

Puebla Chapelmasters and Organists: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries



PART II

Gaspar Fernandes

In 1590 Évora Cathedral hired twelve musicians, two as shawmers, two as sackbuts, one as bassist and shawmer, the rest as singers. The most famous-to-be of the lot, Filipe de Magalhães, earned 3\$000, the same amount paid every other musician on the cathedral payroll except two junior singers at 2\$000 each and the senior bassist and shawmer at 4\$000. Gaspar Fernandes earned two salaries, 3\$000 as singer, and another 2\$000 for undesignated services.²⁸ Cosme Delgado, titular chapelmaster of Évora Cathedral since April 3, 1563, died September 17, 1596. Manuel Mendes, head of the Évora Cathedral choir school (*mestre da claustra*) from about 1582 to his death at Évora September 24, 1605, not only taught Magalhães, Duarte Lobo, but also probably all of Magalhães's fellow singers in the 1590 census.²⁹

On July 16, 1599, Guatemala Cathedral hired Gaspar Fernandes, by now a priest, as both organist and organ tuner for 200 gold pesos.³⁰ As preliminary condition he was required to finish tuning the organs. By 1602 Guatemala Cathedral was hiring him as both *maestro de capilla* and organist. In that year he copied into a now lost Guatemala Cathedral choirbook six Masses, each *a 4*: Pedro Bermúdez's *Missa de Bomba* (*IAMR*, v/2, 26),³¹ Masses by Rodrigo de Ceballos³² in Tones III and VIII, an unidentified Mass by Pierre Colin in Tone VI, Cristóbal de Morales's *Missa sobre las voces* [hexachord], and Palestrina's *Missa Sine nomine* from the *Liber*

²⁸António Francisco Barata, *Évora Antiga Notícias colhidas com afanosa diligencia* (Évora: José Ferreira Baptista, 1909), p. 47. Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro, *A Música em Portugal nos séculos XVIII e XIX (Bosquejo de história crítica)* (Lisbon: Inácio Pereira Rosa, 1938), p. 38, equated *sacabuxas* with trombones and *baixão* with bassoon.

²⁹José Augusto Alegria, *História da escola de música da Sé de Évora* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1973), p. 38: quoting Tomé Alvares's letter to Baltazar Moretus of March 5, 1610 ("Manuel Mendes mestre de Duarte Lobo, e de toda a boa musica deste Reino").

³⁰Guatemala Cathedral, *Libro de el III^o Cabildo de Santiago de Guatemala delos aquerdos . . . que se acen desde el Año de 1599: en adelante*, fol. 16^v: "por quanto el padre gaspar fernandes presbitero es diestro en la musica y terna cuydado de tañer el organo en esta cathedral atento a lo qual le nonbraban y nonbraron por organista con el salario de duçientos pesos de oro de minas con condicion que acabe de afinar los organos e los tenga todos afinados."

³¹Bermúdez's parody source, *La Bomba*, was published in *Las Ensaladas de Flecha* (Prague: Jorge Negrino, 1581). For facsimile of manuscript tenor part (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms 588), see *MGG*, iv (1955), 293.

³²Bermúdez's Granada connections probably account for the *Tertii toni* and *Simile est regnum coelorum* masses by Rodrigo de Ceballos, chapelmaster of the Capilla Real at Granada from 1561 to his death in 1581. The second Ceballos mass parodies the same Cristóbal de Morales motet parodied by Francisco Guerrero in 1582.

Secvndvs of 1567 dedicated to Philip II. In the 1760's these same six Masses were recopied in what is now Choirbook I of Guatemala Cathedral.³³

Fernandes's next and final appointment took him to Puebla Cathedral. As was shown in Part I, the tradition of hiring first-class maestros began at Puebla Cathedral at least as early as 1566, on January 8 of which year Juan de Vitoria was hired.³⁴ Like all who followed him, Vitoria was rigorously held to his duty of teaching the choirboys. Bartolomé de Covarrubias was maestro 1571-1579; Francisco Cairos was maestro until January 14, 1603. On February 4, the chapter decided to invite Pedro Bermúdez, and on February 28, 1603, called him to Puebla without subjecting him to competition.³⁵

However, only after a preannounced formal competition was Juan de Ocampo on May 18, 1604, elected by Puebla Cathedral authorities to the organ prebend paying an annual 350 pesos.³⁶ Ocampo soon tired of the daily round of organ playing. One of Gaspar Fernandes's chief qualifications for the post of maestro de capilla at Puebla Cathedral was his added ability to serve as organist. On September 15, 1606, he was received as Puebla maestro, with an annual salary of 500 gold pesos.³⁷ Conformable with a testimonial brought with him, he left Guatemala July 12. His salary was therefore made retroactive to that departure date. One week later the cathedral chapter added another 100 pesos to his annual salary for taking care of the choirboys and training them.³⁸ On September 26 the chapter went still further and named him organist—at the same time raising his stated yearly income to a total of 650 pesos.³⁹

This amount did not include tips for funerals and other special occasions. Nor did it include extra pay for specially composed festive music. On October 10, 1606, the choirbook copyist Luis Lagarto⁴⁰ received 50 pesos for composing chanzonetas

³³Manuel José de Quirós, the Guatemala chapelmaster who recopied them in the 1760's, added another six Masses, bringing the total in Choirbook I to twelve. For details see *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington, D.C.: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1970), pp. 67-71. The legends on folio 1 of Choirbook I begin: "Libro de Missas, copiado de el que escribio el P. Gaspar Fernandes el año de 1602, y aora se le añadieron otras seis Missas q̄ pudo conseguir de la Europa, la solicitud diligencia de Manuel Joseph de Quiros, Mfo de Capilla." He designates which six Masses were copied by Fernandes, which six were added by him.

³⁴Puebla Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, III (1552-1568), fol. 183^v; see footnote 13 in *IAMR*, v/2 (Spring-Summer 1983), p. 22.

³⁵See note 26 in *IAMR*, v/2, p. 27.

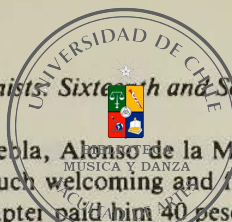
³⁶See note 15 in *IAMR*, v/2, p. 22.

³⁷Puebla Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, VI (1606-1612), fol. 23: "Reciuio Al padre gaspar frs presbitero que a benido de guatemala por maese de capilla que a sido llamado para este efecto y q̄ sal^o q̄ se le señalare le corra desde doze de julio deste año q̄ conforme vn tes^{nio} que presentó salio de guatemala p^a este ministerio."

³⁸*Ibid.*, fol. 24 (September 22, 1606): "en este dia por el dho Dean y cauildo se le señal^{on} de sal^o al padre gaspar fernandes presbitero maeso de capilla desta cathedral quinientos p^{os} de oro comun y que goze deste sal^o desde doze de julio deste año de seys ci^{os} y seis que salio de guatemala para este ministerio como parecio por vn testimonio que presento autentico—y q̄ esto se le pague cada año de la fabrica. Asymismo se le señal^{on} cien p^{os} de sal^o al dho maese de capilla gaspar frs por el cuydado de yndustriar a los moços de choro desta ygl^a y que goze deste sal^o desde oy vt^e y dos de set^e deste dho año en fabrica."

³⁹*Ibid.*, fol. 24^v: "en el dho dia por el dho dean y cauildo sede vacante dela dha cathedral se nombro al padre gaspar fernandez maeso de capilla por sustituto del Racion^o Joan de ocampo para que taña los organos della en los dias en esta señalado conforme al conçierto y asiento q̄ el dho Racio^o hizo al tpo q̄ se Reciuio en la dha Raçion y que goze de sal^o en cada a^o de treci^{os} p^{os} de oro comun pagados de la preuenda del dho Racion^o Ju^o de ocampo conforme al dho asiento."

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 26. Lagarto, brought from the Peninsula especially for the purpose, copied and illuminated 103 Puebla Cathedral plainchant choirbooks before departing for Mexico City February 4, 1611



to welcome the new bishop of Puebla, Alonso de la Mota y Escobar. Henceforth, Fernandes himself composed all such welcoming and festive music. On November 21, 1606, the Puebla cathedral chapter paid him 40 pesos for paper, ink, and copying costs of his chanzonetas composed since arrival, with the stipulation that they be placed in the cathedral archive.⁴¹ His most important extant welcome music dates from 1612, in October of which year he wrote a Latin *motete a 5 para la entrada del birrey* (motet *a 5*, for the entrance of the Viceroy [Diego Fernández de Córdoba, 13th Viceroy of Mexico, ruled from October 28, 1612, to March 14, 1621]) and two chanzonetas, one *a 4*, the other *a 5*, honoring the same viceroy during his stopover in Puebla en route to Mexico City.⁴²

The chief external events of Fernandes's 23-year sojourn at Puebla can be grouped under these four headings: (1) recruitment of new singing and instrumental personnel; (2) problems related to music instruction, and the constantly changing roster of choirboys; (3) conflicting paid music engagements outside the cathedral, leading in at least one instance in 1618 to his being fired (although soon thereafter reinstated); (4) conflicting duties at the organ bench and at the conductor's stand, leading in 1622 to the hiring of a coadjutor maestro de capilla, Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla.

In chronological order, the new singers hired during Fernandes's régime included: Luis de León, as tenor at 200 pesos, December 1606 (A.C., vi, fol. 35); Jusepe Sánchez January 9, 1607 (fol. 40); Antonio de Alfaro at 150 pesos, with the duty of carrying the heavy choirbooks in and out of the choir enclosure⁴³ and any other task ordered by the succentor, November 9, 1607 (fol. 65); Juan Bautista March 11, 1608 (fol. 82^v); Padre Pablo Rodrigues Tavera, *presbítero* at 200 pesos, October 31, 1608 (fol. 127); Diego Suárez as *triple cantor* January 30, 1609 (fol. 136^v); Mateo Marín at 60 pesos June 16, 1609 (fol. 148); Francisco de Olivera, who was raised to 300 pesos August 23, 1610⁴⁴ (fol. 188^v); Bartolomé de Salas at 200 pesos October 11, 1613 (A.C., vii [1613-1622], fol. 18^v), five years later having become a priest raised to 400 pesos (300 for singing, 100 from *capellanía de coro*) on March 6, 1618 (fol. 154^v), named substitute maestro de capilla, designated to make an inventory of the cathedral choirbooks, and his salary raised May 5, 1620 in order to restrain him from his announced intent of returning to Spain (fol. 229^v);⁴⁵ Bartolomé de la

(*ibid.*, fol. 211). See Diego Antonio Bermúdez de Castro, *Theatro Angelopolitano ó Historia de la Ciudad de Puebla* (1746), ed. by Nicolás León (Mexico City: n.p., 1908), p. 120, for Lagarto's antecedents.

⁴¹A.C. vi, fol. 31^v: "en este dia se le den al m^o de capilla gaspar frs quarenta p^{os} por puntar las chançonetas q̄ se cantaron en esta cathedral poniendo a su costa el papel y tinta y que las dexen y queden en la yglesia para q̄ se guarden."

⁴²The music of both motet and chanzoneta *a 4*, transcribed from the Gaspar Fernandes choirbook at Oaxaca, was published in *Latin American Colonial Music Anthology* (Washington: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1975), pp. 125-126, 132-133.

⁴³On September 30, 1608 (A.C., vi, fol. 122), this porter duty was assigned to Melchor Álvarez, whom the chapter had appointed a cathedral singer at 150 pesos de oro común July 4, 1606 (*ibid.*, fol. 13^v).

⁴⁴Olivera began earlier. The chapter gave a 100-peso advance on January 18, 1608 (*ibid.*, 76). He was then listed as *cantor y capellán*. On August 16, 1616, he was hired as a *cantor contrabajo* at Mexico City Cathedral, but returned to Puebla to become succentor January 11, 1619.

⁴⁵Still restless, Salas announced his imminent departure for the viceroyalty of Peru in mid-1626, whereupon the chapter on August 11, 1626, assigned his task of correcting the choirbooks, keeping them mended and in order, for a yearly 100 pesos, to Padre Melchor Álvarez, former master of the choirboys.

Orden at 150 pesos April 22, 1614 (fol. 35); Juan Bautista Almeyda at 100 pesos September 23, 1614 (fol. 55), raised to 150 September 13, 1616 (fol. 105^v); Blas Rodríguez de Celada as tenor (in place of Luis de León) at 200 pesos October 11, 1614 (fol. 64); Joseph de Araujo at 150 pesos (fol. 65), raised to 200 May 6, 1616 (fol. 94), and to 250 on the bishop's recommendation May 12, 1617 (fol. 128); Gaspar de Negreros raised to 250 September 15, 1615 (fol. 80^v), and to 300 in conformity with the bishop's request August 22, 1617 (fol. 137); Bartolomé Yniguez de Mandojana, at 200 pesos plus room and board in the Seminario de San Juan Evangelista, November 20, 1615 (fol. 85^v); Gerónimo de Vega at 50 pesos, on the recommendation of his employer the cathedral *chantre*, February 5, 1616 (fol. 91^v); Francisco Ruiz Osorio at 250 pesos November 11, 1616 (fol. 112); Manuel Carvalho raised to 250 pesos January 13, 1617 (fols. 117^v-118); Juan Bautista Campoverde, *presbítero* at 100 pesos June 13, 1617 (fol. 131^v); Bartolomé Sambrano raised from 50 to 100 pesos June 13, 1617 (fol. 131^v); Gerónimo Ramírez de Arellano as *triple* at 200 pesos November 10, 1617 (fol. 143), raised to 250 May 23, 1625; Julián Bautista, perhaps an ex-choirboy, at 50 pesos October 6, 1620 (fol. 248^v); Antonio Pérez at 80 pesos April 23, 1621 (fol. 264); Francisco Ruiz Ossorio as *músico tenor* at 350 pesos, with the bishop's approval, in late 1623 (A.C., viii [1623-1627], fol. 40^v); Luis Barreto, *presbítero* at 450 pesos October 2, 1625 (see below, page 64).⁴⁶

The instrumentalists hired during 1606-1629 were often expected not only to play their instruments but also to sing when needed. The nearness of Mexico City accounts for the frequent trading back and forth of instrumentalists. On June 27, 1606, Andrés Depro was hired as *ministril* at 150 *pesos de oro común* on condition that he take lessons twice weekly with Félix de Morales,⁴⁷ the veteran cathedral bassoonist. On January 9, 1607, the cathedral chapter issued a four-year contract to Andrés Depro at 350 pesos (50 of which was to be for playing the cornett or singing, the rest for other instruments), Antonio Bautista at 300 pesos, and Alonso Bautista at 250 pesos.⁴⁸ As soon as the contracted quadrennium expired, both Antonio and Alonso Bautista transferred to Mexico City Cathedral, either shortly after or before failing to have their Puebla contracts renewed.⁴⁹ Having dismissed these instrumentalists, Puebla Cathedral had to petition a Cholula monastery, famous for its music, to lend a quartet of Indians attached to the monastery to play 1611 Corpus

⁴⁶Barreto, born in 1575, was from 1609 to at least 1621 the leading male soprano at Mexico City Cathedral. A slave until the age of 40, he purchased his freedom for 1500 pesos in 1615. Before 1632 he returned to Mexico City where he was again a salaried singer in the cathedral at the age of 62. See "Mexico City Cathedral Music: 1600-1750," *The Americas*, xxi/2 (October, 1964), 113-114.

⁴⁷When given a 500-peso salary advance January 11, 1608, he was listed as both *bajón y cantor*.

⁴⁸A.C., vi (1606-1612), fol. 40: "que se otorgue la escritura de concierto con los menestres andres depro, antonio bautista y al^o bautista por quatro años con andres depro por 350 p^{os} los 50 p^{os} por la corneta y cantar y los 300 p^{os} de menestril y al^o bautista por 300 p^{os} y al^o bautista por 250 p^{os}—q corra desde principio deste año." On November 9, 1607 (*ibid.*, fol. 65) Hernando Sevillano was hired as *menestril* for 150 pesos. By April 26, 1622, his salary as both singer and instrumentalist had risen to 400 pesos.

⁴⁹The act of March 17, 1611, reads: "se mando que los ministriles desta catedral se tengan por despedidos en quanto al oficio de menestres eçeto el baxon con quien se haran nuevo concierto y que se les notifique porque no pretendan ygnorancia." On August 30, 1611, Antonio Baptista presented the Mexico City Cathedral chapter with Archbishop García Guerra's recommendation to the post of *ministril sacabuche*. On February 14, 1612, the Mexico City chapter voted to dismiss Alonso Baptista *ministril* for having used a sick leave to visit Puebla.

Christi and its octave in Puebla.⁵⁰ Of necessity, Puebla welcomed back in 1612 some of the very *ministriles* let go in 1611. But trouble with them still brewed, for the same reasons as of yore, namely absenteeism every time a lucrative event outside the cathedral lured them away. On September 18, 1612, the chapter suspended four instrumentalists and a singer who had accompanied the *regidor* Melchor de Cuéllar to such an outside paid event.⁵¹ But, as previously, the cathedral found no better substitutes and had to take back even the leader of the delinquents.⁵² On September 13, 1616, Puebla Cathedral hired Gerónimo del Río,⁵³ a *ministril sacabuche* who had been engaged for 250 at Mexico City when he turned up there freshly arrived from Castile November 26, 1613. On October 9, 1618, Antonio de Vega was received as *menestril y corneta del choro* at an annual 400 pesos. On February 15, 1622, Padre Manuel Carvalho (probably the same Carvalho who was a singer in 1617) was received as *cantor y vajón* at 250 pesos in place of Francisco Paelha, who had transferred to Mexico City. On August 22, 1623, shortly after the arrival of the new co-adjutor maestro de capilla Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Benito de Padilla was hired as *cantor y ministril* at 200 pesos.⁵⁴ Gerónimo del Río having died shortly before August 27, 1625, Julián Baptista (who had been a singer five years) was named as his successor, but on an interim basis only.⁵⁵ Although he did manage to hang on, and to be raised from 200 to 300 pesos on June 20, 1625, the chapter wanted a better replacement. The better replacement was found when on November 19, 1624, Fernando Baptista was received as *menestril* and *cantor* at 400 pesos, with the obligation of assisting at the music stands of both the instrumentalists and choir singers.⁵⁶

The second large rubric under which Fernandes's epoch at Puebla can be discussed is his discharge in person or by deputy of the chapelmaster's duty to train a constantly renewed group of choirboys. José de Espinosa, a *bachiller cantor* who went to Guadalajara on cathedral business in October, 1606, was hired on September 18, 1608, to relieve Fernandes of the chores of teaching the choirboys plainchant and of giving them their daily lesson in polyphonic music.⁵⁷ On June 8, 1610,

⁵⁰A.C., vi, fol. 226 (May 31, 1611): "mando que baya persona a san andres de cholula y pida en nombre desta cathedral al padre guardian que esta alli la musica de chirimias que tienen aquel conbento para la fiesta del sacramento desta yglesia y ochabario y seles paguen a los yndios musicos su trabajo."

⁵¹*Ibid.*, fol. 258^v (September 18, 1612): "se mandaron despedir a franc^o pacheco andres depro Juan bautista bela y antonio bautista menestriles y a al^o gomez cantor desta santa yglesia y del seruiçio della porque auendosiel notificado de parte deste cauildo para que no fueran con el Reg^{on} melchor de cuellar ni hiciieran ausencia del seruiçio desta santa yglesia se ausentaron sin atender al que seles mando—."

⁵²A.C., vii, fol. 34 (April 11, 1614): "que a franc^o pacheco menestril desta santa ygl^a se le libran adelantado a cuenta de su sal^o deste año de seisçientos y catorze treçientos p^{os} de oro comun dando fianças que los seruira y pagara y si muriere o faltare q̄ el fiador los pagara."

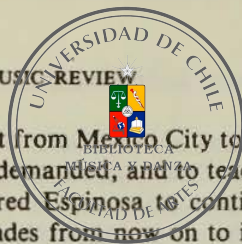
⁵³*Ibid.*, fol. 105^v. Both Bishop Mota y Escobar and Prebendary Ocampo had intervened in getting 400 pesos for him, 100 for singing, 300 "por menestril con oblig^{on} de acudir a todo lo que fuere menester a la capilla y a los oficios que los demas menestriles."

⁵⁴A.C., viii (1623-1627), fol. 28.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, fols. 77^v-78. For being interim *cantor y vajón*, Julián Baptista was offered a yearly 200 pesos.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, fol. 96: "con obligacion de acudir y asistir a ambos facistoles con salario de quatroçientos" (300 for *menestril*, 100 for *cantor*).

⁵⁷A.C., vi, fol. 120: "en este dia por el dho dean y cauildo se mando que los moços de choro y su ministerio tenga a su cargo el bachiller juseph de espinosa cantor con cargo de darles liçion de canto de



Agustín Naval was brought from Mexico City to substitute for the succentor, or for Fernandes when occasion demanded, and to teach the choirboys singing.⁵⁸ On July 8, 1616, the chapter ordered Espinosa to continue teaching the choirboys plainchant, but required Fernandes from now on to instruct them in mensurable music, "as is his obligation."⁵⁹ This arrangement continued until January 31, 1617, when the chapter decided to replace Espinosa and at the same time again relieve Fernandes of any choirboy daily lessons in polyphony.⁶⁰ On April 11, 1617, Melchor Álvarez, who had first been hired as a singer for 150 pesos on July 4, 1606, and who had by now become a priest, began teaching the choirboys at Espinosa's former salary of 100 *pesos de oro común*.⁶¹ Espinosa next obtained a prebend in Valladolid [Morelia] Cathedral, but returned to Puebla before June 23, 1623, on which date the Puebla chapter allowed him an honored seat in *coro*.⁶²

One of Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla's stipulated duties when he was engaged October 11, 1622, was to give the choirboys and other singers an hour's lesson in polyphony every working day between 10 and 11. However, no added salary was allotted for this duty. For teaching not only the cathedral choirboys but also any other suitable boys mensurable music, he was on July 16, 1624, at the bishop's suggestion, offered an additional yearly 100 pesos.⁶³ Meanwhile, Padre Melchor Álvarez, who continued teaching plainchant as maestro of the *moços de coro*, was on January 7, 1625, admonished for allowing them to enter *coro* without wearing their surplices.⁶⁴

Because of the expense and trouble that maintaining a first-class music establishment entailed, Puebla Cathedral authorities were understandably loath to lend their musical personnel gratis to outsiders. Even more important was it to the Puebla Cathedral chapter that their own salaried musical personnel not hire themselves out individually without express permission. The temptation to earn extra cash at nearby churches and convents during Holy Week was so great that on April 7, 1609, the chapter instructed Fernandes to inform his musicians that they would be fined 50

organo y llano con sal^o de cien p^os de oro comun por año desde este día y esto se mando en conformidad delo que su s^a tiene comunicado en este caui. °."

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, fol. 181^v. His salary was predated to May 20, 1610, date of his departure from Mexico City.

⁵⁹*A.C.*, vii, fol. 99: "se mando que el bachiller Juseph de espinosa maestro de los moços de choro desta yglesia enseñe y de lision de canto llano y bersos a los moços de choro que estan a su cargo. y que el m^o de capilla gaspar fernandez de lision a los mosos de choro de canto de organo como tiene oblig^{on}."

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 119^v: "se mando que desde oy no les corra el salario al R^o espinosa y al maestro de capilla gaspar fernandez, por la enseñanza y doctrina de los moços de choro y que el sochantre trate con Su S.^a lo que en esto se deue hazer."

⁶¹*Ibid.*, fol. 124: "a de enseñar a cantar bersos canto y lo demas."

⁶²*A.C.*, viii, fol. 23^v: "que al bachiller Joseph de spinosa Racionero de la cathedral de mechoacan y cantor muy antiguo desta sancta yglesia se le de asiento en el coro en las sillas altas donde se assientan los capitulares Por serlo de vna cathedral y yglesia tan Principal."

⁶³*Ibid.*, fol. 72: "con pazez y boto de su S^a Ill^{ma} de señor obispo se acordo y mando que al maestro Juan gutierrez de Padilla se le den Por vn año solamente cien ps de salario por quenta de fabrica Por el trauajo y ocupacion que a de tener en enseñar canto de organo a los moços de choro y otros muchachos y personas que a ofrecido /fol. 72^v/ enseñar que tienen voz de tiples p^a la Capilla desta santa Yglesia de que ai gran necesidad dellos con declaracion q̄ visto el fruto y prouecho que se saca delos dhos muchachos y que ai discipulos que yr enseñando Porque cada dia van mudando las Vozes delos dhos tiples y es necessario enseñar de nueuo otros se continuara el dho salario adelante el tiempo que fuere la voluntad de su S^a Ill^{ma} delos señores obispo dean y cauido y que los cien ps corran desde Primero deste mes de jullio."

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, fol. 110.

pesos de tepuzque for each violation.⁶⁵ Music for burials in and outside the cathedral posed an additional problem. On October 30, 1609, the chapter set 40 *pesos de tepuzque* as the minimum to be charged for funeral music in the cathedral.⁶⁶ Either because Fernandes and his musicians were denied individual profit under this scheme, or for some other reason, he needed a salary advance of 300 pesos on January 5, 1610.⁶⁷ On July 6, 1612, the chapter in effect proscribed Fernandes and his musicians from assisting at any burials whatsoever outside the cathedral.⁶⁸ Needing more money, Fernandes in 1615 returned to repairing the cathedral organs,⁶⁹ a task that in 1610 had been assigned to someone else. On January 9, 1615, the chapter also voted to place him on a yearly salary of 60 pesos for henceforth keeping both the large and small cathedral organs in playable condition.⁷⁰

Miffed because they were not now being allowed to join the chapelmaster in earning tips at outside ceremonies, the cathedral singers had become so slothful that on the same day (January 9, 1615) the chapter passed a rule requiring all the singers and instrumentalists henceforth to take lessons with Fernandes singly or as a group, whenever and wherever he specified.⁷¹ As penalty for refusing to take the lessons, fines were to be levied. Again, on April 27, 1618, the chapter had to warn the singers as a group and as individuals not to sally forth singing polyphony at any burial without express permission.⁷²

Because Fernandes, Bartolomé Sambrano, and José Sánchez led a disobedient group that without such permission provided music at the burial of Andrés Hernández (a Puebla citizen), the chapter on July 14, 1618, dismissed all three from cathedral employ. To make Fernandes's dismissal final, the chapter simultaneously ordered the cathedral treasurer and the succentor, Prebendary Francisco Alfonso, to collect all the bound and loose sheet music in his custody. Pending his delivery of the entire cathedral music archive, payment on Fernandes's already due salary was

⁶⁵A.C., vi, fol. 141: "en este dia por el dho Dean y caui^o se mando que se aga auto notifique al maeso de capilla y todos los Cantores desta catedral que ninguno baya a ningun conbento parrochia ni yglesia desta ciudad a ning^a procesion ni otro acto sin espresa licencia deste caui^o so pena de cinqt^a p^os de tepuzque cada uez que alguno hiziere lo contrario."

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, fol. 163. Charges for funeral music outside the cathedral were also listed.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, fol. 168: "en el dicho cabildo se mando que se libren a gaspar fernandes maeso de capilla trecientos p^os en fabrica adelantados a buena cuenta de sus salarios delos seis meses primeros deste año de seis cientos y diez."

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, fol. 254: "que la capilla no baya a ningun entierro."

⁶⁹A.C., vii, fol. 68 (January 9, 1615): "en el dho dia y cauildo se mando que gaspar fernandes m^o de capilla desta cathedral aderesse los organos della grande y chico y que por este trauajo /fol. 68^v/ y el que a tenido hasta agora en aderesarlos sele libren y paguen por qt^a de fabrica ciento y cinqt^a p^os de oro comun y que sele de librança contra el mayordomo."

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 71: "en el dho caui^o al m^o de Capilla gaspar fernandez se señalaron de salario sesenta p^os cada año desde principio deste año /fol. 71^v/ Por el cuydado que a de Tener de aderesar los organos grande y chico dela Cathedral Todas las beses que fuere necesario."

⁷¹*Ibid.*, fol. 71^v: "que el m^o de capilla desta cathedral tenga cuydado de Repassar y corejir Todo lo que se hubiere de cantar en el chóro so pena de veinte ps y para esto llame a Todos los cantores y ministriles dela yglesia eceto el Raci^o y Sochan^o franc^o alfonso para que acudan a donde el maestro les señalare a Tomar licion y el que no acudiere a ello declarando el m^o de capilla sele porna la pena que mereciere."

⁷²*Ibid.*, fol. 157: "notifique al maestro de capilla desta cathedral y los demas cantores della en comun y en particular que no salgan en forma de capilla ni en otra manera a cantar canto de organo a ningun entierro sino fuere con espresa lisencia deste caui^o."

to be stopped.⁷³ Such Draconian measures quickly brought him and his accomplices to heel. By August 10, he had made his peace with cathedral authorities and on the promise of reform was that day received back into cathedral employment, as of yore.⁷⁴ On September 4, 1618, he and his chosen singers were allowed to officiate at the funeral of María del Águila for the usual stipend.⁷⁵ On October 2, 1618, he and his musicians were permitted to assist at the burial of Diego de Carmona Tamariz,⁷⁶ a former *juez* and *regidor*.

On the death of the succentor Francisco Alfonso, the usual contest was staged to decide his successor. Francisco de Olivera took first place in the competition, Cristóbal de Salas second place. Normally Olivera would have been installed without more ado. But Salas, whose excellent services had merited a special gift January 17, 1612, *en gratificación de su buen servicio*, and who had been functioning heretofore as the monitor who signed the musicians' attendance sheets, was allowed for the time being to divide the post with Olivera—each serving as succentor in alternate weeks.⁷⁷ Each was to receive an annual 150 pesos as succentor, Olivera an added 50 for singing polyphony during weeks when Salas served as succentor in charge of plainchant.

After the chapter saw that this division of succentor's labors worked satisfactorily, the idea of dividing the chapelmaster's duties arose next. This separation became an urgent necessity when Fernandes's ability to function simultaneously as both organist and maestro de capilla began declining. In the spring of 1621 he was sick. By June 8, 1621, the chapter greatly feared that the special Corpus Christi music annually required would not be properly rehearsed. The canons therefore

⁷³*Ibid.*, fol. 166: "este dia y caujº hauiendo Tratado del mº de capilla gaspar fernandez desta cathedral y delos demas cantores della que fueron al entierro de andres hernandez vezino desta ciudº sin licencia del caujº—como les esta ordenado y mandado, quedaron despedidos el dicho mº de capilla y bar^{me} Sambrano y Joseph Sanchez cantores—por todo el dicho caujº en conformidad de Su Sª Yll^{ma} obpo a quien se le dio parte dello por los dhos canº D^{or} don Juan de Vega y Rº D^{or} agurto por comision q tubieron en el dia antes dada en el choro antes de bisperas y q seles notifique los dichos y el salº sese desde oy—En el dicho dia y caujº se ordeno que el dho Tesorero D^{or} don Juan gudinez y Rº Francº alfonso Reciuán todos los papeles y libros de canto que Tiene el mº de capilla conforme al Reciuo y asiento que Tiene efecto y asimismo sele pidan al dicho mº de capilla los villancicos y demas papeles que tiene obligºn de entregar y en el ynterin que no los entrega sele Retengan sus sal^{os}—."

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, fol. 169^v (August 10, 1618): "En este dicho dia quedo Recuido Gaspar fernandez presuitero por maestro de capilla de esta cathedral segun y como lo era de antes con el sustituto de organo—."

Throughout his entire Puebla career Fernandes continued being always referred to as the organ substitute—while Ocampo remained titular organist, drawing the prebendary's salary of 350 pesos and paying Fernandes 300 of the 350. Ocampo's musical services to the cathedral included (1) endowment of the polyphonic celebration of March 12 (Gregory I) recorded in the minutes of the Puebla chapter meetings of September 13, 1619, and of July 10, 1620; (2) collection of a debt owed the cathedral since Bishop Diego Romano's time for a small organ supplied to the convent of Jesús María (minutes of February 28, 1620); (3) numerous musical committee assignments; (4) and at death, endowment for his annual remembrance with a sumptuous polyphonic celebration (November 8, 1633). He made the cathedral his universal legatee.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, fol. 173: "dando a la dicha capilla el estipendio hordinario."

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, fol. 175^v: He had been "mayordomo y administrador del conbento y cassa delas Recojidas desta ciudad." Concerning him and other members of the Carmona Tamaris = Carmona Tamariz = Tamariz Carmona = Tamariz de Carmona clan, see below p. 61, n. 91.

⁷⁷A.C., vii, fol. 186^v (January 11, 1619). Salas had been "apuntador de los quadrantes."

passed a motion requiring the singers to start repairing to Fernandes's house for practice sessions. To put teeth into the motion, they stipulated a four-peso fine against each singer for each rehearsal missed. Fernandes's word alone was to determine who had missed.⁷⁸

Between June 8, and October 11, 1622, negotiations for a coadjutor maestro de capilla yielded fruit. Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla—a native of Málaga who had served successively as maestro at Jerez de la Frontera and of Cádiz Cathedral, where he was elected on March 7, 1616⁷⁹—began his duties as Fernandes's coadjutor October 11, 1622. The chief difficulties posed by having both Fernandes and his designated successor together on the cathedral payroll during the next few years arose not between them but with their musical subordinates, who resented the division of the tips for funerals, receptions, and other extraordinary ceremonies. Since tips were divided pro rata, the singers and instrumentalists loudly demurred against Fernandes and Padilla, each of whom gobbled up a chapelmaster's share. After two maestros' shares were taken out, nothing but a few feathers and chicken wings were left for their subordinates. In chapter meetings held December 6⁸⁰ and 20,⁸¹ 1622, the canons tried to placate the singers, but were not too successful.

By Christmas of 1624 Padilla was composing all the special Christmas music.⁸² During Lent of 1625 he was so firmly in control that the chapter gave him sole authority to fine any singer who failed to attend any rehearsal called by him.⁸³ The number of church feasts celebrated with specially composed music increased during

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, fols. 270^v–271: “se mando atento q̄ el ma^o de capilla esta enfermo de peste y ser el tiempo breue, y auerse descuydado en estudiar la musica que se a de cantar en esta octaua de corpus Por no auer acudido los cantores a ello, seles notifique a todos, acudan y Vayan a casa del dho maestro de cap.^a a Pasar las chanzonetas, y musica p^a ellas, y no haciendo lo asi se les Ponga a cada uno Por cada bes que faltare, quatro ps de pena con solam^{te} q̄ el dho maestro de capilla diga al apuntador p^a q̄ se los ponga, y que esto se les notifique luego. Y el apunta^{or} q̄ lo ejecute.”

⁷⁹Details below at pp. 62–63.

⁸⁰A.C., vii, fol. 337 (December 6, 1622): “mando que en las obenciones q̄ tubieren que distribuir al maestro y cantores de la capilla desta cathedral le den y rrepartan su parte a juan gutierrez de Padilla Presuitero cantor desta dha cathedral a Raçon de quinientos Pesos que son los q̄ tiene de salario segun y como se le dan en las dhas obenciones a gaspar fernandez Maestro de Capilla lo qual se guarde y cumpla por agora y en lo tocante a los demas cantores se guarde y cumpla a la letra el auto que en Raçon desto esta Proueido Por Su S^a Ill^{ma} obispo y dean y Cauildo en catorce dias del mes de septiembre De mill y seis cient^{os} y doce años Y asimismo se mando se les notifique a todos los dhos cantores dela dha capilla acudan cada y quando que fueren llamados Por qualquiera Delos dhos maestros gaspar fernandez o Juan gutierrez de padilla a passar prouar y poner las chançonetas y las demas cosas Necessarias y tocantes al seruicio del choro sopena de que la primera vez que faltare auiendolos llamado se les pondran doce Pessos Y ala segunda vez seran despedidos del seruicio desta santa yglesia.”

⁸¹*Ibid.*, fol. 339^v (December 20, 1622): “que se diga al mro de capilla gaspar fernandez que hasta que pasen estas pascuas y se ordene y mande por El Caud^o otra cossa no ynouede la costumbre que asta [aquí] que a auido en rrepartir las obenciones a los cantores y ministriles y para las que a de lleuar El mro Ju^o gutierrez padilla guarde El auto que en Raçon della le esta notificado.”

⁸²A.C., viii, fol. 111 (January 10, 1625): “mande se libren cinquenta ps por quenta de fabrica al maestro Juan gutierrez de padilla Para que se haga pago de lo que a gastado en el papel de las chançonetas y el trauajo que a tenido de apuntarlas Y auer las entregado en el archivo desta cathedral Y questo se le libran Por esta bez y para lo de adelante se tratara de que se parta lo que para este effeto se le da al maestro gaspar fernandez cada año.”

⁸³*Ibid.*, fol. 115^v (February 25, 1625): “se mando q̄ el Mro Juan gutierrez de padilla notifique a los cantores de esta yglesia acudan a Hazer exercicio en la Musica Y a los que no quisieren acudir de las obenciones q̄ vuiere les rreenga la parte que les vuiere Hasta que otra cosa se mande por este cauildo.”

Fernandes's last two years. In 1627 benediction began being so celebrated.⁸⁴ In 1628 Immaculate Conception was added to the obligatory days for polyphonic music.⁸⁵ Fernandes died in mid-September 1629 (see below, page 65).

By unkind accidents of transmission, Fernandes's entire extant oeuvre survives not at Puebla, but at Guatemala and Oaxaca Cathedrals. At Guatemala, his works (those with text are in Latin) are found in Choirbook IIab—a *libro de fascistol*, measuring 43 by 23 cm, of 259 leaves containing two foliations.

GUATEMALA CATHEDRAL

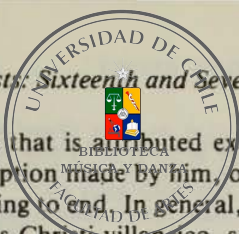
Benedicamus Domino a 4, Tone I, CB IIb 32^v-33; *Benedicamus Domino a 4*, Tone II, CB IIb 46^v-47; *Benedicamus Domino a 4*, Tone III, CB IIb 72^v-73; *Benedicamus Domino a 4*, Tone IV, CB IIb 91^v-92; *Benedicamus Domino a 4*, Tone V, CB IIb 112^v-113; *Benedicamus Domino a 4*, Tone VI, CB IIb 138^v-139; *Benedicamus Domino a 4*, Tone VII, CB IIb 158^v-159; *Benedicamus Domino a 4*, Tone VIII, "Canon a fine ad principium usque semel adque iterum semibreuia suisque pausis numera," CB IIb 178^v-179.

At the Oaxaca Cathedral, Fernandes's pieces are all in a yellow, parchment-bound, 284-folio autograph miscellany (measuring 22 by 28 cm), most of which is taken up with his vernacular pieces. The earliest is dated 1609, three years after he reached Puebla, the latest 1620, two years before Gutiérrez de Padilla's arrival. Also, the miscellany contains a few Latin works and untitled organ pieces. Even were it no more than a record of the villancicos and chanzonetas sung at Puebla Cathedral during Fernandes's régime, the volume would be extremely valuable. But when it is further recognized as the earliest extensive collection of New World vernacular music, the volume leaps to the forefront of American musical treasures.

A decade or so after Fernandes's death, one of his admirers and pupils carried it to Oaxaca and in the middle of fol. 73 penned this note for posterity: *Este Libro es de gabriel Ruiz de morga (rubric) / quien selo allare le dara su Mas goya dios / que nos beamos* ("This book belongs to Gabriel Ruiz de Morga; God, whom we hope to see, grant him blessing who finds it"). The December 10, 1967, issue of *Magazine Dominical*, Sunday supplement to the Mexico City newspaper *Excelsior*, included at page 3 facsimiles of two openings from the manuscript (fols. 140^v-141, 219^v-220); and in *The Musical Quarterly*, LIV/4 (October 1968) was published a transcription of the *Guineo* at fols. 243^v-244. This *Guineo* was in turn recorded by the Roger Wagner Chorale under the direction of Roger Wagner January 19, 1975, and is included as the last item on Side One in the Eldorado-label album, *Festival of Early Latin American Music*, issued by the UCLA Latin American Center, of which Dr. Johannes Wilbert was then Director. *Latin American Colonial Music Anthology* (Washington: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1975) contains at pages 113-149 transcriptions of the Agnus Dei I, II, III from Fernandes's *Missa Sancti Josephi*, found at fols. 151^v-153, in this Oaxaca codex; of the Latin secular motet *Elegit eum Dominus a 5* at fols. 132^v-133; and of eleven vernacular pieces—four of which are "Black" pieces (*Guineo* or *Negrito*) and two of which are "Indian" (*mestizo e indio*).

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, fol. 276 (May 7, 1627): "sera y Musica por el aumento dela deuocion delos fieles lo qual se haga con toda la deuocion y desensia que se rrequiere."

⁸⁵A.C., ix, fol. 76 (November 7, 1628). See below p. 65, n. 115.



Since the codex contains nothing that is attributed except Fernandes's original vocal works or a rare organ transcription made by him, one might expect a strictly chronological sequence from beginning to end. In general, such an order does hold: fols 171^v-172 contain a 1613 *Corpus Christi villancico*, so dated, 192^v-193 a 1614 *Corpus Christi*, 224^v-225 a 1615 *Corpus Christi*, and 256^v-257 a 1618 *Corpus Christi*. However, the Christmas villancico *a 6* for 1616 comes at fols. 270^v-271.

The high incidence of Portuguese villancicos (fols. 45^v-46, 59^v-60, 81^v-82, 117^v-118, 167^v-168, 182^v-183, 208^v-210, 247^v-248, 262^v-263) happily confirms Fernandes's own origins. Either he himself or some other of the numerous Portuguese nationals resident in early seventeenth-century Puebla wrote the texts for these. In contrast with the few villancicos labeled *Portugués* in other Hispanic American archives, Fernandes's always treat the language with respect. Because of the large role played by *negros*, *negrillas*, *guineos*, and similarly captioned pieces (fols. 11^v-12, 46^v-47, 60^v-61, 83^v-84, 100^v-101, 118^v-119, 166^v-167, 197^v-198, 207^v-208, 217^v-218, 232^v-234, 243^v-244, 263^v-264) this codex will always remain prime source material for students of the African musical legacy to the Americas. Music adapted to the Tlaxcalan dialect at fols. 99^v-100, 133^v-134, and 219^v-220 cannot be called the earliest surviving polyphony to an Indian-language text—the Náhuatl hymns in the so-called Valdés codex⁸⁶ dated about 1599 are older—but certainly comes close to being the first. In addition to the few liturgical pieces clustered between fols. 148^v-157 and 159^v-161, the Oaxaca codex contains also the earliest secular work on a Latin text anywhere encountered in a Latin American archive—*Elegit eum Dominus* at fols. 132^v-133 (this is the above mentioned motet for the 13th viceroy's entrance into Puebla). The textless pieces at fols. 16^v-17, 29^v-31, 41^v-43, 53^v, 63^v-64, 86^v-88, 89^v-90, and 108 may well have been intended for instruments. The organ work at 16^v-17 is attributed to Guerrero.

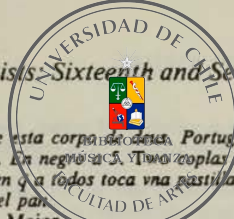
Despite the vicissitudes of travel and time, the codex remains remarkably coherent. Even the worm holes do not usually trespass on writing or notation. Quite obviously a leaf (or more) has been lost at the beginning—since present folio 1 begins with *altus* and *bassus* of a Christmas villancico, *Angel bello*. After folio 107 (the verso of which is blank at the top) at least one leaf has been torn out before the leaf presently numbered 108. Because of the vernacular texts, itemizing of the present codex will be not alphabetically by title, but seriatim by folio numbers. Unless otherwise designated, each piece is a villancico *a 4*, copied choirbook fashion, with all voices spread across the opening.

Items preceded by a plus-sign (+) bear Fernandes's signature as composer, but everything else is presumably his original work or his arrangement also.

- 1v-2 *Por Dios que la trata.*
- + 2v-3 *Dan dan dan toquen los ojos a fuego que ellos daran agua luego. Año de 1609. Ti Ti A Te Te B.*
Christmas *ensalada* («que una fuente de agua viva naçe»).
- 3v-4 *Toquen as sonajas.* At top of fol. 3v: «en portugues».
- 4v-5 *Domingo voy al aldea veros alli.*
- 5v-6 *Venimo con glan contento. Guineo a 8.*
- + 6v-7 *A Belem me llego, a 5.*
- + 7v-8 *No lloreis mi niño. Responcion a 4.*
- + 8v-9 *Yelo se me fiel testigo, a 3. Responcion a 5.*
- 9v-10 *Mi niño dulce. Otro a 4.*
- 10v *Adios las gracias, a 4.*
- 11 blank.

⁸⁶Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas, p. 132.

- + 11v-12 *Negriño tirayuos la q hñ de hos [Negro] delos reyes a 5. Deformed Portuguese coplas: Olhay negro inchado tanto nã s entoneis pois ja de noso rey es voso escauro comprado / noso gran rey portugues nã s Refrain word in estribillo: «guiguirigui».*
- + 12v-13 *Magos que a palacio ois. Delos Reyes a 4.*
- + 13v-14 *Pange lingua. A 4. Familiar Spanish melody. Empty circle mensuration.*
- 14v-15 *Domine ad adiuvandum me festinus.*
- + 15v-16 *Quiso Dios dar sin compas. De San P a 6. Ti Ti A Te Te B.*
- + 16v-17 *Untitled organ piece, headed «de gaspar fiz sobre... (illegible) de guerrero a 4».*
- 17v-18 *Vexilla regis (plainsong in alto). Evidently for organ also.*
- + 18v-19 *Quieres pastorçillo ver la esençia mia. De Corpus.*
- 19v *Marauillas dijen de bos sagrado pan.*
- 20 *Salte de los cielos al puerto de penas, a 3.*
- + 20v-21 *A no tenermos mi dios. Two coplas a duo follow estribillo a 4.*
- + 21v-22 *Fidalgos do rey don juão que não vindes, a 5.*
- + 22v-23 *Dime gil que es lo que bes en aquel neuado centro, a 5.*
- + 23v-24 *O labios dezidme bos q es aquesto.*
- + 24v-25 *Quien quiere pan, a 6.*
- + 25v-26 *Frasiquiya donde bamo. Guineo a 4.*
- + 26v-27 *El galan enamorado, a 3.*
- + 27v-28 *Gracias a dios q ay pan y q a todos lo daran, a 4.*
- 28v-29 *A mi señor disfrazado, a 3.*
- 29v-30 *Textless «de sant p» a 4.*
- 30v-31 *Textless «a sant p» a 4.*
- 31v-32 *Si el primero ere del segundo enamore. a vna profecion, a 4.*
- + 31v-32 *Punto en boca (no other words). Responcion a 7, double choir.*
- + 32v-33 *De solo mirar q el pan tiene diuinos vislumbres, a 4.*
- 33v-34 *Quine asi os vistio bien aya.*
- + 34v-35 *Subid diuino farol. De la assumption a 5.*
- + 35v-35A *Vaya la prinçesa.*
- 35Av-36 *Viua ygnacio viua a pesar de la muerte, a 5. Fiesta de San Ygnacio. For Ti Ti A Te B, this villancico lacks coplas.*
- 36 *Juancho de motrico. En biscayno a 4. Ignatius Loyola.*
- + 36v-37 *Nuevo Sol q en nuevo cielo nuevo mundo ygnacio alumbras. De sant ygnacio a 6.*
- 38v-39 *Sobre bño [vuestro] canto llano quisiera hechar contrapunto. De sant geronimo a 5. For Ti Ti A Te B, this tribute to Saint Jerome in C mensuration begins with an estribillo during which the tenor (entering after two-bar rest) repeats a *cantus firmus* four times, each time with different surrounding complex. The hymn, *O nimis felix meretique celsi*, inspired the *cantus firmus*.*
- 39v-40 *Ynes quien a puesto en bos hermosura tan diuina ser hija da Catherina y ser esposa de dios, a 8.*
- 40v-41 *Quien os vea Jesus en brazo virgen ynes, a 4. Copla of preceding.*
- 41v-42 *«A vna profecion» a 4. Textless.*
- + 42v-43 *Entrada de nauidade, a 3. Textless. Probably an organ piece.*
- + 43v-44 *Saltaran los cabritillos. Responcion a 5.*
- + 43v-44 *Oydnos pues vna de tus niño es de perfecta edad cumplida, a 7. Double choir.*
- 44v-45 *Aunque niño nos parese en los brazos de su madre. Coplas primera y segunda a 3 (continuation of 43v-44).*
- 45v-46 *As diuinas por cintras q ho infante chora. Portuguesa a 5. Ti A A Te B.*
- + 46v-47 *Andres, do queda el ganado y porque. En guineo a 6. The black Andrew replies: puru cielo que no li se q se a pantaro bona fe...*
- + 47v-48 *A de abajo q todos os alegreis, a 8. Scratched out.*
- 48v *A de abajo allaba vn preso. Copla primera del atras a 3.*
- 49 *Que piden glonais tales, a 5. Responcion (Ti Ti A Te B).*
- + 49v-50 *Tañe gil tu tamborino y ande la flauta y sonajas hagase la gaytarajas y el rabel no pierda el tino que a la tierra bino. Del nacim^o D nro S^r Jesu Xpo a 6. Ti Ti A Te Te B.*
- 50v-51 *Viva el zagal bello.*
- + 51v-52 *O quien hisiese cosquillas al niño en sus carnes bellos por ber si gustava dellos quien nunca supo sufrillas.*
- 53v-53 *A fe zagala que uos que uenis de gran linaje porque ese her... (no more text), a 3.*
- 53v *Textless.*
- + 54 *La cabaña dexa bras. Musical repetitions show this to be a continuation of the textless, unattributed piece at 53v.*
- 54v-55 *Zagal de que es tu alegria.*
- + 55v-56 *Juacho niño naçes. Biscayno a 4. Starts with three coplas.*
- 56v-57 *Ser sielo uino moffra y niña hermosa en la apariensia, a 3.*
- + 57v-58 *No ayamos dulce alegria. Coplas a 3.*
- 58v-59 *Tleycan timo choquiliya mis prasedes mi apission tleycan timo choquiliya mis prasedes mi apission alleloya. Mestiza y indio a 4. Two coplas follow the estribillo. If this and Fernandes's other Indian-language pieces (99v-100, 101v-102) are typical, the Tlaxcalans liked the unwearying rhythmic pattern of an accented short followed by an unaccented long. The melody itself may also reflect indigenous taste.*

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- + 59v-60 *Não deixei correr do pão donde esta corporação deus. Portugues a 5.*
- + 60v-61 *Turu lo negro que pan lo quiere. En negro a 5. Two coplas a 3.*
- + 61v-62 *Oy saca a bistas amor por el bien q a todos toca vna pastilla de boca. Corpus Christi.*
- + 62v-63 *Hombre pues comeis la renta del pan.*
- 63v-64 Fanfare-type piece, textless. F Major.
- + 64v-65 *A no teneros mi dios por dulce manjar a bos.*
- 65v-66 *Por su fiador.*
- 66v *Sobrauaua Xpo, a 3.* Crossed out.
- + 67 *Debalde debalde a comer nos dan a comer. Otro tres. No coplas.*
- 67v-68 *Quien pasa y cuydes la gala nueva. Coloquio a 7.* To the query posed by *Choro primero*, the Second choir replies: *Rico galan, rico, rico*. The *coplas a 3* begin: *Como eua virgen bella viste al nuevo adan en carne.*
- + 68v-69 *O que efectos bellos tiene alli ensercados pan q haze salvador. A 6.*
- + 69v-70 *En dios liberal.* This *Corpus Christi* piece a 4 lacks *coplas*.
- + 70v-71 *A llegad a llegal q en preçio esta bendidono se ostende.*
- + 71v-72 *Vna de dos a ninguna o sola bos. Responcion a 4.* Lacks *coplas*.
- 72v-73 *Dios del cielo bajas. Biscayno a 5.*
- + 73v-74 *Zagales de aquesta aldea si quereis ser rescatados del captiuerio del mundo cin q el demonio os engaña. Duo con responcion.* The way to be saved and to thwart the Evil One is to partake of the life-giving Divine Bread. The *Responcion a 4* invites the saved: *A baylar a baylar zagales*.
- + 74v-75 *A vna missa nueva llamado Juº gustad Juan de q os turbais, pues dios tanto a subido.* The *copla sola* of this John Evangelist villancico starts thus: *Reclinose Juean al pecho de aquel cordero sagrado.*
- + 75v-76 *Quien sube mas claro.* This «*Duo para mi reyna de la assumpcion*» takes the form of a dialogue followed by *coplas*.
- 76v-77 *Dios es iman para bos.* Starts as a *duo*. Lacks *coplas*.
- 77v-78 *Claro esta que si dios repara en escoger esposa de su mano poderosa.* Following the *estribillo a 4* comes a *copla sola*: *Si dios como limpio en todo.*
- 78v-79 *Pues el mismo Dios.* So far a subject matter is concerned, this *estribillo* (no *coplas*) merely continues the previous villancico.
- + 79v-80 *Ana pues abeis ya dado la mano al rey de la bida. «Da vna professa ana de la purificacion» a 4.* Only *tiple* is texted. As an all Fernandes's villancicos, an 'S' signals the place in the *estribillo* to which the singers return after the *coplas*. His structural plan rarely or never implies *da capo* — only *dal segno*.
- + 80v-81 *Naciendo en pajas por mi me lleva Dios de camino que es como ambar muy fino. Nauidad de 1611 años a 5. Ti A A Te B. Copla a duo: Yo soy la paja del suelo.*
- 81v-82 *O minino que deus es oje naçio en Lisboa. «En portugues» a 4. Ti Ti A Te.* Tenor sings *copla* as a *solo*. Dorian mode.
- + 82v-83 *Donde has sagala hermosa lozana y briosa quando apenas el sol sale. Del nacimº De Nro S.º a 5. Ti Ti A Te B.*
- + 83v *Zagala saber queria. Copla a 3. Ti A Te.* Belongs to preceding Christmas villancico.
- + 83v-84 *No baya belen a angola. Negrilla a 4.* At the top of folio 84 this black piece is called «*Guineo*». The alto part is labeled: «*alto en negro*». Thus it can be seen that *Negrilla*, *Negro*, and *Guineo* were all interchangeable captions for a well recognized musical type involving: F Major (rarely C Major), vigorous fast syncopated triple meter, trenchant tonic-dominant harmony.
- 84v-85 *Andrana maria paridoloas niño dios te enbia buen viaje.* Subject: Flight into Egypt.
- + 85v-86 *El chiquito que naçio de la birgen soberana llora por vna mançana q su padre le comio. A 6. Ti Ti A A Te B.* Like most of Fernandes's villancicos, this starts with an extended *solo* (*Tiple 1* in this instance). The first *tutti* is marked 'S', and back to this *tutti* Fernandes sends his singers after the *coplas*.
- 86v *Un domingo de mañana. Dança a 3.* Textless.
- + 87-88 *Textless Responcion a 5. Ti Ti A Te B.* C Major music in C 3 and C mensurations.
- + 88v-89 *Del misterio de la fe quien sera Anton testigo. A 5.* Textless *copla a 3*.
- 89v-90 *Textless, untitled piece a 4.*
- 90v-91 *Duerme niño descansa. Coplas a duo follow estribillo.*
- 91v-92 *A la birgen q le dan acogido en un portal.*
- + 92v-93 *Que vivo contento digo por bos virgen escogida huelgome q a dios deis vida para q viva conmigo. A 5.*
- + 93v-94 *A fe niño dios que si moris viuire.*
- + 94v-95 *Si quieres tenerte niño has vn pinino.*
- + 95v-96 *Y los bolueris.* After this *Responcion a 4* comes another («*otro a 4*») at the same opening: *Siempre mi niño q os miro.*
- + 96v-96 A *Por bien de hombre caydos dios. De la concepcion a 4.*
- + 96 A-97 *Pues la pascuo se a llegado y e de dar como señora.*
- + 97v-98 *Virgen muy bien es que quadre para el remedio de nos. Coplas (solo) start: Oy Virgen en bos contemplo de dios.*
- + 98v-99 *Begins textless. Tutti starts: Hijo os tal qual el os quiso. A la concepcion a 6.*
- + 99v-100 *Ximololali siñola tlaticpan. En indio a 5.*
- + 100v-101 *Dame albricia mano anton que Sisu naçe en guineo. Una lunçaya y vn viejo su pagre son. Negrito a 4.*



- + 101v-102 *Tios mio mi gorazon mo pan p... pachi negual. amo xichoca abicion que llororeis el maçegual amo xichoca abicion amo xichoca*. Text repetition continues. No coplas. Headed «mestizo a 4». Ti Ti A Te B.
- + 102v-103 *A la Bella ban mis amorés madre dios me los guarde. Responson a 5.*
- + 103v-104 *Canta canta paraninfo canta. Responson a 5.*
- + 104v-105 *Niño si aun siendo tan niño a los reyes sujetais que no hareis quando crescais. A los reyes a 3. Epiphany.*
- + 105v-106 *Que buscan tan sin consuelo Joseph y su bella esposa. Coloquio a 8 al niño perdido. The second choir answers the query of the first thus: Buscan la joya preciosa de vn niño q es rey del cielo.*
- + 106v *Sin mi labor no ay aqui que todos tres os cansais. Although headed «a 4», only one voice part appears on the page, and folio 107 is crossed out.*
- 107v *Blank at the top. «Tenor A 4. D.ª muñoz Despinosa 1620» at bottom. Between 107v and 108 a leaf has been torn out.*
- 108 *Unidentifiable alto and tenor parts of a textless piece.*
- + 108v-109 *Tanto os quiso regalar alma dios q le a costado. A 5. Blessed Sacrament.*
- + 109v-110 *Sobrava Xpo asentarnos a bñ [nuestra] mesa a cenar. Del Sanctissimo Sacramento a 3.*
- + 110v-111 *Esta bes cogido os an. Lacks coplas.*
- + 111v-112 *Allega os al almoneda. A 5. Two coplas.*
- + 112v-113 *Si Adan por su poca fe. A 6. Two coplas.*
- + 113v-114 *Como sabre deste pan el misterio. Three coplas solo follow estribillo.*
- + 114v-115 *Si jugaís a esconder Dios de amor. A 5.*
- + 115v-116 *Como puede ser del cielo pan.*
- + 116v-117 *El que deste pan comiere. Del Santiss.º Sacramento.*
- + 117v-118 *Bem aja aquesta padeira q este pão forneira. Portuguesa a 5.*
- + 118v-119 *Si dia piensas si día bebes mientes sangre de Dios. After introductory alto solo, tiple 1 starts: Gurumbe gurumbe ma si qui cansame que preso hastame de si pan qui dame q trasi paño li Santo Tome. This villancico a 5 is headed «en negro y biscayno».*
- + 119v-120 *Almas a la vida aprieta. A 3. Ti Ti A. Sacrament.*
- 120v *Me ofrese Dios de gracia. Responson del romance de la plana de adelante.*
- + 121 *Mas que nunca lleva el cielo ni fertilize la tierra. Romance a 3 Del Sanctissimo Sacram.º. After the romance comes an estribillo: Que flor, espiga, granos.*
- + 121v-122 *Pedro el cielo e menester y de bos puede comprar q para nos conserstar. A Sant Pº a 5. Coplas sung by tenor solo.*
- + 122v-123 *Si esas prisas q veis. A Sant Pº a 4. Romance at start assigned to tiple.*
- + 123v-124 *Para pan me dad madre antes q se acabe. De Corpus a 4. Coplas a duo running to great length.*
- + 124v-125 *Quien hecha a este pan el agua Dios. De Corpus a 4. Three coplas assigned tiple 1. A later hand had has added some irrelevant matter on folio 125, the propriety of which is contestable.*
- 125v-126 *Que mucho fenix salgais. A 4. Lacks coplas.*
- 126v-127 *A del suelo agua va q el pan. Sacrament.*
- + 127v-128 *A de arriba a del cortijo. A 8. Double choir Sacrament. Lacks coplas.*
- 128v-129 *Si el pan y vino son. A 4. Lack coplas.*
- + 129v-130 *Fuego juego. Respuesta a 5 para sant ygnacio. After the opening tutti shout (Fire, Fire!) comes a pregunta solo: Que es la grito y vozeria (what's the noise and shouting about?). Nearly all early American villancicos, chanzonetas, and respuestas honoring Ignatius Loyola share boldly dramatic texts.*
- 130v-131 *Aima como puede ser. Sacrament.*
- + 131v-132 *Ha de la posta del suelo. Dela assumption a 6. Tiple 2 starts. Tiple 1 interrupts with the query: Quien pasa, diga, quien ba (who passes, say, who goes there?).*
- 132v-133 *Elegit eum Dominus. Motete a 5 para la entrada del birrey. Ti Ti A Te B.*
- 133v *Para el gusto oy abra vidu cante la gala en bñ ilustre venida. Para los indios de Tlaxcala a 4; at 134: «Otro para los mismos indios.» Gaily stepping processional music in F Major. Starts as a welcome song for a visiting official or dignitary.*
- + 134v *Soñe que soñaria. A Sant Geronimo. Para monjas a 4.*
- + 135 *A quien apedrear quereis diuino y diestro. A san Geronimo.*
- 135v-136 *De amor geronimo sancto pelicano. Otro sº gerº.*
- 136v-137 *Si no me engaño Bras y el gusto me desmiente. Para el birrey. A 5. Ti Ti A Te B. David and and Abigail (the viceroy and his wife) have come to reign over us. May they continue «por largos años mil. por años» Mensuration changes to ♩ 3 for the jubilant refrain. D minor, closing with major chord.*
- 137v-138 *Oy descubre la grandesa de su gloria.*
- 138v-139 *Gran capitán por renombre defensor de nuestro Rey guarda el alcazar del rey seran obras de tu nombre. A 5. Ti Ti A Te B. Like the preceding, composed in honor of the viceroy's entry. Headed «otro a 5 Al humano». D minor (one-flat) ending on A Major chord.*
- + 139v-140 *Angeles quien como se nombra gertrudis. In honor of St. Gertrude. Lacks coplas. F Major.*
- 140v-141 *Companitas de Belen tocad al alua que sale. En nombre de Jesus, navidad de 612 años, a 6. Ti Ti A A Te Te B. Fast fanfare rhythms, «tocan y tañen a gloria en el cielo y en la tierra». This should be a delightful folkloric piece, with *dandan dan* and *dilin* imitating the merry Christmas peal of the Bethlehem bells.*
- + 141v *No corras gil tan ufano a ber al niño diuino.*
- 142 *Copia of Campanitas de Belen (140v-141).*



- 142v-143 *Bras si llora dios.*
- 143v-144 *Zagalajo de perlas hijo del alua.* Lacks coplas. Imitation in contrary motion.
- 144 *Christus natus est nobis.* Although title of this Christmas invitational is headed «a 4», no other voice parts appear on the page.
- + 144v-145 *Quien llama quien esta.* A 6. Copla solo.
- + 145v-146 *De vna Virgen hermosa.* Lacks coplas.
- + 146v-147 *Nora buena vengais al mundo.* Six coplas a duo follow estribillo.
- + 147v-148 *El niño que tiembla agora a fe.* Two coplas solo.
- + 148v-153 *Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus movements of a Mass a 3 in honor of St. Joseph.* 148v-149 «*Patrem*» through «*et homo factus est*»; 149v-150 «*Crucifixus*» through «*vitam venturi secula amen*»; 150v-151 «*Sanctus*» plus «*Benedictus*», with a note at the end of the tenor part saying «*adelante dos ojos esta pleni y Ossana*»; 151v-152 «*Agnus*» through «*pacem*»; 152v-153 «*Pleni sunt celi*» through «*Osanna*» plus «*Agnus 2º*» (ending with «*uniserere nobis*»). This group of Tone VIII Mass movements for two altos and tenor cadences plagally, except in *Agnus 3*. *Agnus 2* requires Ti Ti Te, and *Agnus 3* (second of the pair at 151v-152) demands Ti Ti Te Te. Exceptionally, *Agnus 3* closes on C. Throughout it, *tiplé 2º* sings not the liturgical text but «*Sancte Joseph ora pro nobis*».
- 153v-156v *Kyrie and Gloria movements of a Petrine Mass a 5 (Ti Ti Ti A B), headed: Missa sobre el canto llano de Tu es Petrus.* This polytextual *cantus firmus* Mass returns to Flemish Pfundnoten such as Palestrina had not used since his *Ecce Sacerdos magnus*. In the *Gloria*, starting at folio 154v-155, *tiplé 3* still sings *Tu es Petrus* in Pfundnoten. Entering always on g or c¹, the time-values of the four-note *motto* progressively lengthen. The *breves* of one entry give way to dotted *breves* at the next entry, then to *longas*. At folio 156v dotted *longas* appear. Significantly, however, the value of the rest between the four note incises still remains what it has been throughout: one *breve*.
- 156v-157 *Benedicamus Domino alleluya.* At the same opening, two other *Benedicamus Domino a 5* «*en tiempo de Pascua*».
- + 157v-158 *Por aqui que mi niño se esconde.* Del niño perdido a 5. Ti Ti Ti A B. Three coplas follow estribillo.
- + 158v-159 *Buscala oveja perdida.* Romanze a 3 at folio 159 seems to be the continuation of *Buscala*.
- + 159v-160 *Christus natus est nobis.* Invitatorio de navidad a 4.
- + 160v-161 *Dixit Dominus.* Primer tono. Para monjas a 4.
- + 161v-162 *Oy al yelo naçe en Belen.* Starts with Romance (three strophes).
- + 162v-163 *Cara de rosa.* Responson a 5.
- + 163v-164 *Tenga yo salud niño Dios en su birtud, a 5.*
- + 164v-165 *Pues a fe que si me las tira.*
- + 165v-166 *Pide al cielo la tierra.*
- + 166v-167 *Negro salica veni ver ciquito que pari donceya.* Negroito a 4.
- + 167v-168 *Emprestayme as vosas votinas que me voy a follijar.* Portugues a 5.
- + 168v-169 *Toca el tamboril andres con saltos de dos en dos, a 6.* Starts with *tiplé solo*.
- 169v blank.
- 170 *Morenica morena mia, mas hermosa eres q̄ el dia.* A 3. Ti A Te. «*Del gran hernando Ramirez el bajete solo*».
- + 171v-171 A *Del niño perdido.* Coloquio a 8.
- + 171 Av-172 *Rico anillo gran memoria.* Corpus de 1613 a 5. Coplas a 3 follow estribillo.
- + 172v-173 *Nora buena sea que tenga el villano el pan soberano, a 5.*
- + 173v-174 *Paso pensamiento el caso, a 5.*
- + 174v-175 *Mirad el amo que tengo q̄ ses o no sea fiesta.* After a three-strophe *romanze* comes the *estribillo*:
Me tiene la mesa puesta, a 4.
- 175v-176 *Deue de auer poco pan en esta casa.*
- + 176v-177 *En el combite real, a 6.* Starts with *romanze*, lacks coplas.
- + 177v-178 *Alma el combite.* Two coplas, solo, follow estribillo.
- 178v-179 *Partis os y no os partis, a 4.* Coplas a 3 follow.
- + 179v-180 *Pusi plimo de mi coraçon Segame gurugumande husiha husite.* Del Sanctissimo a 5. Although not so labeled, this is another of Fernandes's *Negros*.
- 180v-181 *Afuera afuera aparta aparta que entra la fe victoriosa.*
- + 181v-182 *Dios a los hombres combida, a 3.* Coplas solo, follow.
- 182v-183 *As mininas de meus olhos pidem pão ay Jesus quedito so pão Não choreis q̄ vos darão do pão uiuo que sem olhos.* Although not labeled *Portuguesa*, the text defines it thus. No coplas after the estribillo.
- + 183v-184 *En dos simples acidentes, a 5.*
- + 184v-185 *Si machin pan Dios.* En biscayno a 4. Ti Ti A Te. In first *tutti*, all voices sing: *Pan de çielo tines juancho*. The word «*juancho*» crops up regularly in pieces headed «*en biscayno*».
- + 185v-186 *Bien viaje a capitana q̄ tan gallarda y losana haze por el mar pasaje, a 8.* Double choir tribute to Our Lady. Coplas alternate between *tiples 2º* and *1º*, each singing solo. Perhaps all these many coplas and introductions to estribillos designated as *solos* were accompanied by Fernandes at the organ.
- + 186v-189 *Llegan los quatro al portal adande la madre virgen tiene el niño entre sus brazos.* Ensalada de navidade a 4. Starts with *romanze*. Visitors to the manger entertain the Child with *gaytilla*, *rabele*, *flauta*, *tamboril*, and other instruments.



- 189v-190 *Tanto llanto y tanta pena en noche buena mi Dios, a 5. Ti A Te Te B. Tenor I sings three coplas, replied to by the tiple respuesta.*
- + 190v-191 *Despues que Dios con su sangre os a lavado oy la gran Lucia. After the initial three-strophe tenor solo romance, all sing. Oy la gran Lucia. Two coplas follow, sung by alto and tenor. Headed «A Sancta Lucia a 4».*
- 191v-192 *Que vais o reyes buscando por naciones estrangeras, a 5. To the tenor soloist's query, the chorus replies (at. S): Un reino q sea de veras.*
- + 192v-193 *Que me dezis alma. Corpus de 1614 a 4. Tenor soloist starts. He also sings the two coplas that follows the estribillo.*
- + 193v-194 *Oy en la parrochia dan pan.*
- + 194v-195 *A puertas del coraçon, a 5. Coplas — sung by a tenor soloist — are answered by tiple respuesta. This is a natural and soft hexachord piece. However, among twenty repetitions of solmization segments, only once does ut appear. Tiple I once sings d² c² b¹ b a g f to the syllables la sol fa mi re ut.*
- 196v-197 *Gil no puede enpergeñar. Three coplas follow estribillo.*
- 197v-198 *Para viramia ya negro san rico q grande con chico come pan ligria. Through not so denominated, this is a Negro. Second copla a duo mentions Negro handkerchief dance: Turo sa folgando negra con pañola Jarasca vigola firgana tocando.*
- + 198v-199 *Desperiad diuino Juan pues sois de Dios ganadero mirad por bro cordero por q se a entrado en el pan.*
- + 199v-200 *Quien de aquesta bianda gustando sea. Responcion a 4. Starts with romanze, concludes with coplas a 3.*
- + 200v-201 *Hombre enfermo y sin aliento q mal tienes. Starts with romanze, tiple solo.*
- 201v-202 *Mirose el sacro Absalon en la fuente del Dios. Responcion a 4.*
- + 202v-203 *Llora Maria y llora Joseph tambien, a 6. Ti Ti A A Te B. Unusual abundance of written accidentals. At outset, written a-bb-c (tiple 1). G minor (one-flat). No romanze at start, no coplas. Motet-like conception.*
- 203v-204 *Oy la musica del cielo en dos puntos se cifra Sol y la q le pario. The words «sol» and «la» serve as Guidonian syllables. Coplas a 3 follow estribillo.*
- 204 *Labrador a toda ley. Responcion a 5.*
- + 204v *Un reloz a visto Andres q sin verse rueda alguna en el suelo de la vna siendo en el cielo los tres. Copla solo follows estribillo a 4.*
- + 205v-206 *Bras dis ques mayor que el suelo vna estrella y la luna çelestial, a 5. First copla solo (alto I), second copla a 3.*
- + 206v-207 *Que jasgas tu Juan pastor de lo que el niño a de ser. Lacks coplas.*
- + 207v-208 *Mano fanchiquiyo que dio sonaçiro en vna porta. Negrita a 5. First copla: Gurumbe como dize viuda gurumbe como mente negliyo gurumbe gurumbe. Second copla: Toca aqui sa guitarrriya fanchiquiya tocaya.*
- + 208v-210 *Pois con tanta graça. Portugues a 6.*
- 210v-211 *Cante de re mi fa sol la reyna pari day bella La sola sol y mi estrella. Only soft and natural hexachords supply Fernandes with his syllables.*
- + 211v *Noche tan alegre no la e visto. Para monjas a 4. Ti Ti A B.*
- + 212 *Me alegra me alienta esta mañanica con tal alborada. «Otro a 4».*
- + 212v *Sin duda señor q amais pues llorais, a 4.*
- 213 *Pero no q me va a mi la vida en q llore dios.*
- + 213v *Verbo en carne soberano. Ti Ti A B.*
- 214v-215 *Virgen seas muy benida al aldea porque os juro por mi vida q hazeis graciosa parida. Ti Ti A B. Coplas a duo follow estribillo.*
- 215 *Llego a belen vn pastor. Responcion a 5.*
- + 215v-216 *No son todos ruyseñores los q cantem entre las flores. Responcion a 5. Ti Ti Te Te B.*
- 216v *Alma dormida despierta, a 4. No coplas. Virgen a parirre atrebes entre niebes. «Otro a 4», same opening.*
- + 217v-218 *Tururu farara con son para san para viramia. Guineo a 4. Instead of the ubiquitous F Major tonality, this black piece ends on G.*
- + 218v-219 *Çenemos que es noche buena, a 5. Text continues: no çeno yo en dia de ayuno. Following estribillo come coplas a 3, with respuesta.*
- 219v-220 *Xicochi xicochi conetzin, a 5. Ti A Te Te B.*
- + 220v-221 *Oy del cielo vn mensajero. Lacks coplas.*
- + 221v-222 *Si es q aderezarme os prowoco cumplid negrito el deseo. Delos reyes, a 5. Ti Ti A Te B. Three-strophe romanze at start.*
- 222v-223 *En tres casas de aiedres vna negra y blancas dos dio a la gentilidad Dios Jaque y mote de vna ves, a 3. Delos Reyes. Xopla a 3 follows estribillo.*
- + 224v-225 *Corramos Gil tras de aquel, a 5. Corpus de 1615.*
- + 225v-226 *Nuevas de graçia infinita, a 5. Copla a 3 follows.*
- + 226v-227 *Qual es la comida, a 5.*
- + 232v-234 *Andamo corramo guaguangua gualoguangua. Guineo a 5. Refrain words: tumba catumba. Copla starts: Anda corre veremo o lo nonesiyo. Blessed Sacrament.*
- 235v-236 *Mi diuino amante, a 5. Honoring St. James. Apparently incomplete.*
- 236v-237 *Del rey piuado vaçallo es Santiago a mi fe. Honors St. James.*
- 237v-238 *Tan enamorada esta el rey por su amada bella. Para monjas, a 4.*
- + 238v-239 *Venid al repartimiento. Coloquio a 5, para monjas.*



- 239v-240 *Sabes Bras como entre el heno vn rico. Nauidad de 1615 años. A seis.*
- + 240v-241 *A Bayar en el coro mosuelas. Responcion a 4.*
- + 241v-242 *Destas ouejas de aca no cuide el lobo enemigo, a 3.*
- + 242v-243 *Con vn bel donayre angeles del cielo, a 6.*
- + 243v-244 *Eso rigor e repente. Guineo a 5.*
- 244v-245 *Guesped guesped que tienes. Biscayna a 6. Two coplas a duo.*
- 245v *Morenita parese la niña porque el sol se le pego, a 3.*
- 246 *Albriçias albriçias ya del rescate se sabe, a 4. Para la calenda. Monjas.*
- + 246v-247 *Quando mis ouelos dormir se quieren.*
- + 247v-248 *Botay fora. Portuguesa a 6.*
- 248v *Repica Siluano, a 4. Monjas.*
- 249 *Se cuchamo magri Antono, a 4. Monjas. Among distinguishing traits of these «monjas» pieces is their brevity. Rarely do they begin with romanzes.*
- 249v-250 *Quando bajo Dios al suelo por subir al hombre. Ensalada a 6. Refrain: tilin, tilin, tantara, tin, tin, tin.*
- + 250v *No lloreis en naciendo dulce amor, a 4. Monjas. Exceptionally includes both romanze and coplas.*
- + 251 *Si a Belen Carrillo vas mil marauillas veras, a 4. Monjas. Includes coplas, but no introductory romanze.*
- 251v-252 *O que gozo, a 4. Monjas. Includes two coplas a 3, but no romanze.*
- 252v-253 *Principio de la pandorga, a 3. Textless. This instrumental trio, starting in C mensuration, veers to 3. Repeated notes lend vivacity to the last section, which ends on F chord (no key signature).*
- 253v-253 A *Sancho es Dios q oy vienes. Biscayno a 4. Refrain: mas de virgen madre biscayna tienes.*
- + 253 Av-254 *Dexal al niño, a 4. Monjas. With copla.*
- 254v-255 *Buela pensamiento pues vas bolando, a 4. Secular song. No romanze, no copla.*
- 255v-256 *Regina celi letare, a 4. Plaisong initium inspires opening imitative point.*
- + 256v-256 A *Hombre no estes descuydado del Dios de inefables nombres, a 8. Nombre de Dios. Corpus año de 1618. Double choir.*
- 256 Av-257 *Algun bocado de pan, a 6.*
- + 257v-258 *Brasa la mesa del rey, a 3.*
- + 258v-259 *Ay Dios y que bien que guete. Responcion a 4. More Corpus music follows.*
- + 261v-262 *A donde señor os vais que tanto nos aftigis. A la ascencion de Cristo ñro redemptor, a 5.*
- + 262v-263 *Ay meu Deus ay bom Jesus como a Deus em pão me dáis minha vida groria he luz, a 6. Portuguesa.*
- + 263v-264 *Tantarantán A la guerra ban. Guineo a 6. F Major, vigorous march. Copla says: Es asi que en Etiopia tiene mucha soldadesca cristiana el preste Juan.*
- + 264v-265 *De pan panes verdes y espigas. Responcion a 4.*
- + 265v-266 *Las alabaças diuinas. Sacrament.*
- + 266v-267 *Señor si es alma os agrada, a 5. Sacrament. Coplas a 3.*
- 267v-268 *Music nueua en mis orejas suena El padre la punto El hijo la canta La letra es caro mea Ved si espanta y el graue tono En clau fe se ordena El canto llano dio vna virgen buena q fue la carne llana pero sancta sobre la qual vn duo se discanta de alma y diuinidad musica llena A tres canto el señor en tres le punto los treinta y tres compases de su vida Mas luego añadia voses Mudo el canto a cinco Canta alegre y en comida Oy çifra aqueste canto todo junto y en vna blanca minima esta tanto.*
- Here reproduced entirely, the text vaunts some truly striking musical metaphors. Fernandes' setting in F Major (C mensuration) is through composed.
- + 269v-270 *Oy a la reyna, a 5. De la Natiuidad de N^{ra} S^{ra}, a 5. Romanze at start. Coplas (answered by respuesta) follow estribillo.*
- + 270v-272 *Yo que le vi, a 6. Nauidad de 1616 años.*
- + 272v-272 A *Esta noche me cabe la vela Ruego yo a mi Dios que no me duermo y si me durmiere campanicas repiquen de noche tintilin, a 6. Like Campanitas at 140v-141, this villancico imitates bells and percussion: tan talan talan (tenors 1 and 2), tintilin tututu (tuples 1 and 2).*
- + 272 Av-273 *Dispierta hermano Vicente, a 5. Christmas.*
- 273v-274 *En vn portalejo pobre de vnas groseras pisarras. Romanse a 3 precedes.*
- + 276v-277 *Sigueme zagalejo vamos a Belen al dichoso parto de la de Joseph. Fuga a duo in vnisonus y Responcion a 5. The fuga (2 tuples) involves six voices; alto is on folio 277, 2 tenors in viola clef on 276v, bajo in tenor clef on 277. G minor (one-flat signature), C mensuration.*
- + 277v-178v *Que bien q jugarlo sabe. Coloquio a 8. G minor (one flat), ⊕ 3 mensuration. Both choirs consist of Ti A Te B. Written notevalues, all voids, range from minim to breve. Last words of estribillo text that are legible at 278v read thus: Que si en el çielo no cabe en el cerco de amor. Then come coplas, still under ⊕ 3.*



Gaspar Fernandes

Tiple 1. Que os

Tiple 2. Bo tay

Alto Que os

Tenor 1. Que os

Tenor 2. Que os

Bajo Que os

1 — Bo - tay fo - ra bo - tay
2 — Sem - pr a - ja fi - car
3 — Por pre - ma - ti - ca re - al

bo - tay fo - ra do por - tal pas - to - res não can - teis
la za - gal [la za - gal] que eses são o - fi - cios me -
por pu - ma - ti - ca re - al vo - ssa ua - pe - la e de

10 vos que os mu - si - cos de Deus an de ser de Por - tu - gal ay
os que os mu - si - cos de Deus an de ser de Por - tu - gal ay
nos que os mu - si - cos de Deus an de ser de Por - tu - gal ay

15 Que os mu - si - cos de Deus an de

Por - tu - gal.

20 Que os mu - si - cos de Deus an de ser de Por - tu -

Que os

Que os mu - si - cos de



25

ser de Por - tu - gal que os mu - si - cos de Deus an de ser de

Que os mu - si - cos de Deus tem de

- gal tem de ser de Por - tu - gal tem de ser de Por - - tu -

8 mu - si - cos de Deus tem de ser de Por - tu - gal que os

8 Deus tem de ser de Por - tu - gal tem de ser de Por - tu - gal

Que os mu - si - cos de Deus tem de ser de Por - tu -

30

Por - - tu - gal # Por - - tu - gal an de ser de Por -

ser de Por - - tu - gal de Por - tu - gal mu - si - cos de Deus tem de ser de

- gal tem de ser de Por - - tu -

8 mu - si - cos de Deus tem de ser tem de ser de Por - tu - gal de

8 que os mu - si - cos de Deus tem de ser de Por - tu - gal

- gal tem de ser de Por - tu - - gal [tem de ser de



- - tu - - gal ay Por - tu - - gal
 Por - tu - - gal ay Por - tu - - gal
 - gal Por - - tu - gal ay Por - tu - - gal
 8 Por - tu - gal ay Por - tu - - gal
 8 Por - tu - gal ay Por - tu - - gal
 Por - tu - - gal ay Por - tu - - gal

Bo - tay fo - ra do por - tal bo - tay
 Bo - tay fo - ra bo - tay
 Bo - tay fo - ra do por - tal bo - tay fo - - ra bo - tay
 8 Bo - tay fo - ra do por - tal bo - tay fo - ra bo - tay
 Bo - tay fo - ra do por - tal bo - tay
 Bo - tay fo - - ra bo - tay fo - ra bo - tay



45

bo - tay to - ra do por - - tal

bo - tay to - ra do por - - tal pas - to - - res não

bo - tay to - ra do por - - tal

bo - tay to - ra do por - - tal pas - to - res não

bo - tay to - ra do por - - tal pas - to - res não

bo - tay to - ra do por - - tal

50

pas - to - res não can - teis vos pas - to - res não can - teis

can - teis vos não can - teis vos pas - to - - res não can - teis

pas - to - res não can - teis vos pas - to - res não can - teis

can - teis vos pas - to - res não can - teis vos não can - teis

can - teis vos pas - to - - res não can - - teis vos não can - teis

pas - to - res não can - teis vos pas - to - - res não can - teis



55

vos Que os mu - si - cos de Deus an de ser de Por - tu -

vos

vos Que os mu - si - cos de Deus tem de ser de Por - tu - gal tem de

8 vos Que os mu - si - cos de

8 vos Que os mu - si - cos de Deus tem de

vos

Que os

60

- gal que os mu - si - cos de Deus an de ser de Por - - tu -

Que os mu - si - cos de Deus tem de ser de Por -

ser de Por - tu - gal tem de ser de Por - - tu - gal

8 Deus tem de ser de Por - tu - gal que os mu - si - cos de

8 ser de Por - tu - gal tem de ser de Por - tu - gal que os mu - si -

mu - si - cos de Deus tem de ser de Por - tu - - gal tem de



65

- gal Por - - tu gal an de ser de Por -
 - - tu - gal de Por - tu - gal mu - si - cos de Deus tem de ser de
 tem de ser de Por - - tu -
 8 Deus tem de ser de ser de Por - tu - gal de
 8 - cos de Deus tem de ser de Por - tu - gal
 ser de Por - tu - gal [tem de ser de

70

- - tu - - gal ay Por - tu - - gal.
 Por - tu - - gal ay Por - tu - - gal.
 - gal Por - - tu - gal. ay Por - tu - - gal.
 8 Por - tu - gal ay Por - tu - gal.
 8 Por - tu - gal ay Por - tu - gal.
 Por - tu - gal] ay Por - tu - gal.

75

80

1 - de - xay ho pran - to pro - fun - do não ho - re - des vi - da mi - nho que vos di -
 2 - fa - sey mi ni - ão ca - lar - vos os an - ge - les cor - te - ses 85 quan - do can -
 - rey hũa can - ti - nha que fa - sa lem - brar ho - min - do.
 - fãõ por - tu - gue - ses não tem e - les que can - tar.

Pois com tanta graça

Gaspar Fernandes



Tiple 1. O be lo

Tiple 2. Pois con tan ta Pois con tan-ta gra - ça be-loa na-çãoo be-lo

Alto O be lo

Tenor 1. O be lo 8

Tenor 2. O be lo 8

Bajo O be lo

O be - lo mi - - ão o be - lo ni - ão be - lo

ni - ão o be - lo mi - - ão o be - lo mi -

O be - lo mi - ão be - lo mi - ão be -

8 O be - lo ni - ão ni - ão o be - lo he - lo mi - ão

8 O be - lo mi - - ão

O be - lo ni - - ão



ni - - ño pan - de -

- ño he - lo ni - ño to - cay to - cay vo - so pan - de - ri - ño vo - so pan - de -

- lo ni - ño to - cay pan - de -

ni - - - ño to - cay pan - de -

8 be - lo ni - ño to - cay pan - de -

ni - - - ño to - cay pan - de -

15

- ri - ño chu - rum - be - - - la

- ri - ño ba - ti - sta su - a chu - rum - be - la to - ca a -

- ri - ño chu - rum - be - - la chu - rum - be - la

8 - ri - ño chu - rum - be - - - - la

8 - ri - ño chu - rum - be - - - - la

- ri - ño chu - rum - be - - - - la



a fo - ra fo - ra ra - ti - ño a fo -
 - fon - so a gui - ta - rre - la a fo - ra fo - ra ra - ti - ño a fo - ra
 a fo - ra fo - ra ra - ti - ño a fo - ra fo - ra ra - ti - ño a fo -
 a fo - ra fo - ra ra - ti - ño a fo - ra
 a fo - ra fo - ra ra - ti - ño a fo - ra

- ra fo - ra ra - ti - ño fo - lli - jay to - lli -
 fo - ra ra - ti - ño fo - lli - jay to - lli -
 - ra fo - ra ra - ti - ño fo - lli - jay por - tu - gue - si - ño
 fo - ra ra - ti - ño fo - lli - jay to - lli -
 fo - ra ra - ti - ño ra - ti - ño fo - lli - jay to - lli -
 fo - ra ra - ti - ño fo - lli - jay to - lli -



- jay por-tu-gue-si - ño fo - lli - jay por-tu-gue-si - ño fo - lli - jay fo - lli - jay

- jay por-tu-gue-si - ño fo - lli - jay por-tu-gue-si - ño fo - lli - jay fo - lli - jay fu - fu-rru -

fo - lli - jay por-tu-gue-si - - - - ño

8 - jay por-tu-gue-si - ño fo - lli - jay fo - lli - jay fo - - lli - - - jay

8 - jay por-tu-gue-si - ño fo - lli - jay fo - lli - jay fo - lli - jay fo - lli - jay

- jay por-tu-gue-si - ño fo - lli - jay por-tu-gue-si - - - - ño

§

fu - fu-rru - fu fu - fu-rru-fu ay Je - su fu-rru-fu-fu-rru-fu fu-rru-

fu-fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu se - ja bem ve-ni-du no - so de - us a se fol - gar ay

fu - fu-rru - fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fu - fu-rru-

8 fu - fu-rru - fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fo - lli - jay por-tu - gue-si-ño fu - fu-rru-

8 fu - fu-rru fu-fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fo - lli - jay por-tu - gue-si-ño fo - lli -

tu tu ru tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu



- fu ay Ju-su ay Je - su fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu
 que es to - s fi - dal-gui-ños fol - gão de o fe - ste - jar fol - gão de o fe - ste - jar
 fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fo - lli - jay por-tu - gue-si-ño fu - fu-rru - fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu ay
 8 fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fo - lli - jay por-tu - gue-si - ño fo - lli - jay fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu
 8 - jay fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fu - rru-fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu fu-rru-fu
 tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu tu

35

ay que me fi - -
 ay que me fi - no ay que me fi - no
 que me mo - rro ay que me fi - no ay
 8 ay que me fi - no
 8 ay que me fi - no
 ay que me fi - no



no que me fi - no

ay que me fi - no ay que me fi - no dea - mor - es da may don - se - la

ay que me fi - no ti - no

8 ay que me fi - no ay que me fi - no

8 ay que me fi - no ay que me fi - no

ay ay que me ti - no

45

de amor - es da may don - se - la

e sea be - lo ti - dal - gui - ño de amor - es da

de amor - es da may

8 de amor - es da may don - se - - la don -

8 de amor -



de amor - es da may don - se - la e seu
 may don - se - la ay de amor - es da may don - se - la e seu
 de amor - es da may don - se - - la de amor - es da may don -
 8 - se - - la de a - mor - es da may de a - mor - es da may de amor - es da
 8 - es da may don - se - la may don - se - la may don - se - la may don -
 de amor - es da may don - se - - la de amor - es da may don -

be - lo fi - dal - gui - ño be - lo fi - dal - gui - ño.
 be - lo fi - dal - - gui - ño be - lo fi - dal - gui - ño.
 - se - la e seu be - lo e seu be - lo fi - dal - gui - - ño.
 8 may de amor - es da may don - se - la e seu be - lo fi - dal - gui - ño.
 8 - se - la may don - se - - la e seu be - lo fi - dal - gui - ño.
 - se - la may don - se - - la be - lo fi - dal - gui - - ño.



55

e mi - ni - no tão fer - mo ^{so} que se se - me - ja
 a - in - da que no por - tal na - - çõ mi - ni - no
 e mi - ni - no tão fer - mo - so que se se - me - ja que
 a - in - da que no por - tal na - çõ mi - ni - no na -
 e mi - ni - no tão fer - mo - so que se se - me - ja a su - a may que
 a - in - da que no por - tal na - çõ mi - ni - no na - çõ mi - ni -

60

que se se - me - ja a sua may e to - do por - que seu pay
 na - - çõ mi - ni - no cho - rando po - de ser que tem - po an - dando
 se se - me - ja a su - - a may e to - do por - que seu pay e
 çõ mi - ni - no cho - ran - do po - de ser que tem - po an - dan - do
 se se - me - ja a su - a may e to - do por - que seu pay e
 - no cho - ran - do cho - ran - do po - de ser que tem - po an - dan - do

65

e por - tu - gues muy hon - rro - so hon - rro - - so .
 se - - ja rey de Por - tu - gal rey de Por - tu - gal .
 por - tu - gues e por - tu - gues muy hon - rro - - so .
 se - ja rey de Por - - tu - gal rey de Por - tu - - gal .
 por - tu - gues e por - tu - gues muy hon - rro - - so .
 se - ja rey de Por - - tu - gal rey de Por - tu - - gal .