

Music in the poetry competition held in Girona, 1622

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RESUM / RESUMEN / ABSTRACT

Els certàmens poètics eren competicions convocades sovint com a part de la celebració local d'un esdeveniment religiós, com les beatificacions o canonitzacions. Els poemes presentats a concurs, generalment en honor als fidels homenatjats, eren enviats prèviament i llegits en veu alta en actes públics, sovint desenvolupats en espais eclesiàstics, on acudia multitud de gent. Aquest article explora la presència de la música als certàmens poètics a través del torneig realitzat en el col·legi jesuïta de Sant Martí a Girona en 1622 amb motiu de la canonització de Sant Ignasi de Loyola i Sant Francesc Xavier. El certamen va ser patrocinat per els protectors del col·legi, Martí i Leonor d'Agullana, que també costejaren al música de totes les festivitats de canonització i encarregaren la redacció d'una relació de l'esdeveniment impresa a Barcelona en 1623. L'anàlisi d'aquest document permet captar detalls de l'alfabetització musical a Girona a inicis del segle XVII, així com la imbricació de la música en la cultura urbana: en aquest torneig la música no solament va estar present com element sonor, sinó també com tema d'inspiració donat que una de les seccions del concurs estava dedicada a la música.

Los certámenes poéticos eran competiciones convocadas frecuentemente como parte de la celebración local de un acontecimiento religioso, como las beatificaciones o canonizaciones. Los poemas presentados a concurso, generalmente en honor a los fieles homenajados, eran enviados con anterioridad y leídos en voz alta en actos públicos, a menudo desarrollados en espacios eclesiásticos, a los que acudían multitudes. Este artículo explora la presencia de la música en los certámenes poéticos a través del torneo realizado en el Colegio jesuita de Sant Martí de Girona en 1622 con motivo de la canonización de San Ignacio de Loyola y San Francisco Javier. El certamen fue patrocinado por los protectores del Colegio, Martín y Leonor de Agullana, que también costearon la música de todas las festividades de canonización, y encargaron la redacción de una relación del evento impresa en Barcelona en 1623. El análisis de este documento permite captar detalles del alfabetismo musical de Girona a inicios del siglo XVII, así como de la imbricación de la música en la cultura urbana: en este torneo la música no sólo estuvo presente como elemento sonoro, sino también como tema de inspiración, puesto que una de las secciones del concurso estaba dedicada a la música.

Poetry competitions usually formed part of the festivities celebrated on the occasion of a religious event, such as beatifications and canonizations. The poems, written in honour of the blessed, were sent previously and read aloud in public events which usually took place in ecclesiastical spaces with the attendance of crowds of people. This paper studies the presence of music in the poetry competitions, using as a case-study the joust celebrated at Sant Martí Jesuit College in Girona in 1622 in the context of the festivities of canonization of St Ignacio of Loyola and St Francisco Javier. The competition was commissioned by the patrons of the College, Martín and Leonor de Agullana, who covered the expenses of the music for the whole canonization ceremonial, and commissioned the publication of a report on the event (*relación*) which was printed in Barcelona in 1623. In this poetry competition music acted not only as a sounding element, but also as a concept, since one of the sections of the joust was devoted to music. This provides details of the musical literacy in seventeenth-century Girona, as well as of the imbrication of music in urban culture.

PARAULES CLAU / PALABRAS CLAVE / KEY WORDS

Musicologia urbana; certàmens poètics; mecenatge musical; poesia i música; relacions de successos; cultura popular
Musicología urbana; certámenes poéticos; mecenazgo musical; poesía y música; relaciones de sucesos; cultura popular
Urban musicology; poetry competitions; musical patronage; poetry and music; *relaciones*; popular culture

RECEPCIÓ / RECEPCIÓN / RECEIVED: desembre 2015 / diciembre 2015 / December 2015

ACCEPTACIÓ / ACEPTACIÓN / ACCEPTANCE: octubre 2016 / octubre 2016 / October 2016



Poetry competitions usually formed part of the festivities celebrated on the occasion of a religious event, such as beatifications and canonizations. The poems, written in honour of the blessed, were sent in advance and read aloud in public events which usually took place in ecclesiastical spaces with the attendance of crowds of people. Music was deeply integrated into the religious festivities held in the urban context, which reflects itself in the presence of music at these poetry jousts. The public aspect of these competitions differentiated them from the literary academies, which generally took place in domestic settings and which also, occasionally, included music.¹ In the novel *Las harpías de Madrid* (1631), Alonso de Castillo Solórzano described a fictional literary academy in which «the best musicians and poets of the Court» participated, mentioning the four-choir singing of «delicate melodies» (*primorosos tonos*) with lyrics written by the academics themselves (1631: 71v-72r). Sources that inform on the presence and function of music at the academies are minute books and literary testimonies. For the poetry jousts, the main source is the account of the festivity (*relación*), which usually included the texts entered into competition. Sometimes, they also include descriptions of the public events in which the poems were read aloud and may also make mention of the awards ceremony.²

This essay studies the presence of music in these poetry competitions, using as a case study the joust celebrated at Sant Martí Jesuit College in Girona in December 1622. This joust formed part of the festivities of the canonization of St Ignacio of Loyola (1491-1556), founder of the Society of Jesus, and St Francisco Javier, as well as of the beatification of Luis Gonzaga. The competition was commissioned by the patrons of the College, Martín de Agullana y Sanz de Latrás (1582-1642), a knight of the Order of Santiago native to Huesca, and his wife Leonor de Agullana (1584-1656), who belonged to an important noble family based on Girona. Leonor was the niece of Jaume de Agullana, councillor of Catalonia and archdeacon of Girona who, together with his brother Miquel, had founded the Jesuit College of Sant Martí in 1591. The Agullanas' house in Girona was annexed to the College. Upon his death, Jaume de Agullana left 800 *escudos* per year for the acquisition of «sacred objects for the cult» with the purpose of «encouraging their descendants to carry out acts of piety».³ With the aim of perpetuating his lineage, Jaume de Agullana assumed the charge of choosing a husband for his niece, and he wrote down a list of questions in order to select the most suitable candidate. A piece of paper survives with an anonymous witness's answers that refers to Martín Sanz de Latrás. The final question asks the witness whether the candidate is appropriate for Leonor de Agullana, and whether he would be willing to use the lady's family name and coat of arms, and to relocate to Girona. The answer to this question alludes to Martín's training in music: «this knight is much required because of his quality and good condition, as he knows how to play, sing, dance, fence, and ride a horse». The witness added that «as a knight, he rides a horse very well, plays, sings, dances and plays the ball, but he plays neither cards nor dice, which is a virtue well considered nowadays».⁴ As a child, Martín de Agullana had studied music and he played musical instruments; the acquisition of viola strings as well as the payment for the repair of a guitar on 5 November 1615 are recorded in his account book.⁵

¹ The presence of music at seventeenth-century literary academies has been examined by Bombi, 2003 and 2008; Griffiths, 2004; and Sanhuesa Fonseca, 1998. Among many other examples, about the *Academia de los Nocturnos* (Valencia, 1591-1594), see Canet and others, 1988: I, 364-365; and Baranda Leturio, 1989. On the *Academia del Jardín* of Bartolomé Cairasco de Figueroa (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1580-1600), see Guerra Sánchez, 2007; and Sanhuesa Fonseca, 1997. See also Mazuela-Anguila, 2014: 275-278.

² For list of published poetry jousts, see Simón Díaz, 1962.

³ Mur, 1912: 369-71: «ochocientos escudos de renta anual para que se invirtieran en objetos sagrados para el culto, con la obligación de que en ellos se pusieran los blasones de la casa, á fin de que á sus descendientes pudiera servir de estímulo el realizar actos de piedad».

⁴ Riquer, 1979: 187; 1983: 556: «este caballero es muy requestado por su calidad y buena condición y partes, porque sabe muy bien tañer, cantar, dançar, sgrimir, ponerse muy bien a caballo, es dispuesto, cara de hombre, apúntale la barba y tiene muy buen talles; «como caballero se pone muy bien sobre un caballo; tanie, canta, dança y juega a la pelota gruessa sólo, sin que en todos sus anyos haia tomado naypes ni dados para jugar, que es de las virtudes que oy se pueden estimar». The archive of the Riquer lineage, on which the work of the philologist Martí de Riquer is based, has been recently moved to the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya (E-SCV).

⁵ Riquer, 1979: 248: «Ja des de petit Mrati d'Agullana havia après de música i sonava instruments. I, en efecte, al *Llibre de rebudes y dades*

Therefore, Martín de Agullana received a musical training and, after his marriage in 1604, he continued cultivating his fondness for music in Girona. Martín and Leonor de Agullana covered the expenses of the music for the festivities of the canonisation of St Ignacio and St Francisco Javier, celebrated at Girona Jesuit College between 23 and 31 July 1622.

The Agullanas commissioned the publication of a *relación* of these festivities, which was dedicated to Mutio Vitelleschi (1563-1645), sixth general of the Society of Jesus (see Figure 1).⁶ The text was published in Barcelona in 1623 and payments to the printers Sebastià and Jaume Matevat are recorded in the account book of Martín de Agullana, as well as the expenses of the plates for the engravings on the frontispiece (Riquer, 1979: 217; 1983: 563-564). The book was published under the name of «Francisco Ruiz, a native of the noble town of Loja, in the Kingdom of Granada». In literary studies it has been pointed out that Francisco Ruiz was a pseudonym used by Miguel Turbaví (1586-1651?), a native of Lleida and rector of Barcelona Jesuit College, in order to write poetry anonymously.⁷ Both the archives of Girona cathedral and of the Riquer family preserve documents that provide evidence of the existence of a Castilian clergyman named Francisco Ruiz who worked at the service of the Agullanas. Leonor proposed him to the benefice of St Miquel in La Bisbal (Girona) in 1637;⁸ in 1642 this noblewoman complained that she had not been allowed to appoint him to this benefice.⁹ The account book of Martín de Agullana recorded the expenses of the monthly salary of «Francisco Ruiz, servant of mine». According to Martí de Riquer, Francisco Ruiz must have been the most important person at the service of the Agullanas—around thirty men and women (all of them were widows) worked at the service of this noble family—and his name is recorded in account books between 1623 and 1636 (1979: 234-235; 1983: 564). Riquer suggests that Francisco Ruiz must have been «a very distinguished and cultivated servant», perhaps devoted to the education of Martín and Leonor's children (Riquer, 1979: 28). Furthermore, on 26 February 1624, one year after the publication of the *relación*, Martín de Agullana took note of the payment of 12 *sueldos* for the bounding of four copies of the *relación* «with silken ribbons» to be sent to Granada on account of Francisco Ruiz.¹⁰ These facts provide evidence to suggest that Francisco Ruiz was not only a pseudonym, but also the name of a clergyman at the service of the Agullanas to whom the *relación* should probably be attributed.

praeixen de tant en tant anotacions sobre l'adquisició de cordes de viola i l'adob d'una guitarra de la seva propietat (5-XI-1615)».

⁶ This poetry competition is transcribed in Grahit y Papell, 1877; see also Grahit y Papell, 1872 and 1889.

⁷ Torres Amat, 1836: 633; Backer, 1853-1861: VI, 733; 1890-1932: I, 274. About Barcelona Jesuit College, see Vila i Despujol, 2010. Miguel Turbaví is the author of the manuscript *Menologio de los religiosos más ilustres de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia de Aragón*, written in Tarragona in 1636, and he revised in 1649 a biography of the nun Ángela Margarita Serafina written by Juan Pablo Fons; see Fons, 1649. Turbaví also signed a document of the chapter of Solsona cathedral printed around 1644; see Catedral de Solsona, 1644.

⁸ «Francesc Rius, clergue, insta la col·lació del benefici de Sant Miquel de la Bisbal, vacant per òbit de Joan Comas, al que ha estat presentat per Leonor d'Agullana, 1637», Girona, Arxiu Capitular de Girona, Llibre D-292, f. 26; «Francesc Ruiz, clergue, insta la col·lació del benefici de Sant Miquel de la Bisbal, vacant per òbit de Joan Comas, a presentació de Leonor d'Agullana, 10 febrer 1637», Girona, Arxiu Capitular de Girona, Llibre G-125, f. 91.

⁹ Castellano Castellano and others, 2000: 275 (it refers to Girona, Arxiu Capitular de Girona, «Resoluciones capitulares», 15 April 1637 to 22 February 1642).

¹⁰ Riquer, 1979: 217; 1983: 564: «por encuadrar quatro libros de las fiestas del çertamen de Gerona con çintas de seda, para inviar a Granada a cuenta de Francisco Ruiç, criado mío».

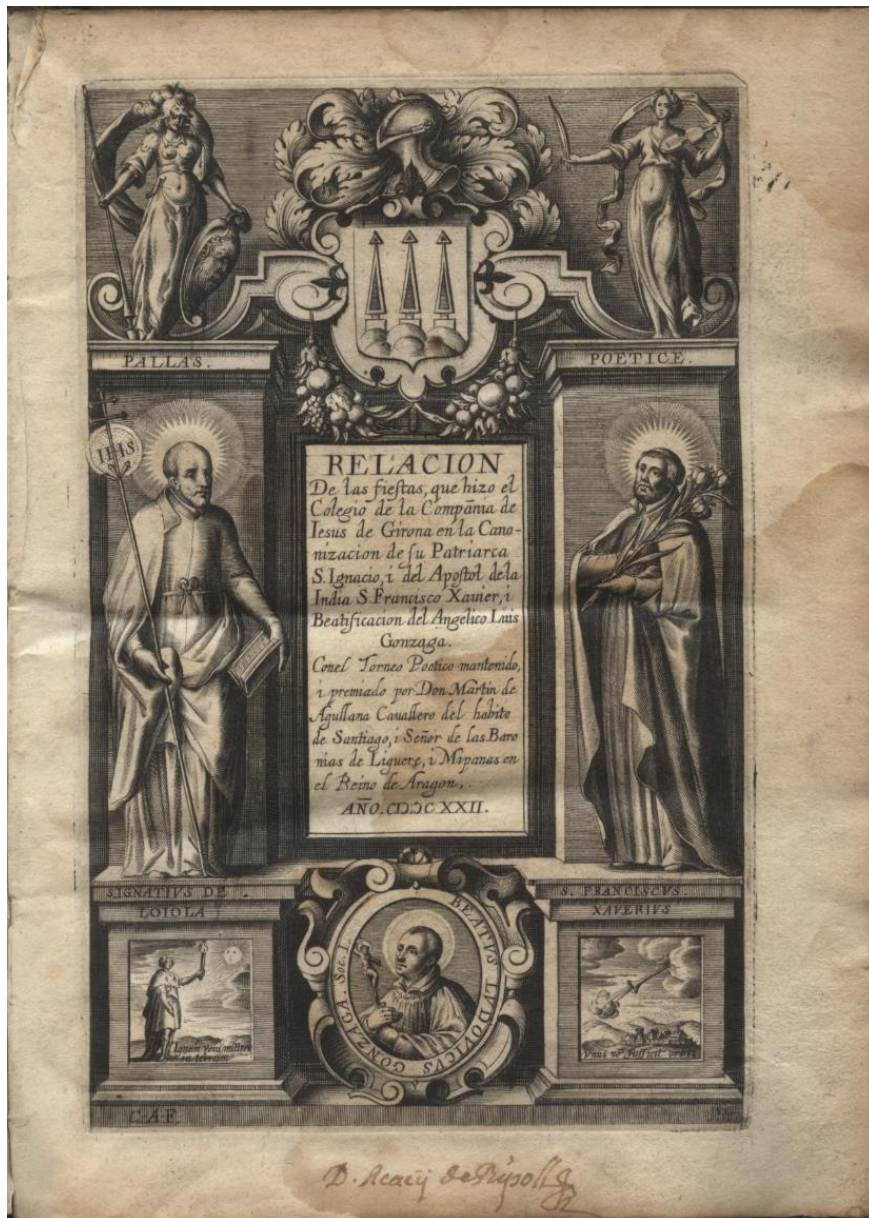


Figure 1. Engraving included on the frontispiece of the *Relacion de las fiestas que hizo el colegio dela compañia de Iesus de Girona, en la canonizacion de su patriarca San Ignacio, i del apostol de la India San Francisco Xavier, i beatificacion del angelico Luis Gonzaga. Con el torneo poetico mantenido i premiado por don Martin de Agullana, cavallero del abito de Santiago, señor de las baronias de Liguere, i Mipanas, en el reino de Aragon, etc. Por Francisco Ruiz natural de la noble ciudad de Loja, en el reino de Granada. Dirigida al reverendissimo P Mucio Vitelleschi preposito general de la compania de Iesus, Barcelona, Sebastian i Jaime Matevad, 1623. E-Bih, Rotlle 4B*

The poetry competition in honour of St Ignacio and St Francisco Javier started at the church of Sant Martí on Saturday 3 December 1622, the feast day of St Francisco Javier, and continued the following day, when most of the poems were read aloud. The judges then returned their verdict, and the prizes were awarded. Martín de Agullana commissioned the printing of a poster summoning the poets, according to which the participants had to submit their manuscripts to Onofre Serra before 15 November. Serra was rector of the College, and also acted as judge of the competition together with Francisco San Juste, bishop of Girona, and Martín de Agullana himself.¹¹ At this poetry competition, music acted not only as a sounding element at the reading aloud of the

¹¹ At the poetry competition celebrated in Madrid the same year, also on the occasion of the canonisation of St Ignacio and St Francisco Javier, the poems had to be handed in to Lope de Vega, secretary of the joust (Monforte y Herrera, 1622: 12v).

poems and awarding of the prizes; it also functioned as an inspirational concept, since one of the sections of the joust was devoted to music. This provides details of musical literacy in seventeenth-century Girona, as well as the significance of music in urban culture.

1. Functions of music at poetry competitions

Music formed part of the different activities that constituted the festivities of beatification and canonisation, which in the Iberian world followed codified conventions.¹² After celebrating the news and announcing the date of the festivities, the most important events—including liturgical offices, processions, masques, parades, chivalry jousts, and poetry competitions—started on the evening of the main feast day and continued over the course of the following week (octave). The news of the canonisation of Isidoro of Madrid, Ignacio of Loyola, Francisco Javier, Teresa of Jesus, and Felipo Neri reached Girona on 16 April 1622. The Jesuits celebrated the news by singing the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*. This was the usual form of rejoicing in religious communities, according to information provided by *relaciones* of other beatification and canonisation festivities, and by documents related to extraordinary events such as royal receptions. The Girona *relación* provides details on performance practice, indicating that after the intonation a two-choir polyphonic version of the hymn was performed. The chronicler also offers information about the audience: almost all the citizens were «crowded» at the church of Sant Martí. There is also substantial evidence of the sounding impact of the celebration: the «rumble of mortars, muskets, and bells» of all the churches in town «fill with rejoicing the spirits of the City».¹³ It not specified which chapel was performing, although it was probably that of Girona cathedral, since it was usual that «the music chapel of the cathedral ceded its instrumentalists to the Collegiate as well as to other churches and institutions for events in which its presence was needed».¹⁴ It was agreed that the main feast day would be on 24 July, the Sunday before St Ignacio's death; diverse musics and heraldic and festive sounds played an important role in the announcement of the festivities, up to three days before the beginning of them. The Jesuits processed around the city, preceded by «two drums playing march rhythm, and two groups—one formed by trumpets and the other by wind-players—on a conspicuous float decorated with ivy, myrtle, vaulted arches, and clothes».¹⁵

A manuscript *relación* of the festivities held previously at the same institution on the occasion of the beatification of Ignacio of Loyola in 1610 provides musical details that complement the accounts of 1622.¹⁶ For instance, in the announcement of the events in 1610, a few groups of wind players, trumpets, drums and clarions (*clarines*) met at the church which, according to the account, was crowded. These ensembles had been brought from Barcelona and Perpignan specifically for the occasion (Grahit y Papell, 1889: 185). At the 1622 festivities, at

¹² See, for instance, Cammarata, 2004. About the festivities celebrated on the occasion of the canonisation of St Ignacio and St Francisco Javier in France, see Arellano, 2009: 12, where it is pointed out that, unlike in the festivities celebrated in the Iberian Peninsula, in France the King initiated them and not the Jesuits, the city authorities nor the ecclesiastical chapters.

¹³ Ruiz, 1623: 1v-2r: «Entonò el TE Deum laudamus el Padre Onofre Serra Vice-rector, i al punto se oiò tal estruendo de morteretes, mosquetes, i campanas (porque desde la Iglesia maior hasta la menor, ninguna quedò muda) que bañaron de alegria los animos de la Ciudad, que casi toda se hallò apiñada en el templo de la Compañía. Prosiguio la capilla con canto de organo, a dos coros [...]».

¹⁴ Rifé y Santaló, 1997: 48: «La capella musical de la Seu cedía els seus instrumentistes tant a la col·legiata com a les altres esglésies i institucions per als actes que necessitaven la seva presència». On the music chapel of Girona cathedral in the seventeenth century, see Civil Castellví, 1960.

¹⁵ Ruiz, 1623: 2v: «dos caxas a son de marchar, i dos juegos, uno de trompetas, i otro de menestres en un vistoso carro, vestido de iedra, i arraian, bovedado de arcos, texidos de la mesma amenidad».

¹⁶ The anonymous manuscript, entitled «Relacion de las fiestas hechas en Girona a 31 de julio y 1 de agosto de la beatificacion del B. P. Ignacio fundador de la Compañía de Jesus, este año de 1610», is transcribed in Grahit y Papell, 1889, where it is attributed to Miguel Turbavi (185). The festivities of 1610 are also briefly reported in the *relación* printed in 1623 (49r-52v).

night, a skilful cornetist (*un diestro corneta*) played for two hours «suspending the silence of the night»;¹⁷ there also was a wind player group and two clarions in the house of Martín and Leonor de Agullana, which shows the use of music as a heraldic symbol of power, as well as the sonic fusion between the domestic setting of this noble house and the public context of its urban surroundings.

On the eve of the main feast day, at midday, all the bells of the city rang, and mortars and muskets rumbled. According to the *relación*, as these sounds dissipated, it was possible to perceive the «soft consonance» (*suave consonancia*) of three groups of shawms and two clarions, in addition to two other groups at the Agullanas' house, which had been brought «from afar» and specifically for the occasion «at no small expense, as they were the best in the area». Other clarions were located in the church aisles (Ruiz, 1623: 4r-v); perhaps, as in 1610, these instrumentalists would have come from Barcelona and Perpignan. The music played until Vespers, which was performed by «the chapel, in two choirs, with singular skill and harmony».¹⁸ At the beatification festivities in 1610, on the eve of the main feast day, the chapel intoned the hymn *Sacris solemnibus* «with beautiful music», in alternation with the organ. Juan Martí was recorded as the organist at Girona cathedral in 1610, and also in 1622; at the ceremonies held outside the cathedral, he used to play a portative organ (Civíl, 1960: 220; 1972-1973: 125). The *relación* describes the performance of the Vespers:

[Vespers] were sang in three choirs with organ and wind-players with such a harmony that had never seen in this place. The musicians had been rehearsing for many months the very devotional and emotional lyrics in honour of St Ignacio that had been handed in to them. It was a very important fact that the chapel master of the College of the Patriarch in Valencia, who was at that moment in Barcelona, was brought by the Councillors to Girona on the occasion of the festivity. He, who is very skilful, set the music as wished.¹⁹

The 1610 *relación* indicates, therefore, that the musicians had been practising specific pieces in honour of St Ignacio for months and that, taking advantage of his stay in Barcelona, the chapel master of the College of Corpus Christi in Valencia was brought specifically for the occasion. The position of chapel master at that institution was occupied by Juan Narciso Leysa (d. 1614) with the assistance of Joan Baptista Comes (c. 1582-1643) (Piedra, 1968: 127; Lázaro Villena, 2015: 80). Although it has been pointed out that a musician under the same name worked as a chapel master at Santa Maria del Mar until 1582 (Saldoni 1800: II, 64; Baldelló 1962: 222), several studies locate Juan Narciso Leysa at Valencia cathedral as choirboy as early as 1579. He progressed to the position of singer (*contralt extraordinari*) in 1585, and was subsequently appointed tenant (*teniente*) of the chapel master Ambrosio Coronado de Cotes in 1596. Leysa worked as substitute chapel master between 1600 and 1605, after which he was appointed to the same post at Corpus Christi College, according to the records of Valencia cathedral (Piedra, 1964). Before assuming his new role, Leysa contributed to the purchase and construction of the organs for the college, to the copying of chant books and musical repertory, and to the recruitment of singers and musicians for the College chapel. In order to acquire the organs, he contacted the Bordons, a dynasty of organ builders based on Solsona (Lleida); moreover, the main focus for the recruitment of singers for Corpus Christi College was Lleida.²⁰ The hand-written *relación* of 1610 suggests that Leysa still

¹⁷ Ruiz, 1623: 4r: «se previno un diestro corneta, que con la voz de su instrumento por espacio de dos oras suspendia el silencio de la noche».

¹⁸ Ruiz, 1623: 4v: «la Capilla, a dos coros, con singular destreza i armonia, y con la misma cantaron a prima noche las Completas, i Salve».

¹⁹ Grahit y Papell, 1889: 216: «[...] cantaronse a tres choros con organo y ministriles con tal armonia qual nunca se ha visto en este lugar. Porque ultra que los musicos avia muchos meses que se provavan en esto y en las letrillas que se les avia dado muy sentidas y devotas del B. Ignacio fue de mucha importancia que hallandose en Barcelona y el maestro de capilla del Collegio del Señor Patriarcha de Valencia, el Señor Conçeller le traxo a Girona para la fiesta, que como tan diestro y abil puso la musica en el punto que se podia dessear».

²⁰ The kinship of this dynasty of organers, which had been confused in the bibliography, has been clarified by Rasies i Planas, 2001

kept links to Barcelona and Girona in that period. It is not specified whether an external chapel master was also brought for the ceremonies of 1622.

On the main feast day, the city woke up to a sonic explosion—another ring of bells, a round of mortars (*salua de morteretes*), and reveille of clarions (*alborada de clarines*)—as would have been done on the other days of the octave, and a Mass was celebrated with the same «softness of music» (*suavidad de musica*) as on the previous day. At the moment of the Gospel, a choir of six beautiful children dressed as angels and bringing torchlights assisted at the ceremony; during the Elevation, the chapel intoned with «singular art» some very «subtle» and «well sung» texts, with a reply from the mortars outside.²¹ Aleix de Marimon-Jafre (d. 1643), governor of the Principality of Catalonia, covered the expenses of this ceremony at the church and, although he was not able to attend, he sent a group of wind players and a squadron of 300 soldiers who shot arquebuses in honour of the saints and roused the spirits of the festival-goers.²² According to the *relación*, the musical expenses for the whole octave were covered by Martín de Agullana who, furthermore, kept in his house two clarion players and two groups of wind players during the festivities. The chronicler explains that, «as a liberal knight», he uncovered his devotion towards St Ignacio and the Society of Jesus.²³ Eight days before the beatification festivities in 1610, Martín de Agullana also brought two clarion players from the castle of Perpignan, paying them two *ducados* per day, and two «extraordinary» trumpet players (Grahit y Papell, 1889: 250). Leonor's uncle, Jaume de Agullana, had commissioned the 1610 ceremony, ordering the hire of three groups of wind players (Grahit y Papell, 1889: 181). Thus, in addition to the Agullanas' fondness for music, the *relaciones* of the Girona festivities make evident the importance of the musical patronage to the wider nobility as a way of exhibiting their status in urban society, and of publicly demonstrating their devotion.

Diverse types of music were also present during the octave. For instance, on the Tuesday a procession took place headed by shawms, clarions and drums (Ruiz, 1623: 9r). Moreover, on the Monday afternoon, the feast day of Santiago, a student of the grammar school of the Society of Jesus recited a panegyric from the pulpit of the church, followed by music for shawms (Ruiz, 1623: 8v). This functional use of music in alternation with the reading of literary texts is also evident in the poetry competition for these canonisation festivities, which was postponed to December.

Generally, poetry competitions took place at the church of the institution that organised the festivities, so these events frequently involved secularisation of a sacred space in order to receive crowds of people from all the sectors of society, to recite poetry, and to play music. Usually two pulpits were used, from which two readers alternated in the recitation of the poems; likewise, the reading of the texts alternated with the performance of music.²⁴ The social hierarchies were reflected in the seats and sectors of the church, which occupied by distinct

through the books of sacraments of the parish church of Solsona preserved in the Arxiu Diocesà in Solsona.

²¹ Ruiz, 1623: 7v-8r: «salio un coro de seis Angelicos hermosissimos en el rostro, i riquissimos en el vestido, con achones encendidos en las manos, i echa reverencia con gracioso donaire, asistieron el tiempo que se acostumbra, este, i los días siguientes»; en la Elevación, «entonò la capilla con singular arte vna no menos aguda, que bien cantada letrilla, saludando de fuera un golpe de morteretes».

²² About the governor, see Martínez, 2010: 137-145.

²³ Ruiz, 1623: 13v: «como Cavallero liberal, i maniroto descubrio la devocion que siempre a tenido a S. Ignacio i su Compañia».

²⁴ See, for instance, the description of the ceremony of reading aloud the poems at the poetry competition celebrated in Calatayud in October 1614 on the occasion of the beatification of St Teresa of Jesus (San José, 1615: 125v): «Estaua en el cuerpo de la Capilla mayor leuantado vno como teatro muy alto y bien proporcionado, [...] y repartidos en el lugares muy graues para el señor Obispo, justicia, jurados, y juezes del Certamen Poetico: y auiedo los Poetas presentado muchos y muy buenos versos, de diferentes poesias, fue gusto de su Señoria, y de los deuotos de casa que se fuessen leyendo cada tarde publicamente, y assi acabadas las visperas, se ponian dos personas Ecclesiasticas, en dos pulpitos, y estando toda la demas gente del pueblo sentados en sus lugares, todos con mucho silencio, se leia vna poesia en el vn pulpito, y otra en el otro, tañendose en acabando cada vno algunos instrumentos, que con esto y

social groups; the most prominent positions were reserved for the high echelons of the ecclesiastical and municipal hierarchies, and also for the judges of the contest. At the church of Sant Martí, two platforms were prepared: one was at the major altar with a desk, chairs for the judges, and a table for the prizes, while the other platform was located near the pulpit and was used for the representation of an introductory dialogue by six children of the Jesuit schools. Music also formed part of this entertainment, as wind players performed when the children paused their recitation (Ruiz, 1623: 74v). At the poetry competition celebrated in Madrid in the same year—also for the canonisation of St Ignacio and St Francisco Javier—it is possible to find allusions to the spatial hierarchy headed by the royal authorities, and the way in which the arrival of these authorities caused the crowds to fall silent before the start of the music performance:

The majesties and royal highnesses came after six o'clock and put a stop to the murmurings and restlessness of so many people by the very sight of them. Music started to play and it was followed by a brief dialogue by Lope de Vega [...] The children of the Jesuit schools, dressing rich and expensive clothes, performed with much gracefulness.²⁵

Music was an effective way of attracting and entertaining the audience, as well as providing the literary joust with solemnity. The integration of music into the poetry competitions formed part of the local traditions, as the lyrics of the villancico *Un poético certamen* suggests; its subject is a fictional competition convened in Belem in honour of the Virgin and child, in which the prize was an *Agnus Dei* and where the poets who attended were summoned by a clarion call.²⁶ Still in the eighteenth century, the publication of a poetry competition celebrated at the patio of the Jesuit College of St Pablo in Valencia on 28 July 1754 contained an «Order of the performance» in which music was included: the contest would start once the the «harmonious echoes» of music had silenced the people and attracted their attention; during the pauses, and as a culmination of the event, the children of the College would perform sword dances (Guillén, 1754: 1, 6, 10). The people in charge of reciting the poems were personalities of the religious or cultural life of the city; for instance, Lope de Vega read aloud the verses at the poetry competition in honour of St Teresa celebrated in Madrid in October 1614. Likewise, the Girona competition started on 3 December 1622, and some of the poems were read aloud, alternating these «combats» with the music of wind players; because of the solemnity of the Divine Office, there was not enough time to read all the poems, so the event continued the following day (Ruiz, 1623: 62v).

At poetry jousts music alternated with the recitation of poems entered into the competition, with the sentences of the judges, and with the awarding of the prizes. For instance, at the joust that took place at the church of Sant Martí on 2 August 1610 for the beatification ceremony of St Ignacio, the poems were read aloud in the afternoon with the music of wind players, followed by the sentence and the awards ceremony (Grahit y Papell, 1889: 271). Music was also performed during the awarding of prizes at the poetry competition that took place in Madrid in 1622 on the occasion of St Ignacio's canonisation, «celebrating the name of the winners» through music.²⁷ For the festivities surrounding the beatification of St Teresa in October 1614, poetry competitions were celebrated and music played the same role: in Saragossa, the ceremony of awards took place to the sound of shawms (Díez de Aux, 1615: 108-109); at the village of Aguilar (Córdoba), vocal and instrumental music alternated with the awarding of prizes (San José, 1615: 203v); and in Córdoba music was used as entertainment

algunos versos graciosos tuuieron vn rato de harto gusto y alegría».

²⁵ Monforte y Herrera, 1622: 71v: «Vinieron sus Magestades y Altezas a mas de las seis, y aprisionaron impresionamente con su vista al mormullo y desasossiego de tanta gente. Empeçò la musica, y siguiose luego vn breue dialogo de Lope de Vega [...] Representaron niños de los estudios de la Compañía con gran riqueza, costosos vestidos, y mucha gracia y donayre».

²⁶ This villancico is included, for instance, in *Letras de los villancicos...*, 1694: s.f. [villancico 8]; and *Villancicos que se han de cantar...*, [1691]: [villancico 2].

²⁷ Monforte y Herrera, 1622: 73v: «y en acabando fue leyendo el Certamen, y dando los premios a los que auian juzgado por mejores los excelentissimos juezes, celebrando el nombre de cada vno la musica que estaua preuenida».

in the afternoon while the judges were deliberating. The Córdoba *relación* also emphasizes the importance of the ornaments of the altars and the fragrances of the church as an integral part of the event.²⁸ The poetry competitions constituted a sensorial experience, including elements that were visual,—the decoration of the church and the altars— olfactory—fragrances and smells of incense and flowers—and auditory—ambient noises, poetry, music, and murmuring.²⁹ At the poetry competition in Girona, the church of Sant Martí became a space in which the boundaries between sacred and secular were blurred. Although social hierarchies were kept by means of spatial organisation, crowds from a broad cross-section of people coming from the urban environment, and probably also from surrounding settlements, attended this event that joined poetry and music. The sound experience of each person would depend not only on the space he or she occupied at the church, but also on the cultural baggage of each person and on the ideas, memories, and emotions brought back by a diversity of musical and sounding stimuli.

2. Music as inspirational concept

One of the particularities of the poetry joust commissioned by the Agullanas in 1622 is the fact that music was the chosen topic—probably selected by this noble couple as patrons of the event—for one of the ten sections into which the occasion was structured. The other sections, which included poems in Latin, Catalan and Castilian, were devoted to grammar, rhetoric, jurisprudence, philosophy, medicine, arithmetic, geometry, astrology and theology. Two prizes were awarded for each section; the prizes for the winners of the section on music were a small golden cornet with emeralds on each end, and two silver spoons.³⁰ In order to participate in the musical section, the poets had to present *liras* on «the miraculous Music of a Choir of Angels which, with celestial harmony, was heard at the glorious sepulchre of St Ignacio while his triumphal soul was seen to fly in a firing globe to the supreme sphere» (*la milagrosa Musica de un Coro de Angeles, que con celestial melodia se oyò en el glorioso sepulcro de S. IGNACIO mientras su triunfante alma fue vista bolar en un globo de fuego a la suprema esfera*). This delimitation of the musical topic (the transit of the soul to heaven through the singing of a choir of angels) makes reference to music as a link with heaven and divinity (see Figure 2). The relationship between Ignacio of Loyola (as in the case of other saints) and the celestial music is usual in his biographies. In 1556, upon his death in Rome, St Ignacio was buried in the Major Chapel of Santa Maria de la Estrada. On 31 July 1568 his body was to be moved to the church of the Gesù, seat of the Society of Jesus and, according to Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, «celestial music and a harmony of sweet voices were heard for two days at his sepulchre» and «lights similar to radiant stars were seen».³¹ Francisco García even provided details of the repertory performed by the celestial choir:

Julio Marcineli, a great servant of God who was usually granted with celestial visitations, was in Roma. He did not know that the Saint Body [St Ignacio] was to be moved. The previous afternoon, he heard at the sepulchre a very soft and celestial music, which repeats, among other praises: *Gloria Patri, &c. Benedictus Deus in secula. Exultabunt Sancti in gloria*. He did not stop listening to this music through the night and during the following day, until the moment in which the body

²⁸ Páez de Valenzuela y Castillejo, 1615: 4v: «Cerca del pulpito en la segunda naue estaua el choro de la musica que constaua de realejos, ministriles de voces diferentes, citolas, harpa, y vihuelas, que tocadas diestramente en choros diuersos, entretuvieron regaladamente la parte de tarde que se tardaron los Señores Iuezes, bien que el adereço de los altares y fragancia de olores la hizieron de mucha recreacion. Serian mas de las tres, quando con vna reguzijada salua de toda la musica juntos tomaron sus assientos, que no fue poco según la gente auia cargado y ocupado toda la Iglesia y plaçuela que esta delante. [...] Cessò la musica y fuera consentimiento de todos los presentes à no sucederle otra de igual gusto; de maravillosas Poesias, à que dio principio vn eloquente y diestro orador, que con voz alta, compostura graue, propria y alentada accion suspendio el ruido y bullicio de la gente [...]».

²⁹ About the music in medieval multisensorial experiences, see Boynton and Reilly, 2015.

³⁰ The expenses of the prizes are recorded in the account book of Martín de Agullana (Riquer, 1978: 213-214).

³¹ Nieremberg, 1645: 82: «se oyo por dos dias en su sepulcro musica del cielo, y vna armonia de dulces voces; vieronse tambien dentro luzes como Estrellas resplandecientes».

was moved to its place. He understood that that music meant the feast made by the angels on the occasion of the translation of St Ignacio.³²

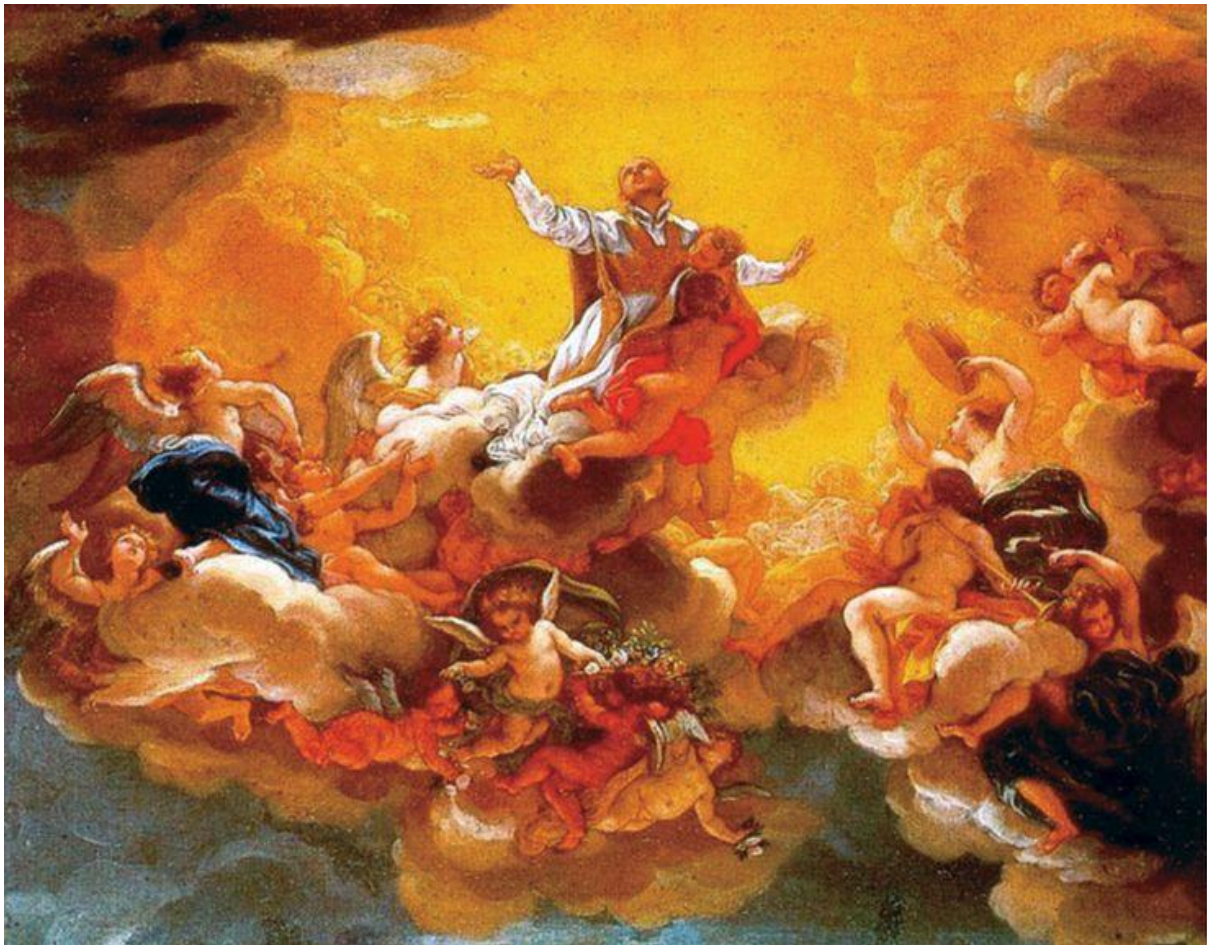


Figure 2. Giovan Battista Gaulli (Baciccio) (1639-1709), *Gloria di sant' Ignazio* (1685), oil on canvas, 48,5 x 64,5 cm, preparatory model for the fresco at the chapel of St Ignacio at the church of the Gesù. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, 1470 (F.N. 10051)

Appendix 1 presents the section of the poetry competition devoted to music, entitled *Setima cuadrilla de la musica. Liras escruçulas A la Musica Angelica, que se oyo en el sepulcro de S. Ignacio*. The explanation of the section included in the *relación* alludes to the influence of music on mood, pointing out that «sounding voices» of clarions, drums, fifes, horns, and other «harmonic instruments» had to encourage the competitors, since music provided the «warlike mood of the undefeated Alexandro» with strength—probably referring to Alejandro Magno. Evoking Orpheus, the poets were asked to «tune their *vibuelas*» (*apreiten las clavijas a sus viguelas*) and to compose between ten and twelve *liras*.³³

³² García, 1685: 584: «Estaba à la sazón en Roma el Padre Julio Marcineli, gran Siervo de Dios, y regalado de su Magestad con frequentes visitaciones celestiales: no sabiendo que se trataba de trasladar el Santo Cuerpo, oyò la tarde antes en su sepulcro vna musica suavissima, y celestial, que repetia, entre otras alabanças: *Gloria Patri, &c. Benedictus Deus in secula. Exultabunt Sancti in gloria*. Y no dexò de escucharla toda la noche, y día siguiente, hasta que el cuerpo fue trasladado à su lugar, y entendio, que aquella musica era fiesta, que hazian los Angeles por la translacion de San Ignacio».

³³ Ruiz, 1623: 60r: «Si la acordada Musica alentava, e infundia nuevos brios en el Animo belicoso del Invito Alexandro, para tomar las animas conquistadoras del uniuerso, menga fuera notable si en este Torneo, pelea remedada, no animaran a los Torneantes la sonoras voces de clarines, caxas, pifanos, bozinas, i otros armonicos instrumentos con que entra haziendo apazible salva la dulce MVSICA con sus regalados Padrinos Orfeo, Anfion, Arion, e Ismenias. Pero suspensa a la milagrosa Musica de un Coro de Angeles, que con celestial

Seven poets submitted their poems to the music section: Miguel de Salazar (winner of the first prize), Andrés Delgadillo (who obtained the second prize), along with Hernando de Salcedo, Sebastián of Villafranca, María de Llupià, Artemisia Sanso, and an anonymous poet who entered a poem «to the devotion» of Magdalena de Agullana (*a la devocion, de Doña Madalena de Agullana*). The poetry competitions are a very important source for the history of female writing as women, generally noblewomen and nuns, used to send their poetry compositions. One wonders who these three women were writing poems on music or acting as dedicatees to the texts. María de Llupià i Puig (d. 1646) was a descendant of Miquel de Llupià (d. 1494), counsellor of Joan II, while Artemisia Sanso, a relative of the Agullanas, was praised in the *relaciones* of the festivities held in Girona in 1610 (Grahit y Papell 1889: 250) and 1622 (Ruiz, 1623: 8v) because of her dedication to the display of festive elements as a token of her devotion. Other women participated in different sections of the joust: Elvira Sarriera, Leonor de Agullana's cousin, was one of the winners of the jurisprudence section (Ruiz, 1623: 86r), and Inés Real de Fontclara submitted a poem into the theology section (130v). This noblewoman has been identified as Agnès de Real (d. 1629), wife of the chronicler Jeroni de Real. Joan Busquets i Dalmau has casted doubt on the authorship of the poem, considering that it was possibly written by Inés's husband and that she was just the dedicatee of the text, as in the case of the poem for Magdalena de Agullana (1994: 74).

Magdalena de Agullana (1612-1669) was the daughter of Martín and Leonor. Other sections of the joust include poems dedicated to her sisters Francisca (1609-1630?) and Orosia (born in 1615), who would enter the convent of Santa Maria de Jonqueres in Barcelona and would marry Josep-Galceran de Pinós-Castre i de Perapertusa (c. 1617-1680) in 1641 (Costa i Paretas 2008: 124).³⁴ In the section about arithmetic another *glosa* was dedicated to Maria Sanso (111v-112v). The names of the authors of these poems—written «to the devotion» of the three daughters of the patrons and for Maria Sanso—are not indicated in the *relación*. In literary studies it has usually been accepted that these women were the authors of the poems instead of their dedicatees (Simón Díaz, 1950-1993: X, 556; 1962: 22). Martín and Leonor had twelve children, of whom only four reached adult age: the three dedicatees of the poems and Leonor, born in 1621. Therefore, women were in charge of perpetuating the Agullana lineage. Magdalena married her cousin Juan-Agustín Sanz de Latrás and, as countess of Atarés, continued their parents' patronage of the Girona Jesuit College. In a letter (Huesca, 14 June 1619) addressed to Martín de Agullana by his brother Juan Sanz de Latrás (Juan-Agustín's father), one can find references to Juan-Agustín's dance training and to the idea of his father that he continued his training in Girona, which suggest again the fondness for music in this family.³⁵ Thus, the women who participated in this poetry joust, as authors or dedicatees, were noblewomen belonging to the circle of the Agullanas in Girona. Both María de Llupià and Artemisia Sanso, in their poems on music, used a vocabulary that suggests that this discipline had formed part of their education.

Sections that differ from those specifically concerning music also reflect the degree of musical training and the

melodía se oyó en el gloioso sepulcro de S. IGNACIO mientras su triunfante alma fue vista bolar en un globo de fuego a la suprema esfera: conbida con su mudo silencio a los Poetas Castellanos de la Setima Cuadrilla apreiten las clavijas a sus viguelas, i levantando el contrapunto sobre este Angelico Canto, entonen de diez a doze liras escruçulas, i el de mas suave concento ganará cantando una Cornetilla de oro, de cuyos estremos penden sendas esmeraldas. El segundo, un par de cucharas de plata aeendrada».

³⁴ A *glosa* was addressed *a la devoción* of Francisca de Agullana at the arithmetic section (Ruiz, 1623: 113r-114r), and a *sextina* was dedicated to Orosia at the theology section (135r-v). See also Romeu, 1975: 18; Riquer, 1979: 214; Rossich, 2012: 62.

³⁵ Riquer, 1979: 235: «Por aver aquí ruin maestro de danzar, no he querido aprendiese, porque en una ausencia que he hecho aprendió y me á pesado por el mal ayre del maestro. Él lo tiene muy bueno y es lixero; y si v. md. le parece que vaya ay, me lo pida como de suyo por carta, para que la vea él, diciendo quiere v. md. conozca los primos que tiene ay y vea la mar para que se aficiones a la guerra y que ay aprenda de danzar y armas».

characteristics of the poets' musical culture. Francisco de Almenara presented a poem based upon a metaphor of a chant book (*en metáfora de un libro de canto*); see Appendix 2. This poem praises St Ignacio by identifying him with a chapel master who «ordered» a «small book» of plainchant for the faithful to learn «the sovereign *punto*».³⁶ St Ignacio's rules are identified with a plainchant handbook (*arte de canto*), and the musical hand, which is usually printed on this type of didactic book, is identified with the finger of God: St Ignacio was a chapel master who, according to the poem, provided musical training to those who committed «sin» when singing.³⁷ It is pointed out that he had not permitted the inclusion of a musical hand in his plainchant handbook, but a the finger of God.³⁸ The poem contains references to counterpoint and a rich musical vocabulary, which suggests that the author knew the philosophical and ethical writings on music from Antiquity, as well as the rules of musical practice from his own period. For instance, the text deals with the *tonos* (*pues que del ut profundo del Infierno, / le saca al Sol del Cielo senpiterno*), including a strophe in which they are listed; the only exception is *mi* since, according to the following strophe, this *tono* involves *falsetto* and 'falsehoods', and only truths can be sung.³⁹ The poem also mentions the celestial choirs, drawing on musical terminology such as *puntos*, bars, staff, and mode (*que aunque tu Ignacio no te dexa coro, / con tan grande decoro / guardas puntos, compases, regla, i modo. / Que eres un coro compasado en todo*). According to the poem, St Ignacio's singing had «enchanted» and «absorbed» the world, as his music «steals the senses».

The poems included in the musical section also provide information on the place occupied by music in the poets' minds. The poems display a duality between the celestial music of the choir of angels heard at the sepulchre of St Ignacio on the one hand, and the «warlike noise» on the other, thereby denoting a contrast between music with either devotional or heraldic purposes.⁴⁰ This disapproval of warlike noise in favour of devotional music is also reflected in the poem of Maria de Lluçà,⁴¹ and in those of Artemisia Sanso.⁴² The angels, however, are described by using military terms such as «squad», and they are even personified (*voz vivifica, musica solita, musica gormatica, coros que estan desgargantándose*). Meanwhile, the music of the angels is mainly described as «sweet» and «soft» (*musica dulcissima, dulces liras, canto suavissimo, con suavidad, con son tan dulce, dulcissimos coros, musica dulcisona, dulce canto lirico, cantos dulces y agiles, suave cantico*) deploying a diversity of adjectives that connect music to the celestial world (*celestes cantico, canto fidelissimo, cantos celicos, plectro celico, coro beatifico, prodigioso*

³⁶ On the *artes de canto* printed in the sixteenth-century Iberian world, see Mazuela-Anguila, 2014.

³⁷ Ruiz, 1623: 90v: «que saca con su canto, i puntos graves, / di[s]cipulos tan suaves, / que sus di[s]ciplinas cuerdas tocan, / con que a cantar provocan / pecados, al mas duro, que no un canto, / dandose a si una mano, i no de canto». The abundance of musical references in the poems presented in the poetry competition held in Girona is also reflected in one of the *motes*, containing a metaphor of the musical hand similar to that of Almenara: «pintose un Maestro de Capilla, que impone a cantar un su discipulo. Mote. *Cantate Domino*. Psal. 90». This is followed by: «Maestro sois singular, / pues al mas duro, que un canto / con mano, aunque no de canto / hazeis pecados cantar» (Ruiz, 1623: 41r). The concept of music usually appears at the *motes* and emblems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which involves the use of music not only as a concept, but also as a visual element. Among many other examples, there is a musical presence in the emblems of 1531 by Andrea Alciati (1492-1550); see, for instance, Alciati, 1549: 143: «Que Dios tiene particular cuidado de la música». In the Catalan context, Josep Romaguera (1642-1723) included in his *Atheneo de Grandesa* (1681: 117) an emblem on the enchantment of the sirens by means of their music and beauty. These emblems, as the *mote* of the Girona poetry competition, allow to assess the important place occupied by music in the mentalities of the period. See, for instance, Robledo Estaire, 2007 and 2003.

³⁸ Ruiz, 1623: 91r: «mano, que los tonos muestra, / mas de la eterna diestra / solo un dedo veloz quiso, que uviese, / que los puntos dixese: / que al fin del Semi-dios dize la pluma, / este es el dedo de la mano suma».

³⁹ Ruiz, 1623: 91v: «solo de aqueste canto el MI an mudado / (por ser falsete vil, de falsedades) / poniendole entredicho senpiterno, / pues estos solo cantan las verdades».

⁴⁰ Ruiz, 1623: 117v: «Canten sus benemeritos, / No el pifano beligero, / Sino del sumo Cielo un coro Aligero. / Si con canto benévolo / De subir tal varon teneis proposito, / Sin falsete malevolo, / I sin baxon oposito, / Suba hasta el Sol de Cristo fiel deposito / Do con aplauso armonico / Pise alegre los limites beatificos [...]».

⁴¹ Ruiz, 1623: 120r: «baxar un coro Angelico / con insinias de paz, no estruendo belico».

⁴² Ruiz, 1623: 121r: «OID pechos mananimos, / No ya tronpetas, no clarines belicos, / Que acrecientan los animos: / Mas concertos Angelicos, / Que dan a Ignacio paraninfos Celicos. / O divino espetaculo [...]».

canto, arpa angelica, canto benevolo, canto celeberrimo). Likewise, musical metaphors create an antithesis between the earthly (*cuerpo organico*) and celestial worlds (*organos angelicos*).⁴³ Thus, the poems display a binary thinking of the concept of music: the warlike noises and the heraldic instruments were used to create expectation and to reaffirm the power of the ecclesiastical, municipal and social hierarchies, while the «soft» and «sweet» music, usually vocal, inspired devotion and was identified with celestial music and divinity.

The texts include references to the repertory that, according to the poets, must have been performed by the choir of angels,—*Requiem, Ite missa est, Sanctus, Gloria, Laudes, Prima, and Tercia*—the mode (*cuyo canto dulcisono / va entonado por Sol, el cual poniendose*), the clarity of the performance (*coro dilucido, armonia agilima*), and its impact, causing rejoicing and admiration (*cantico mirifico, son letifico*). It is also suggested that the angels are able to «temper» the excesses of the moods with their music (they are *cantores morigeros*) and comparisons involving synaesthesia are drawn on (*llenando de armonia tal su tumulto, / cual llena el aromatico, / de Ignacio el coro Angelical i platico*). In the verdict of the music section several metaphors based on music are used to evaluate the skills of the poets (see Appendix 1). For example, some authors «sang with such a funereal tone that they seemed to be sacristans», as they focused on the sadness of the sepulchre, while others committed «dissonances», since they did not follow the metric of the verses properly. References to classical Antiquity are also included: the poets who did not fulfil expectations were replied to with the word of Dionysius. This passage in question quotes the god's response to «the other *cithara* player» who expected a great prize for his music, and yet his only reward was to have an audience listen to him.

The poetry competitions, and their integration into the canonisation and beatification ceremonial offer details of the musical practices in distinct urban centres. The *relación* of the canonisation festivities celebrated in Girona in 1622 provides a panoramic view of the musical networks of the city and of Girona's connections to institutions and professionals from other urban centres. Furthermore, it offers fresh insights on the importance of musical patronage not only as a means of public exhibition of social status and power, but also of devotion in a Counter-Reformation context. The poetry competition allowed people from different social groups to have access to the sensorial experience involved in the alternation of music and poetry recitation in a religious space. That there should be a compositional section entirely devoted to music as an inspirational concept suggests the importance of this discipline for the Agullanas, who were patrons of the joust. It furthermore suggests the potential of a study of this family's musical patronage within the wider context of the Catalan nobility. The selection of music as one of the topics for the poems allows us to catch a glimpse of the poets' and judges' own musical knowledge, as well as of the place occupied by music in early modern mentalities as a symbol of both earthly and divine power, which was deeply ingrained in urban musical culture.

Appendix 1. Section devoted to music at the poetry competition celebrated in Girona on 3 and 4 December 1622 with occasion of the canonisation of St Ignacio of Loyola and St Francisco Javier (Ruiz, 1623: 114r-121v)

SETIMA CVADRILLA DE LA MVSICA. LIRAS ESCRVXVLAS A la Musica Angelica, que se oyo en el sepulcro de S. Ignacio.

⁴³ Ruiz, 1623: 118v: «Rota la estambre, roto el cuerpo organico. / Cuando organos Angelicos, / Liras loquaces, citaras armonicas, / Con mil acentos celicos / Suenan, resuenan bovedas Plutonicas, / I la tierra morandolas, / Queda suspensa, queda alegre amándolas».

ALBOROCARON el canpo con sus armonicos instrumentos los Poetas liricos cantando las liras Esdruxulas, que la Musica les propuso, sobre la Angelica, que convirtio en Coro el sepulcro de S. Ignacio. Algunos parando en la tristeza [f. 114v] del sepulcro cantaron con tono tan funebre, que parecian sacristanes, i podia servir para enterrar a sus autores. Otros para encaxar los pies escrujulos, salian con tales disonancias, que mas parecian delirar, que entonar liras, armandoles bien el adagio: *Asinus ad Lyram*. I tal uvo, que para que fuesen entendidas puso Glosa marginal, que cuando la vieron los Iuezes, dixeron: Esta glosa no es de Nicolao, aunque delira. Pero otras Liras anduvieron tan cuerdas en menear las de sus instrumentos, i sonaron tan bien en los oidos de los Iuezes, que las tuvieron por dinas de premio. No sonaron tan bien otras, i llenando el aire de querellas por ver frustradas sus esperanças, que les prometian mucho: pero respondiense lo que Dionisio al otro musico citaredo, que esparava grande premio de su Lira dandole en pago, i retorno de su musica el averle escuchado: *Quamdiu enim tu me cantando oblectasti, tamdiu egote premii spe concepta*. Como refiere Plutarco *libro de Audien*. Por dinas de ser oidas, i de la cornetilla de oro se juzgaran las de Miguel de Salazar, que con elegantes, e ingeniosos versos celebrou el triunfo del Santo Patriarca. Las cucharas de plata fueron galardón del Licenciado Andres Delgadillo.

LIRAS I.

De Miguel Salazar.

SVlcando el bravo pielago
 Desta vida, en el puerto salutifero
 Del celeste Archipielago
 Entra de Ignacio ignifero
 [f. 115r] La Capitana con fanal lucifero.
 Quedase el cuerpo organico
 Deste sacro baxel como en deposito
 (Libre del mar Satanico)
 Entierra; i del proposito
 Las onras le haze el Celico Preposito.
 Mas el piloto platico,
 Que es de Ignacio el espiritu catolico,
 Trepando viento erratico
 Con donaire Apostolico,
 Sube a otras playas, i otro mar simbolico.

I al punto la pacifica
 Ciudad, i diamantino propugnaculo
 Salva le hazen mirifica,
 Musica sin obstaculo,
 De que el casco quedo en su receptaculo.
 Como cuando el acerrimo
 Capitan de una armada lucidisima
 Salta en tierra celerrimo,
 Con musica dulcisima,
 Su gente le haze salva fidelisima.
 Así nuestro mananimo,
 Capitan de Iesus nave Evangelica
 Salta en tierra con animo
 (Si ai tierra en playa Celica)
 Donde la salva fue musica Angelica.

Con este son armonico,
 En fuego como fenix abrasandose
 Con pasmo del Plutonico,
 Se sube encaramandose
 Entre coros que estan desgargantandose.
 [f. 115v] Si al naufrago miserrimo
 (Que de Dios perdio el norte) el Puerto Celico
 Con gozo celeberrimo
 Le recibe, i con belico
 Iubilo le haze salva el coro Angelico.
 Al que por Norte anplifico
 Tuvo la gloria de Iesus, mirandole
 Ya en su seno pacifico,
 Recibale cantandole
 Dulces liras, i gozese, gozandole.
 Mas pues del felicissimo
 Curso, se canta al fin la gloria, entonese
 Con cantico suavissimo
 La gloria, i galardones
 De Ignacio el fin, i aunque sin fin, progonese.
 I pues la sacra bruxula
 Cual marinero Vizcaino Iberico
 Supo guiar; escrujula
 Lira, i estilo Omerico
 Con canto le aconpañe el orbe esferico.
 Mis liras recojamonos,
 No digan delirais, i suspendiendonos
 Con son tan dulce: vamonos,
 Porque temo que oyendonos
 Nos an de dar la vaya, aqui corriendonos.

LIRAS II.

Del Licenciado Andres Delgadillo.

COncantico mirifico

[f. 116r] Entre las armas, i ruido belico,, [sic]

Entre el estruendo orrifico

Labro un tenplo Evangelico

El artifice Dios, i el autor Celico.

Mas oi de un canto armonico

Vna capilla pone en este oraculo,

Risa del Babilonio,

Donde la voz fue obstaculo,

Que vedo preseguir aquel pinaculo.

Que aqui picos Angelicos

De canto hazen capillas, i dulcisimos

Coros de cantos Celicos,

Que fueron bastantisimos

A edificar los orbes remotisimos.

Que aunque este tabernaculo,

Ni capilla, ni coro en lo preterito

Tuvo (grato espetaculo

Al Cielo benemerito)

Capilla oi tiene, i coro por su merito.

Este tenplo manifico

Oi es cubierto de cortinas palidas.

Cantan REQUIEM pacifico,

Vozes, que son mas validas

En pechos deleitar en las Castalidas.

Baxad del Polo lucido

Apiñados, o espíritus Aligeros.

Ven, o coro dilucido,

O cantores morigeros!

O Serafines en amor flamigeros!

Que voces tan disimiles

Dais de la muerte, o coro beatifico,

[f. 116v] Siendo a los cisnes similes?

Mas dais con son letifico

Vida a su muerte, i al valor vivifico.

Canta el ITE celerrimo

De su vida, que fue sienpre frutifera

El SANTVS celeberrimo

Esta escuadra odorifera,

I la GLORIA, a su muerte salutifera.

LAVDES dize benevolo

El sacro coro de su onor solícito,

Contra el furor malevolo,

Siendo mui iusto, i licito

Al orbe sea su valor esplicito.

Cantar PRIMA devieramos,

Mas con rezar la TERTIA en tal deposito

Mui venturosos fuéramos,

Con solo este proposito

De tener por tercero a su Preposito.

LIRAS III.

A la devoción, de Doña Madalena de Agullana.

VN prodigioso cantico,
 Capilla del supremo tabernaculo,
 Que apoya el onbro Atlantico,
 Se encamina al oraculo,
 Que es de un sol eclipsado recetaculo.
 Que si piedras infragiles
 [f. 117r] Arrebatava Anfion con plectro celico,
 Mas sutiles, mas agiles
 Vn Orfeo Evangelico
 Llama los coros del asiento Angelico.
 Mas el sepulcro insolito
 Era arca bella de un manà vivifico
 A quien cede el crisolito,
 Qu'el sepulcro mirifico
 Onrava del Mausolo mas clarifico.
 I siendo arca Apostolico,
 I del arca cantada en el Levitico,
 Vna estanpa simbolica,
 Su David Betlemitico
 Fue el escuadron Angelico, i politico.
 Cuyas Liras portatiles
 El imno renovando salutifero
 A los astros erratiles,
 Que a su trono estelifero,
 Subieron de Loyola el globo inifero.

LIRAS IV.

De Hernando de Salzedo.

DE verde mirto i alamo
 Coronado de flor, i lauros meritos
 Por su dorado talamo,
 Repudia el suelo inmerito
 Apolo de tal gracia benemerito.
 Traspasa el orbe esferico
 De resplandor vestido i luz mirifica
 Vn nuevo Sol Iberico,
 Echando luz beatifica
 Por el orde celeste, i playa amplifica.
 Cercado de sus Driades
 De dulces cisnes, bella escuadra Angelica
 [f. 118r] Con Ninfas Amadriades,
 Que con reseña belica
 I gorgeos, saludan la luz Celica.

Pero muda tal animo,
 Muda el intento santo, escuadra celica,
 Que al Mundo pusilanimio
 Le roba el arpa Angelica
 Vn santo de la Fe torre Evangelica.
 No basta que mil Angeles
 Remonten a Loyola el Apostolico
 Alla entre los Arcangeles,
 Pues su valor catolico
 No se pasa con cantico iberbolico.
 Mas si a los astros meritos
 Ignacio sube, Serafin flamigero,
 [f. 117v] Canten sus benemeritos,
 No el pifano beligero,
 Sino del sumo Cielo un coro Aligero.
 Si con canto benevolo
 De subir tal varon teneis proposito,
 Sin falsete malevolo,
 I sin baxon oposito,
 Suba hasta el Sol de Cristo fiel deposito
 Do con aplauso armonico
 Pise alegre los limites beatificos,
 I del furor Plutonico
 Los lugares terrificos
 Espante con triunfos onorificos.

Con estrado flamigero
 El Rei dorado sube. Que espetaculo,
 Ver remontar aligero
 Aquel ques viuo oraculo
 De la Tierra, i del Cielo propunaculo.
 Al son de lira armonica
 La tierra se alboroca, que mirandole
 A la turba Plutonica
 Se opone? I ensalzandole
 Sigue al Cielo, que canta venerandole.
 Con cantos dulces, i agiles,
 Con coronas i lauros odoriferos,
 Que los matizes fragiles
 De los canpos mortiferos
 En netares conuierten salutiferos.

I con celeste cantico
 Sigue a Apolo, que sube encaramandose
 I con esfuerço Atlantico,
 De su virtud gozandose,
 Con suavidad le imita remontandose.
 I aqui en la tierra umilima
 Los Angeles con canto celebrimo,
 Con armonia agilima
 Ensalzan al que acerrimo
 En vida fue, i costumbres inregerrimo.

LIRAS V.

De Sebastian de Villafranca.

ANsi teatros namigeros
 A lado sube sobre el alto Tropico
 Con canoros Aligeros
 El gran Ignacio de su bien idropico,
 Terror del Rei Satanico,
 Rota la estanbre, roto el cuerpo organico.
 Cuando organos Angelicos,
 Liras loquaces, citaras armonicas,
 Con mil acentos celicos
 Suenan, resuenan bovedas Plutonicas,
 I la tierra morandolas,
 Queda suspensa, queda alegre amandolas.
 Ni en sepulcro Niliaco
 Cisne murio jamas en verde cumulo,
 Ni en estanque Siriaco,
 Llenando de armonia tal su tumulo,
 Cual llena el aromatico,
 De Ignacio el coro Angelical i platico.
 [f. 119r] El acto celeberrimo
 De la comedia de su vida insolita
 Teniendo fin prosperrimo
 Comiença, el coro a dar musica solita,
 Con que va concluyendose,
 I del Teatro umano dispidiendose.
 En su postrer articulo,
 Articulavan tan suave cantico,
 Del sentido ofendiculo,
 Que el alma le robo al Olinpo Atlantico.
 Mas que pecho sintiendole,
 No rindiera la suya alli siguiendole?
 Cual maquina maritima,
 Que toma puerto de riqueza tumida
 En la orilla finitima
 Dexando a son de tronpas la mar umida.
 Otras suenan tomandole
 Ignacio en el Enpirio festejandole.

Con voz dize profetica
 El coro Angelica, suelo frutifero
 La escuridad eretica
 [f. 118v] Con este ardor inifero
 Echaras disipando lo pestifero.
 Luzero fidelisimo
 Le canta el coro, i resplandor simbolico
 Con canto fidelisimo,
 Sin sonido iperbolico,
 Engrandeze a un varon sienpre Catolico.

Por la esfera cerulea
 Haziendo fiestas van comunicandolas
 A la Ciudad Romulea;
 Bien que nada la alegran escuchandolas,
 Que en fiesta tan letifica
 Prenda quitan a Roma bien manifica.
 No en ocasion disimile
 El Cielo oi tañe a Roma melancolica,
 Porque es en algo simile
 A la del cruel Neron, fiera diabolica;
 Que si tañe abrasandola,
 El Cielo tañe, joya tal sacandola.
 Si cantos casi inmobiles
 [f. 119v] Trae a Tebas con canto Ansion, sollicito
 En tocar nervios mobiles:
 Con canto tambien es Ignacio alicito
 A sion, que aumentandola
 Van de estas piedras vivas fabricandola.
 Cuyo canto dulcisono
 Va entonado por Sol, el cual poniendose
 Al suelo tan lutisono
 (De perder tan luzido Sol doliendose)
 Nace en el orbe altisimo
 Resplandos derramando lucidisimo.
 Como cantan en alamo
 Silgueros, filomelas, oropendolas.
 Dexando el Sol su talamo,
 Dando acentos al aire, al aire pendolas:
 Asi el coro proposito
 Canta a tal Sol, que nace al Orbe oposito.
 El lagrimoso vomito
 Con el jubilo alegre, i voces celicas
 Es en un punto domito:
 Suenan clarines, tras bocinas belicas
 I la guerra preterita
 Se canta, Ignacio, al fin tu gloria merita.

LIRAS VI.

De Doña Maria de Lljupia.

Con graue canto armonico
Celebra Melpones, onorificas
[f. 120r] Del Parnaso Eliconico
En las cuestas anplificas
El canto de otras Musas mas cientificas.
 Mas no en silencio tacito
La voz suspensa, el alma como estatica
Con igual beneplacito
De su escuela ponpatica,
Atiendan a su musica Gormatica.
 Miren de Ignacio acerrimo
El alma ilustre, como un globo inifero,
Al trono celeberrimo subir del cielo aurifero
Del amor inpelida fagitifero.
 A un tiempo en modo insolito
Veran del mas supremo Polo Celico,
Mas puro que crisolito,
Baxar un coro Angelico
Con insinias de paz, no estruendo belico.
 I que de Ignacio Atlantico
El umilde sepulcro, ya mirifico,
Con su presencia, i cantico,
Buelven Cielo manifico.
Porque à de encerrar cuerpo tan deifico.
 El alma dichosisima
Sube a coger los incorrutos datiles
De la palma hermosisima,
No de montos unbratiles,
Donde anidan espíritus volatiles.

[f. 121r] LIRAS VII.

De Artemisia Sanso.

OID pechos mananimos,
No ya tronpetas, no clarines belicos,
Que acrecientan los animos:
Mas concentos Angelicos,
Que dan a Ignacio paraninfos Celicos.
O divino espetaculo,
A do de todo el orbe un Sol lucifero
Tiene su tabernaculo,
Cuyo cuerpo odorifero,
Siendo ya muerto al mundo es salutifero.
 O turba beatifica,
Eterniza sus triunfos celeberrimos,
Con gloria tan manifica;

I las Aves aligeras
Del sacro i encunbrado Olinpo Enpirico
Cuyas bandas crucigeras
[f. 120v] Perdio Luzbel satirico,
Le hazen salva con dulce canto lirico.
 Cayo la noche palida
De la muerte, i la aurora desterrandola,
Sale con su luz calida,
I por Ignacio, onrandola,
Festejan sus principios saludandola,
 Llega a la Enpirea America
Triunfando alegre por sus altos meritos
De la furia colerica
De espíritus inmeritos,
Quedando superior a sus demeritos.
 Entra con pasos agiles
En la Gerusalen, de paz deposito,
Y a las enbidias fragiles
El grave coro oposito
Le canta sus vitorias de proposito.
 En el sepulcro félice
Al cuerpo que fue al alma tabernaculo,
En el estado infelice,
Que haze a la vida obstaculo,
Sus esperanças canta el sacro oraculo.
 Con musica dulcisona
De su resurecion los puntos misticos,
Que en su tiniebla orrisona
No penetran sofisticos,
Asigura el acento de sus disticos.

Pues con dones uberrimos
Son colmados sus hechos integerrimos.
 Den la mano esos canticos
I remonten el cuerpo con faz palida
A los orbes Atlanticos,
Que en ser de canto es valida,
Aun en cantos mover de fuerça invalida.
 Pues con estruendo tacito
Hizo a Tebas Anfion ciudad manifica
Trayendo al beneplacito
De su lira cientifica
La piedra, el canto, i peña mas terrifica.
 Pues con este proposito

Entonad, que sera hazerlo facilimo
 [f. 121v] En tan santo deposito,
 Donde por ser umilimo
 Yace un gran Cesar a David similimo.
 Qu'el fue piedra simbolica,
 Que a Lutero, Gigante tan orifico
 A la nave Apostolica,
 Siendo el triunfo onorifico,
 Echo por tierra con poder mirifico.
 Los pechos mas inmobiles
 Este cual piedra iman bolvio morigeros
 Para el Enpireo mobiles,
 I aun con amor Aligeros,
 Que en su fuego abrasados son flamigeros.
 Si Iuan la Ciudad Celica
 Vio labrada de piedras hermosisimas,
 De virtud Evangelica,

I esmeraldas finisimas,
 Que piedras son los Santos preciosimas.
 Cantad pues, cantad Angeles,
 Ensalçad piedra tal con voz vivifica
 Alla entre los Arcangeles
 De la Ciudad clarifica,
 Do tu cara se ve mi Dios pacifica.
 Dadle el asiento merito
 Sacros Ansiones con liras armonicas
 Del trabajo preterito,
 I las fuerças Plutonicas
 Le cedan con las fuerças Babilonicas.

Appendix 2. Poem praising St Ignacio using a plainchant handbook as a metaphor, written by Francisco de Almenara, which formed part of the poetry joust celebrated in Girona on 3 and 4 December 1622 on the occasion of the canonisation of St Ignacio of Loyola and St Francisco Javier (Ruiz, 1623: 90v-92r)

CANCION IV.

En metafora de un libro de canto.

De Francisco de Almenara.

VN Orfeo mas blando, que el que admira
De las ondas el curso fugitivo;
Vn musico mejor, que el Metinneo,
Que rigio del Delfin el barco vivo,
Con el timon de su acordada lira;
Vn cantor mas famoso, que Tinbreo,
I que el otro Dirceo:
Que saca con su canto, i puntos graves,
Dicipulos tan suaves,
Que sus diciplinas cuerdas tocan,
Con que a cantar provocan
Pecados, al mas duro, que no un canto,
Dandose a si una mano, i no de canto.

Vn singular Maestro de capilla,
Que es verguença del que es reverenciado.
En la cumbre de Cirra sacrosanta.
Tan diestro, que a un cantor desesperado,
Que haze tan delicada gargantilla,
Que suspenso se queda, i nada canta,
Con providencia tanta
Le da la mano, i tan subido punto,
Que mas es contra punto.
Pues del punto del centro deste suelo,
Le levanta hasta el Cielo,
Pues que del ut profundo del Infierno,
[91r] Le saca al Sol del Cielo senpiterno.

Este cantor famoso, este maestro
De la capilla, do continuamente,
Se dizen letras de tan alto punto,
Que absorta tienen la terrestre gente:
Este Iopas insine, cantor diestro,
Orfeo, que al Infierno todo junto
Poner puede en un punto,
Vn librito ordenò de canto llano,
Do el punto soberano
De su salud aprenda el mas puntoso,
Donde el tenor dichoso
Del bien vivir, i el soberano tono
De la virtud aprenda sin entono.

I aunque es verdad, que un cantor divino
Que en negocio de canto tanta mano
Con los coros sidereos a tenido,
Que de puntos un libro mas que umano
Dexò, mostrando el contrapunto dino
De ir por puntos a Dios, no a permitido,
Que en su libro querido
Vviese mano, que los tonos muestra,
Mas de la eterna diestra
Solo un dedo veloz quiso, que uviese,
Que los puntos dixese:
Que al fin del Semi-dios dize la pluma,
Este es el dedo de la mano suma.

Es el maestro Ignacio sin sigundo,
Son sus reglas el libro de este canto,
Es la mano del mismo Dios el dedo:
Mas es su canto tan divino encanto,
[91v] Que encantado, i absorto tiene al mundo,
Al Griego, al Indio, al Africano, i Medo,
I alfin es un remedo,
Del canto, que enseñò el Mestro Cristo,
De punto nunca visto:
Aunque es verdad, que no quiere puntosos,
Sus sequaces famosos;
Porque esos son puntillos no entendidos,
I no puntos, que roban los sentidos.

Sabrà el que deste libro el canto oyere
El, VT, de la umildad, i la baxeza:
El, RE, de siempre estar cual reo indino,
Ante el conspetto de la suma alteza,
I al que deste tenor siempre estuviere,
Del, RE, de remision le hallara dino
Aqueste Iuez divino:
Tendra el, FA, de sus faltas conocidos;
Las de otros en olvido,
Al, SOL, por estos puntos de justicia
Ira, i tendra propicia
De Maria, la Luna inmaculada;

Que es, SOL LA, sin pecado preservada.

Solo de aqueste canto el MI an mudado
 (Por ser falsete vil, de falsedades)
 Poniendole entredicho senpiterno,
 Pues estos solo cantan las verdades,
 I las cantan con punto tan trocado,
 Que aunque de amor el ñudo mas eterno,
 Que con poder Averno
 A ronperle, ni el mesmo Rodamante
 Pudiera ser bastante,
 [92r] I el cantar las verdades le quebranta,
 Este coro las canta,
 Con tanta gracia, que sin ser ladrones,
 Roban los mas feroces coraçones.

O canto suave! o puntos celestiales!
 O reglas de cantar tan dulces cantos,
 Que con delicadisima armonia
 Deleitan los oidos sacrosantos,
 De los coros enpireos inmortales.
 O coro celestial! o Conpañia!
 Que con tu melodia
 Las braves Tigres dexas elevadas,
 A tu lira amansadas,
 Que aunque tu Ignacio no te dexa coro,
 Con tan grande decoro
 Guardas puntos, conpases, regla, i modo.
 Que eres un coro conpasado en todo.

Mas tuerce la clavija,
 Clio, a tu plectro, i lira destenplada,
 Con mano delicada
 No mas las cuerdas de oro solícites,
 Antes tu son limites,
 Pues mal podras con tan ratero punto
 De punto alçar tan soberano asunto.

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Villancicos que se han de cantar en la capilla de su magestad la noche de Navidad de este año MDCLXXXI, Madrid, s.n., [1691].

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Cita recomanada

Mazuela-Anguita, Ascensión. 2016. "Music in the poetry competition held in Girona, 1622". *Quadrivium, -Revista Digital de Musicología* 7 [enllaç] [Consulta: dd/mm/aa]