosque consecrated as a Christian temple shortly after the reconquest: "Su templo cōseruò la forma, y edificio de la Mezquita, en que fue puesto desde su consagracion...".

<sup>60</sup> *Libro 3*, fol. 22: "Siendo llamados pa nonbrar los quatro cantores que dexaron dotados en la dha ygla El Doctor Melchor Segura de Alfaro presbit<sup>o</sup> y doña beatriz de Alfaro su her<sup>na</sup> difu<sup>na</sup> y auindose cumplido los edictos q̄ se pusieron por treinta dias en la sta ygla desta ciudad y cumplido el dicho ter<sup>no</sup> por Acuerdo de los dho prior y can<sup>os</sup> se hizo examen delos opositores A el qual se hallò prest<sup>o</sup> El Racionero Lobo Maestro de

capilla dela sta yglia y auiendo los dhos prior y cano en su cabio es de el pareser del dho Maestro lobo delos dhos opositores nonbraron los siguientes..." [Names of the four winning candidates follow].

<sup>61</sup> *Libro 11-de Pleytos* (see note 43 above), fol. 908: "solo saue que en dos ausencias que el dho franco coRea se a ydo a oponer a otros organos fuera desta ciudad..." (testimony of Francisco Rodríguez, who had known Correa "more than forty years").

<sup>62</sup> The San Salvador canons also forbade their singers to join other choirs outside the church or to accept any paid engagements whatsoever. See *Libro 3* [1603-1632], "En sabado 3 de nobie U612 [November 3, 1612]... acordaron y dixeron que los dhos cantores desta iglia no se junten con otros cantores de otras capillas de cantores sino que siruan y canten tan solamente la capilla de cantores desta dha yglia sin juntarse con otros pena de Vte duos por la pri<sup>a</sup> uez y por la segunda doblada la pena".

<sup>63</sup> *Spanish Cathedral Music*, p. 310.

<sup>64</sup> *Quētas de fabrica* [1601-1608], fol. 417, mentioning payment to movers of the small organ which accompanied specially hired singers during Christmas matins, vouches for its being a portable. Fol. 417<sup>v</sup> records payment to various *ministriles* who joined in the accompaniment.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 143, "Trigo del organista pagado hasta fin de ag.to de 1605".

<sup>66</sup> *Libro segundo de actos Capitulares*, fols. 76<sup>v</sup> and 79<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> *Libro 3*, fols. 23<sup>v</sup> and 27 (October 19, 1612).

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 21 (November 16, 1611).

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 215<sup>v</sup> (August 12, 1630, confirming terms agreed upon April 26, 1630). On April 26, he had already been "serving as chapelmaster many days" without a contract (fol. 210).

<sup>70</sup> *Libro 5 de Acuerdos y Autos Capitulares de 1642 à 1651*, fol. 40. Diego de Palacios's move from San Salvador, Seville, to the chapelmastership of Cádiz Cathedral is documented in the Cádiz *Actas Capitulares*, VI [1643-1653], fol. 94 (appointed November 17, 1644). His successor at Cádiz, Bernardo de Medina, gained the chapelmastership there July 15, 1667, on the recommendation of the maestro de capilla at Córdoba. See Cádiz *Actas Capitulares*, VIII [1666-1672], fol. 42<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> San Salvador, *Libro 3*, fol. 244 (May 24, 1632). The chapter praised Palacios for being punctilious ("el cabildo conoçiendo ser persona cuidadosa y aproposito para exerçer el dho ofiçio de puntador").

<sup>72</sup> *Quentas de fabrica de 1649 a el año de 1652*, fol. 221.

<sup>73</sup> *Libro 6 de Acuerdos y Autos Capitulares desde Nov.e de 1651 à 1656*, unnumbered pages, act of September 16, 1656.

<sup>74</sup> *Libro 3* (1603-1632), fol. 215<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> Brazil's famous present-day musicologist and folklorist, Luis Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo, traces the "Corrêa de Azevedo" part of his name to ancestors from the island of Madeira.

<sup>76</sup> Juan de Vera, "Los Suárez de la Concha y su capilla de Santa Cruz", *Estudios Segovianos*, V, 129-180, reveals much hitherto inaccessible data concerning T. L. de Victoria's maternal relatives and ancestry; his "Órgano nuevo de la Catedral de Segovia", *ibid.*, X, 197-205, gives fascinating documents concerning the organ contracted in 1769; their "Notas para un diccionario de artistas segovianos del siglo XVI", *ibid.*, IV, 73, 86, gives data on a 1506 *clavicordio* in Segovia and on a cathedral organist named Alonso de Esquinas (active in 1564, he was a canon, who in that year earned 40,000 maravedís plus twenty fanegas of wheat for assisting Melchor de Balpuerta in playing the organs [*Libro de Fabrica 1562, Descargo de Año 1.5.6.6.*]). These are but samples of their useful articles in *Estudios Segovianos*.

<sup>77</sup> The University of Seville archive, which needs to be searched for a record of his degree, includes *Matriculas de todas Facultades desde 1601 hasta 1616. Libro 5* (cover title reads *Matricula de todas Facultades 1604. a 1719* [482]; *Lib. Vnico Contiene Exámenes y Colaciones de Grados Maiores desde 1570 hasta 1680* [644]; *Lib. 3 Contiene . . . desde 1580 hasta 1660.* [643-2]. Known in the epoch as the *estudio general y Vniuersidad de Seuilla*, this university attracted in Correa's time many other Portuguese: for example, *Damian Correa n<sup>al</sup> de Serpa diocesis de eborá (Matriculas . . . Libro 5* [482], fol. 161, October 19, 1618); Enrique de Sosa [Bragança; Miranda de Duero (1596)]; Basilio de Ocampo [Lisbon (1595)]; Pedro Mendes [Lisbon]; Simon Fernandez [Faro]; Blas Gonçalves Marques [Évora]. To prove the further geographic spread of its student body: the matriculation books in the years 1595-1606 mention students from Ireland, Grand Canary, Tenerife, Cartagena de las Indias [Colombia], Havana [Cuba], and Lima [Peru].

Although Seville University seems the obvious place for Correa to have obtained the licentiate ship, his fellow-organist Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo in 1594 got his at the University of Oñate (province of Guipúzcoa) without fulfilling any residence requirements whatsoever. See *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, p. 307.

<sup>78</sup> *Libro 11-de Pleytos Siguiendolos sin Numero*, fol. 895: "este organista se ordeno de sacerdote con el salario de organo graçia deste cab.<sup>o</sup> y fue ingrato a la graçia que el cab.<sup>o</sup> le hizo". Cf. *MME*, VI [1948], 15. Beginning at the top of this page appears the legend: *Seuilla 1630 / El m<sup>o</sup> fr<sup>co</sup> Correa / con / El prior y Can<sup>os</sup> de S<sup>n</sup> / Salu<sup>r</sup> / sobre la poss<sup>on</sup> de tener / pribatibam<sup>te</sup> / las llaues del organo / de q̄ pide manutençion.*

<sup>79</sup> Parecer en favor de el m<sup>o</sup> Correa // Este dia se determino que se de Por parecer que el sal<sup>o</sup> de fran<sup>co</sup> de correa que Por orden del s<sup>r</sup> Pr<sup>or</sup> se a de dar. sea con declaracion que sea para el dho fran<sup>co</sup> Correa solo. por la eminencia de su arte.

<sup>80</sup> *Libro 3 de Acuerdos y Autos Capitulares*, fol. 137<sup>v</sup> (September 20, 1626): "A una pet<sup>on</sup> del m<sup>o</sup> fr<sup>co</sup> Correa se ordenò que el S.<sup>r</sup> fer<sup>do</sup> heras Manrique hable a el maiordomo dela mesa cap<sup>r</sup> paraq̄ tome asiento con el dho m<sup>o</sup> correa y le pague lo que se le deue y no se baia desquitando otro año delo que el dho m<sup>o</sup> le deue".

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 92: "diosele lic.<sup>a</sup> a fr<sup>co</sup> Correa maestro organista para q. pueda tomar reeles en los dias feriales q. no haze falta al tañer el organo aunq̄ aquellos dias ayan

tomado otros tres mas antiguos reple y enq<sup>to</sup> a esto se dispensa con el dho fr<sup>co</sup> Correa sin enuargo de el auto q. en r<sup>oa</sup> [razon] deste se auia proueido”.

<sup>82</sup> According to Juan Catalina García, *Ensayo de una Tipografía Complutense* (Madrid: Manuel Tello, 1889), p. 627: “Probablemente, como presumo de otros, [Antonio Arnao] no tenía imprenta propia, sino que era regente ó tipógrafo de cualquiera otra”. The most important 17th-century music book published at Alcalá de Henares, apart from Correa’s, was Andrés Lorente’s *El Porque de la Musica* (1672). But Lorente’s publisher -- Nicolás de Xamares, a “mercader de libros” -- takes credit for at least seven other imprints (Catalina García, nos. 1196, 1200, 1204, 1207, 1208, 1215, 1216). Juan de Brocar, who published Luys Venegas de Henestrosa’s *Libro de cifra nueva* at Alcalá in 1557, rates as one of the most active and accomplished printers of his time, with a 23-year publication record (1538-1561; see Catalina García, pp. 613-614). No important Spanish or Portuguese music imprint between 1500-1700, except Correa’s can be traced to a “one-shot-only” publisher. Nonetheless, the typography of the *Libro de Tientos y Discursos* is clean, errors intrude infrequently, and details show care. Unless the coat of arms shrouds a hitherto undisclosed Maccenas, Correa must himself have borne the printing costs.

<sup>83</sup> *Libro 3*, fol. 141 (December 12, 1626): “En el dho dia mes y año dho los dhos S.<sup>es</sup> Prior y Can<sup>os</sup> de esta santa yg<sup>la</sup> colegial, dijeron que a uacado por muerte del dho matheo s<sup>r</sup> [Mateo Sánchez] el seru<sup>o</sup> de la cap<sup>a</sup> que en esta st<sup>a</sup> yg<sup>la</sup> deho dotada el s.<sup>r</sup> Prior y can<sup>o</sup> fernan perez con oblig<sup>on</sup> de misas y de asistir en el coro a todos los maytines que se cantan en el año en que asisten los dhos s.<sup>es</sup> prior y Can.<sup>os</sup> y el nonbrar capellan seruidor en la dha capellania toca y perteneçe a los dhos s.<sup>es</sup> Prior y Canonigos como patronos que son dela mem<sup>a</sup> [memoria] y Capellania expresam<sup>te</sup> nonbrados por el dho S.<sup>r</sup> fundador = y usando del derecho de patronazgo y de otro que les pertenesca y pueda perteneçer en la mejor m<sup>a</sup> [manera] y forma q̄ aia lugar nonbraron en el seru<sup>o</sup> de la dha cap<sup>a</sup> a el maestro fr<sup>co</sup> Correa presuitero paraq̄ sirua la dha cap<sup>a</sup> segun y como la siruio el dho Matheo Sanchez ultimo seruidor de ella y diga las misas de su oblig<sup>on</sup> y asistir a los maytines q̄ se dijeron cantados en la dha yglesia sin haçer falta alg<sup>a</sup> entretanto que el l.<sup>do</sup> Morçillo cap<sup>a</sup> pprietario de la dha cap<sup>a</sup> no la biena a seruir y mientras durare la bohntad de el Cabildo y no mas . . .”.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 212<sup>v</sup> (headed “desistim.<sup>to</sup> de fran.<sup>co</sup> correa --”).

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 136<sup>v</sup>: “este dia se leyo una pet<sup>on</sup> del m<sup>o</sup> fr<sup>co</sup> correa en que pido graçia de las horas por quince dias atento a auer buelto a recaer y estar en Conualec.<sup>a</sup> y se le conçedio esta gr<sup>a</sup> [gracia]”.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 197 (headed “licencia a Correa ño organista por dos meses”): “francisco correa organista y capellan del choro desta yglesia dio peticion pidiendo licencia por dos meses para acudir a ciertos negocios suyos desta ciudad dejando persona abil y suficiente en el organo y capellania — el Cabildo le dio la dha licencia por los dhos dos meses y nombro para el seruicio del choro y organista Antonio Carrasco —”.

<sup>87</sup> *Scala celite* because Tone VIII belongs to the heavens beyond the planets. Estacio de la Serna may have procured for Antonio Carrasco an invitation to settle in Peru. However, the tablature came from a Puebla music archive (*Revista Musical Mexicana*, II/2, p. 36).

<sup>88</sup> *Libro 3*, fol. 214.

<sup>89</sup> Not in the non-existent “Archivo Diocesano de Protocolos” to which the document

is misleadingly attributed in *MME*, VI, plate between 40-41. This plate also leads the researcher astray by calling the *Libro 11-de Pleytos* a "Volumen procedente de la Iglesia Colegial de San Salvador, s. f."

<sup>90</sup> As part of Correa's testimony (recorded in *Libro 11-de Pleytos Siguiendolos sin Numero*, fol. 905), he claimed: "Para prebenir no vbiesse falta en el tañer de los organos di la llaue del menor a Antonio Carrasco organista y dixe que si fuese neçessaria la del mayor fuesse a mi Cassa y la tomasse...". Again in *Libro 11-de Pleytos* at fol. 917<sup>v</sup> "Anto Carrasco que algunas beses tañe los organos" ("Antonio Carrasco who sometimes plays the organs") is mentioned (testimony of Correa's servant Juan Macías).

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 899: "Por que demas de auerse dado salario de organista ques tan abentaxado: Como se saue. Y que otro maestro mas diestro y graue: quel susodho pudiera pasar. Con el le a dado vna capellania. Y antes della pribandose de su der<sup>o</sup> [derecho] permitio se hordenase a titulo del dho salario de organo y otras muchas ayudas de costa que se pudiera obligar a ser rreconocido".

<sup>92</sup> *Libro De Quantas dela Herm.<sup>d</sup> de S<sup>s</sup> Sazerdotes; sita en la Yglesia Collexial, de nro S. S. Saluad.<sup>r</sup> Comienza desde 1<sup>o</sup> de Julio de 1629 a<sup>o</sup>.*, fol. 58. Salaries of physician and pharmacist, allotments for burials and anniversary Masses, fol. 67.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> Rodrigo Salvador, Correa's busybody confederate, died rich September 30, 1643. See *San Salvador Defunciones 1640 al 1648*, fol. 55<sup>v</sup>, column 1. He frequently flaunted the authority vested in him as *notario apostólico* (*Libro 3 de Acuerdos*, fol. 228).

<sup>95</sup> *Libro 3 de Acuerdos y Autos Capitulares*, fol. 192<sup>v</sup> (March 30, 1629): "Peno el caudo a Rodrigo Salu.<sup>or</sup> y al m<sup>o</sup> Correa nro organista // Estandose labrando vnas puertas para la guarda de la Custodia que tiene la cofradia del SS<sup>mo</sup> Sacramento desta yglesia el M<sup>o</sup> franco correa y Rodrigo Salvador dela fuente por particulares intereses y pleito que tienen con la dicha cofradia hicieron vn requerimiento a los carpinteros que hacian las dhas puertas para que no prosiguessen con la dha obra, siendo sabedor el Cabildo de lo susodicho y del desacato que auian hecho en impedir la obra delas dichas puertas —ordenaron y mandarō los dhos SS.<sup>tes</sup> Prior y Canonigos que se les eche de pena a los dhos franco Correa y Rodrigo Saluador a cada vno seis reales y que el S.<sup>or</sup> Can.<sup>o</sup> mayordomo les detenga en si del dinero del salario que se les paga por la asistencia del Choro y assi se ordeno y mando".

<sup>96</sup> *Libro De Quantas dela Herm.<sup>d</sup> de S<sup>s</sup> Sazerdotes... desde 1<sup>o</sup> de Julio de 1629 a<sup>o</sup>.*, fol. 23: "que a dado de limosna en el dho su tiempo que fue mayordomo a los hermanos enfermos que son el m<sup>o</sup> franco Correa L<sup>do</sup> sotomayor Juan de gamasa... Pedro de galves franco moreno... mayordomo = L<sup>do</sup> franco Antonio. Rosales".

<sup>97</sup> José López Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Granada* (Granada: Fundación Rodríguez Acosta, 1963), I, 171. López Calo's footnote flows with a wealth of biographical detail. Lope de Vega called this Riscos the equal of Alonso Lobo and Ambrosio Cotes, illustrious maestros of Seville Cathedral. See also, Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music*, p. 311, note 8. The Riscos in question died shortly before March 28, 1643. On that date the Jaén canons ordered "Que se cante el misserere de S<sup>r</sup> R<sup>ro</sup> Ju<sup>o</sup> de RRiscos" (*A. C., 1643-1644-1645*).

<sup>98</sup> Jaén Cathedral, *Autos Capitulares Del año de — 1636 —* fols. 32<sup>v</sup> (March 8, 1636) and 125<sup>v</sup> (November 7, 1636).

At fol. 71, the 1636 books of acts mentions two *músicos* by the name of Quessada -- Gerónimo de (qualified as *bajón*) and Francisco de (cited as *ministril* again at fol. 92). Someone named "de Quessada" stopgapped as maestro de capilla in 1635, according to *MME*, XII [1952], 9. On March 26, 1636, Jayme Blasco, the cathedral succentor who was then serving as interim chapelmaster, wanted "more money for more work" during Holy Week (fol. 38). Later in the year he asked to be *maytinero* (fol. 126<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 46<sup>v</sup>: "Este día los dhos SS Dean y Cauildo acordaron q̄ los ss thessorero, y don Felix de Guzman canº cuyden de los chançonetas que se an de cantar el día del Corpus deste año y assi se acordaron y mandaron".

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 65<sup>v</sup>: "para oyr peticiones de musicos y otros y proveher sobre todo". On May 24 (fol. 57<sup>v</sup>) the cardinal had suggested paying the extra costs from hacienda funds.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 65<sup>v</sup>: "Este día los dhos SS Prouisor y Dean y Cauildo auiendo oydo las peticiones de musicos desta santa Iglesia... y conferido sobre ello se resoluo q̄ a cada uno se les libre en la hacienda de la fabrica lo que abaxo se dira en la manera siguiente -- [fol. 66] A Diego Blas de guedeja clerixon se le dieron cinquenta Rles de ayuda de costa por lo que a tañido en las vihuelas la otaua del SSmº Sacramº = A Gerónimo de Guevara se le dieron treinta Rles de ayuda de costa por las chançonetas que dio para esta octaua = Al Mº francisco Correa se le dieron seis gallinas de ayuda de costa dela Hacienda de la fabrica por las chançonetas que dio para la fiesta del SSmº y El Sr obrero las compre y se las de =".

At Corpus Christi of 1637 the chapter paid "los de las guitarras" thirty reales each (act dated June 23, 1637).

<sup>102</sup> Jaén, *Autos Capitulares Del año De 1637... de los Años de 1638 — 1639*, unnumbered leaves, act of January 8, 1637.

<sup>103</sup> Juan Baptista Marín continues to crop up not only in Jaén acts (on August 7, 1638, the chapter again paid him fifty reales for tuning the organ) but also in Granada Cathedral acts. On January 8, 1639, the Granada chapter agreed with "Juº bautista marin sobre el adobio del organo" [concerning the repair of the organ] in that cathedral. On November 28, 1645, now regularly resident at Granada, he requested two months leave "para ir adereçar vn organo" [to go fix an organ elsewhere]. See Granada Cathedral, *A.C.*, XIII [1635-1639], fol. 246 and *A.C.*, XIV [1642-1646], fol. 157<sup>v</sup>. His title at Granada in 1645 read "teniente de organista y afinador" (*A.C.*, XIV, fol. 149, act of August 18).

<sup>104</sup> Jaén, *A.C.*, 1636, fols. 6<sup>v</sup> (January 8), 19 (January 31), 25<sup>v</sup> (February 16).

<sup>105</sup> Jaén, *A.C.*, 1637-1639, January 8, 1637: "por los afinaciones y cuydado que atento de aderezar el organo por esta vez al organista [Correa] veinte Rles".

<sup>106</sup> *Autos, Cappitulares de los Anos, de 1640 = 1641-1642*, fol. [42<sup>v</sup>]: "Abiendo visto la peton del mº q̄ adereceo el organo y el parecer del mº Correa le mandaron dar diez ducados de la fabrica de mas de los 40 r del consierto q̄ se le de librança. —Y tratado si se le dara salario por año Por mº de aderecer los organos se cometio al Sr probisor lo consulte con su Emª y de fe.

<sup>107</sup> *A.C., 1637-1639*, December 1, 1637: "acordaron que los quatro ducados de propina que lleua el letrado del caudo por la entrada del R<sup>o</sup> Joseph de scouedo m<sup>o</sup> de capilla de esta Santa Iga se rreparta entre los ss. Capitulares que an estado a sus autos...".

<sup>108</sup> See note 101 above. Andrés Segovia, leading guitarist of our generation, was born at Jaén February 18, 1894.

<sup>109</sup> *A. C., 1640-1642*, unnumbered leaves, act of January 5, 1640: "Que de aqui adelante Para cumplir con la obligacion del Reço en el coro todas las beçes q̄ el organo ayudare canticos, que los ss. Caperos q̄ son cantores digan el berso q̄ tañe el organo / o los ministriles, en boz alta inteligible Para Cumplir, con esta obligon y los imnos lo digan con el preste en boz mas alta y que se ponga para esto, vn façistol... delante de los SS Caperos, con brebiario para ests Cumplim<sup>to</sup> en los dias que vbiere, canto de organo —".

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, unnumbered page [August 3, 1640]: "Vista vna pet.<sup>on</sup> de Ant<sup>o</sup> de suria cle-riçon sobre el ayuda de costa q̄ pide por el tiempo q̄ subio el organo, en ausencia del organista, y conferido sobre ello se le m<sup>do</sup> dar del fabrica de ayuda de costa vna sotana de paño de puerto llano...".

<sup>111</sup> Pius B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae* (Regensburg: Verlag Joseph Manz, 1873-1896), p. 71. Bishop Mendo de Benavides succeeded Melchor Moscoso December 2, 1633, followed by bishops Pedro de Tapia, July 15, 1641; Pedro de Neyla, August 11, 1645; Francisco de Arauxo, March 28, 1648 (died January 13, 1663).

<sup>112</sup> For an authoritative summary, see Manuela Villalpando, "Orígenes y construcción de la Catedral de Segovia", *Estudios Segovianos*, XIV/iii/42 (1962), pp. 391-408.

<sup>113</sup> Biographical summary in Marcelo Láinez, "Apuntes históricos de Segovia", *Estudios Segovianos*, XVI/46, p. 69; further data in Rafael Hernández Ruiz de Villa's transcription of "El libro del monasterio de Santa María del Parral de Segovia", *Estudios Segovianos*, XVIII (1966), p. 125. At important ceremonies, such as *las honrras de la Reyna* in December, 1644, the Segovia chapter often invited *los músicos de Parral* to join forces with the cathedral musicians (*A.C., 1642-1650*, fol. 143 [December 1, 1644]).

<sup>114</sup> Segovia, *Actos Capitulares 1637...1641*, fol. 151v (December 2, 1639): "acuerdo el Cau<sup>o</sup> por el voto secreto q̄ se libren quatro cientos Reales al Licen.<sup>do</sup> Ju<sup>o</sup> Sanz por quenta de los frutos dela Racion q̄ esta vacante del organo desta Sta Igl<sup>a</sup> los quales se le dan a quenta del Tiempo q̄ a q̄ suple y fuere supliendo en la vacante de dha Racion respecto de quatro Reales por dia hasta q̄ se Provea". The 400-real payment December 2 throws the date on which Sanz began substituting back to August 24.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 71v (August 2, 1638).

<sup>116</sup> On August 13, 1650, the Segovia chapter invited *Geronimo Millan Capellan y Musico en el R<sup>l</sup> Convento delas Descalzas dela Emperatriz* to return for the Assumption octave. The convent in nearby Madrid then hiring Millán as *triple* had several years previously counted Victoria as chapelmaster and organist.

After leaving Segovia, and before moving to Madrid (in 1645), Millán had served Burgos Cathedral. The lure of Segovia prompted him to write a letter from Burgos -- read in the Segovia chapter meeting of May 17, 1645 (*A.C., 1642-1650*, fol. 165) -- begging the Segovia canons to rehire him, although at the moment both Descalzas Convent and Seville Cathedral were competing for his services.



<sup>117</sup> Excess idle time encouraged many of the musicians -- and even Juan de León, the cathedral chaplain -- to go off hunting and fishing. The chapter tried to force their using their free time to study their craft by an act dated May 28, 1639 (*A.C., 1637-1641*), fol. 116.

<sup>118</sup> Láinez, "Apuntes históricos", p. 22.

<sup>119</sup> Segovia, *Actos Capitulares de Cauildo pleno desde 1651 a 1652 1653 1654 1655*, fol. 144 (May 4, 1654): "Este día se propuso la necesidad grande que padeze el Sr R<sup>o</sup> fran<sup>co</sup> Correa organista desta Sta Iga con su mucha vejez y enfermedad que padeze para q̄ el Cau.º le socorriese con lo que fuesse seruido. Y entendido por el Caui.º acuerdo por el voto secreto q̄ el Sr R<sup>o</sup> Felipe de extremo le entregue los ciento y diez R<sup>s</sup> q̄ tiene en su poder para ayuda al Reparó dela Cassa q̄ tiene del Cau.º. Y procedieron del Reuerende de este prest<sup>e</sup> año y q̄ sele libren ochenta y ocho R<sup>s</sup> en la obra pia delas Camas a Cumplim<sup>to</sup> de Doscientos R<sup>s</sup> para el socorro de q̄ necesita".

<sup>120</sup> *A.C., 1642-1650*, fol. 5v.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 355 ("tabaco no se tome"), and *A.C., 1651-1655*, fol. 176 ("los cantores como ellos salmeassen con q̄ se escusaua. sacar diurnas y tomar tabaco...").

<sup>122</sup> *A.C., 1642-1650*, fol. 346v: [que] se diga la comunicanda a contrapunto por los musicos y no se diga a canto llano".

<sup>123</sup> *A. C., 1651 ... 1655*, fol. 176 (January 11, 1655): "Estando juntos capitularmente... para tratar de cosas tocantes al Culto diuino se propusso q̄ en días solemnes quando se salmean las horas en canto llano los musicos solian echar varetas de contrapunto en las Visperas y otras horas q̄ parece se cantan con la solemnidad q̄ se deue y q̄ ya parecia auer mucho descuydo en esto y asimismo q̄ los musicos q̄ estan asalariados no cantan mas q̄ al facistol quando se canta canto de organo. q̄ seria bien q̄ asi los cantores como ellos salmeassen con q̄ se escusaua sacar diurnas y tomar tabaco y cumplirian con la obligasion q̄ todos tienen de cantar, y q̄ para esto seria necesario q̄ seles aduirtiesse q̄ de aqui adelante todos cumplieren con esta oblig<sup>on</sup> o seles penasse. Entendido por el Cauiº acuerdo q̄ los Sr<sup>es</sup> Comiss<sup>os</sup> de escuela digan a los musicos asalariados q̄ canten quando estan en el Coro y q̄ acudan todos los días pues no se ocupassen en otra Cossa q̄ sea de prouecho para la Iga ni para si porq̄ cantando hagan mas exercicio con la voz.

<sup>124</sup> *A.C., 1642-1650*, fol. 380v: "acuerdo el Cauº q̄ siempre q̄ se cantare al organo algun Psalmo el verso q̄ se cantare — o tocare Ministril haga el Sochantre en el Coro en voz intellegible".

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 129 (August 17, 1644). The chapter ordered Juan López, a native of Toledo, and Bernabé del Vado, *ministril de la Capilla Real*, examined by the chaplain and *el Sr Racion<sup>o</sup> fran<sup>co</sup> Correa organista desta Iga*. The next day (August 18), they declared Bernabé del Vado the winner.

<sup>126</sup> For an excellent account of the instruments used in sixteenth-century Spanish cathedral music, see José López Caló, *La música en la Catedral de Granada*, I, 224-228. The instrumentalists were stationed not on floor level but in the organist's tribune (I, 228-229).

López Caló's series "Músicos españoles del pasado: Escuela Granadina" beginning in *Tesoro Sacro Musical* (Madrid, Buen Suceso, 22), March-April 1959, pp. 44-47, with

an article on Santos de Aliseda and apparently concluding in the March-April 1962 issue, pp. 30-33, with Part II of a splendid study of Diego [de] Pontac, adds still further data of the highest value. Ministriles up until 1644 played flautas, sacabuches, chirimías, trompetas, and bajones, but in Holy Week of 1644 "ya consta explícitamente que intervino también el arpa" and in 1645 Granada Cathedral began hiring a permanent harpist (March-April, 1962, p. 33).

<sup>127</sup> *A.C.*, 1642-1650, fol. 188 (October 24, 1645).

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 192v (December 4, 1645).

<sup>129</sup> *A. C.*, 1651-1655, fol. 105: "Se propusso si se auia de obligar con este gremio el sr. R<sup>o</sup> fran<sup>co</sup> Correa R.<sup>o</sup> entero organista. o con el gremio de Racion<sup>es</sup> musicos. por<sup>q̄</sup> aun<sup>q̄</sup> era Prebendado y tenia antigüedad con los dhos Sres Racioneros enteros, no tenia voz y voto en Cau.<sup>o</sup> y auendosi conferido esta propos<sup>on</sup> se dieron hauas para determinar lo y lo votaron Sres Can<sup>os</sup> por el derecho y interes <sup>q̄</sup> pretendian dhos S<sup>res</sup> Racioneros, y declaro el Caui.<sup>o</sup> de Sres Can<sup>os</sup> ser de el gremio de dhos Sres Racion<sup>es</sup> el R<sup>o</sup> fran<sup>co</sup> Correa. y no de el gremio de Racion<sup>es</sup> Musicos".

<sup>130</sup> On March 21, 1654, the chapter extended his leave "another four months", thus throwing the date when age finally prevented his any more playing the organ back to December 21, 1653. The act of March 21, 1654 (fol. 141) reads: "Este dia prorogo el Caui<sup>o</sup> por mayor p<sup>ta</sup> del voto secreto por otros quatro messes al S<sup>r</sup> R<sup>o</sup> Fran<sup>co</sup> Correa organista en <sup>q̄</sup> se le escusse de venir a la Ig<sup>a</sup> a cumplir con su ministerio attento a estar tan impedido con su vejez".

<sup>131</sup> *A. C.*, 1651-1655, fol. 176: "Aviendose hecho relacion dela Cant<sup>d</sup> <sup>q̄</sup> se dio a Ju sanz capellan de esta S<sup>ta</sup> Ig<sup>a</sup> en gratificacion de los dias <sup>q̄</sup> a acudido a tocar el organo asi en enferm<sup>d</sup> de el R<sup>o</sup> fran<sup>co</sup> Correa como en ausencias de dhos organistas y vacantes <sup>q̄</sup> a auido dela Racion de Organo con orden de el Cau<sup>o</sup> se leyo vna partida dada por descargo en la q<sup>ta</sup> de el Comun de el año de seis c<sup>s</sup> y quarenta dela Cant<sup>d</sup> <sup>q̄</sup> se le auia dado por la ocup<sup>on</sup> de la vacante <sup>q̄</sup> huuo hasta <sup>q̄</sup> se dio la R<sup>on</sup> al S<sup>r</sup> R<sup>o</sup> Correa. acordo el Caui<sup>o</sup> por el voto secreto <sup>q̄</sup> en gratificacion de algunas ocasiones en <sup>q̄</sup> auia acudido a tocar el organo en otras ocasiones se le dar Docientos Reales por esta vez los quales se le libren de la Racion de Cantores".

<sup>132</sup> See the act as printed above in note 18. Both the prebendary Juan Miguel and Francisco Correa died "notoriously poor" just before February 13, but only Juan Miguel died intestate; or at least the Segovia capitular act of February 13 mentions only Juan Miguel's failure to make a will. *A.C.*, 1651-1655, fol 183v, reads: "El S<sup>r</sup> Dean propusso al cauildo como el dho S<sup>r</sup> Racionero Juan Miguel auia muerto avintestato por cuya caussa era El Cauildo su heredero y que su md auia echo ymbentario de los vienes <sup>q̄</sup> auia dejado. Los quales era necessario se bendiessen".

Had Correa's case been the same, the dean would obviously have mentioned an imminent sale of his effects also. Search for Correa's will should be spurred by this information.

<sup>133</sup> Jacques Quéfif and Jacques Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti, Tomus Secundus* (Paris: J. B. Ch. Ballard, et N. Simart, 1721), p. 609. The bishop's mother's full name: Francisca de Chaves Arauxo; father's name: Juan Hidalgo.

<sup>134</sup> Copy in the Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon) bears the call number 99/VII/17.

<sup>135</sup> In 1643, a certain Antonio Correa served Segovia Cathedral as *tenor contrabaxo*. Apparently he was in no way connected with the organist Francisco Correa. See act dated October 2, 1643.