



## Mexico City Cathedral Music 1600–1675

### GARCÍA GUERRA'S EPOCH, 1608–1612

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MEXICO CITY CATHEDRAL MUSIC scaled heights not exceeded in even the primal Spanish see. For her Baroque glories, Mexico could thank a succession of melomane archbishops. García Guerra (*b* Frómista [Palencia], 1560; *d* Mexico City, February 22, 1612) brought along his own private band of priestly musicians during his seventy-day voyage from Cádiz to Veracruz, June 12 to August 19, 1608. At Veracruz his Peninsular musicians were joined by select choristers sent from Mexico City cathedral. Along the six weeks' ascent to the capital—which he entered September 29, 1608—Indian instrumentalists entertained his party at every way station. Their *muchas tronpetas i menestriles, demas de los mitotes varios q̄ se salian a cada paso*<sup>1</sup> (“many trumpeters and other instrumentalists accompanying their ceremonial dances at every halting place”) solaced him at intervals when he was not listening to his combined ecclesiastical choirs. So reports the thrice-famous novelist Mateo Alemán (1547–*ca.* 1615), whom the

archbishop—later to be viceroy of Mexico—included among his retinue aboard the flagship *Diego Garcés*.

Nor were Archbishop Guerra's cultural affinities restricted to music. First among a cavalcade of mitered musical and literary patrons who trod the Mexican Baroque, he it was who put his stamp of approval on Cervantes's *Don Quixote* when he ordered Alemán's 1605 sequestered copy returned to him.<sup>2</sup> Apart from Alemán of Jewish lineage (whose literary renown was already international when he voyaged to Mexico), Archbishop Guerra's 1608 retinue included also Juan Ruiz de Alarcón (Mexico City, *ca.* 1581–Madrid, August 4, 1639).<sup>3</sup> Returning home in 1608 after his first Peninsular sojourn, Ruiz de Alarcón the next year obtained a law licentiate-ship from the University of Mexico, February 21, 1609. With the accustomed solemnity, the degree was conferred in the cathedral. A quadrennium later he settled at Madrid. Granted that he died there, do the most famous native-born Mexican Baroque dramatist's musical allusions have any bearing on our subject? They at least testify to a Mexican-born

<sup>1</sup> Mateo Alemán's *Sucesos de D. Frai Garcia Gera Arçobispo de Mejico* (Mexico City: Viuda de Pedro Balli, 1613), was republished in *Revue hispanique*, xxv/68 (December, 1911), 359–457, with introduction and notes by Alice H. Bushee. Quoted excerpt on p. 380 is the source for other details in the above paragraph.

Irving A. Leonard, *Baroque Times in Old Mexico: Seventeenth Century Persons and Places* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959), p. 6, commented: “he had a special fondness for music in all its forms, and the novelty of these curious strains left him undisturbed by their non-Christian origins.”

<sup>2</sup> *Revue hispanique*, xxv/68, 423n: “Se volvió el libro por suplica de S. Ilma. d. fr. garçia guerra a su dueño Matheo Aleman, Contador y Criado de Su Magestad.”

<sup>3</sup> *Teatro Completo de Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcón*, with introduction by Ermilo Abreu Gómez [1894–1971] (Mexico City: Compañía General de Ediciones, 1951), pp. vii–viii. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1968), xix, 721, calls Alarcón “the principal dramatist of early 17th-century Spain after Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina.” Corneille, whose *Le menteur* (1643) imitates *La verdad sospechosa* (published in 1628), said he would have given two of his best plays to have written the Alarcón original. See Serge Denis, *La langue de J. R. de Alarcón* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1943), p. 347.



layman's grasp of musical technicalities. If many such educated ears heard Mexican Baroque cathedral music, its penchant for learned devices becomes the more readily understandable.

Concerning sympathetic vibration, Alarcón decreed: "When any single note that you play on a string instrument dissonates with all the other strings, none of the rest will vibrate [sympathetically]" (*Los empeños de un engaño*, I, i); or: "When two instruments are in tune with each other, playing the one will cause the other to vibrate—just as surely as mirrors reflect the sun" (*La cueva de Salamanca*, III, xv).<sup>4</sup> Which are the consonant intervals? "In music, the octave, sixth, fifth, third, and their compounds give pleasure; all the other intervals dissonate."<sup>5</sup> When comparing counterpoint with plainsong, Alarcón's boasting candidate for marriage in *El examen de maridos*, II, vi, has it that "dancing is to walking what *contrapunto* is to *canto llano*" and that he who is a capable contrapuntist must *a fortiori* be a perfect plainchanter.<sup>6</sup>

Not only at Venice, but also wherever else it could be afforded, polychoralism was the early Baroque vogue. Spacing the choirs so that each *coro* consisted of instruments all of a single kind, or voices plus instruments all of homogeneous sound, was the favorite practice in Spain and throughout Spanish America. To exemplify: in his most admired and copied play, *La verdad sospechosa*, I, vii, Alarcón exactly defined the current practice of separately stationing the *coros* when he had the protagonist Don García describe a nighttime party. Four *coros* join

together to provide the nighttime music. Each separately stationed *coro* (band) consists of a family of instruments of a single kind. "A band of shawms begins [the music], followed by a band of separately stationed bowed viols, joined next by a band of sweet-sounding recorders, and last by a vocal quartet accompanied by guitars and harps."<sup>7</sup>

In Corneille's *Le menteur*, adapted from *La verdad sospechosa*, the "quatre chœurs de musique capables de charmer le plus mélancolique" are separated from each other in four boats. The first boat contains *violons*, the second *luths et voix*, the third *flûtes*, the last *hautbois*.<sup>8</sup> In Samuel Foote's *The Liar* (1762) imitating Corneille, Alarcón's Don García = Corneille's Dorante becomes Young Wilding. Keeping the idea of the boats, but reducing them to two on the Thames, Foote fills his first barge "full of trumpets, French horns, and other martial music." The boat on the other side of the river contains "a suitable number of lutes, flutes, and hautboys."<sup>9</sup> As Foote's text at once reveals, Young Wilding's two different bands no longer contain instruments of any single family. Also, the two bands merely echo one another. Neither Alarcón nor Corneille allowed any of their four *coros* = *chœurs de musique* on a night of lovemaking to include instrumentos *altos* (loud instruments such as Foote's "trumpets, French horns, and other martial music").

Trumpets belong in armed camps—so far as Alarcón is concerned (and also according to Covarrubias)—where they announce parleys and summon combatants. By way of example, a *trompeta* from an armed camp summons the "false" Alfonso I to proclaim himself in *La crueldad por su honor*, II, viii (lines 1312–1313). In the same play, I, xvi (line 966), the hoarse drum and the *clarín bastardo*<sup>10</sup> are linked as Mars's instruments. In *El anticristo*, written in

<sup>4</sup>*Teatro Completo*, pp. 888–889, 156; *Obras completas de Juan Ruiz de Alarcón*. I. *Teatro*, ed. Agustín Millares Carlo (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1957), pp. 744, 462.

"Si tocas de un instrumento / sola una cuerda, verás / que están mudas las demás, / si es disonante su acento; / más si alguna está en distancia / y en consonancia debida, / suena sin tocarlo, herida / sólo de la consonancia.

Como si en dos instrumentos / de una consonancia mesma / el uno tocan, el otro, / sin tocarlo, también suena; / como el sol en los espejos / hiere y su luz reverbera."

<sup>5</sup>*Teatro Completo*, p. 156, *Obras completas*, I, 463. "En la música, la octava, / la sexta, quinta y tercera / y sus compuestos dan gusto; / todos los demás disuenan: / y la consonancia puede / hasta en los brutos y peñas." Alarcón did not join Francisco Salinas in classing the fourth as a consonance.

<sup>6</sup>*Teatro*, p. 803; *Obras*, II, 956. "Puesto que del andar / es contrapunto el danzar, / por consecuencia se ve, / si en contrapunto soy diestro, / que lo seré en canto llano." For another reference to *contrapunto* see *La manganilla de Melilla*, II, vii, line 1542.

<sup>7</sup>*Teatro*, p. 393; *Obras*, II, 400. "Empezó primero el coro / de chirimías; tras ellas / el de las vigüelas de arco / sonó en la segunda tienda. / Salieron con suavidad / las flautas de la tercera, / y en la cuarta cuatro voces / con guitarras y arpas."

<sup>8</sup>*Le menteur*, I, lines 265–268; see his *Théâtre complet*, edited by Maurice Rat (Paris: Éditions Garnier Frères, 1961), II, 162.

<sup>9</sup>*The Works of Samuel Foote, Esq. . . . in three volumes* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1830), II, 91. Foote mistakenly thought Lope de Vega wrote the Spanish original.

<sup>10</sup>Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana, o Española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611), fol. 125; ed. by Martín de Riquer (Barcelona, S. A. Horta, I. E., 1943), p. 199: "Trompeta bastarda, la que media entre la trompeta que tiene el sonido fuerte y grave y entre el clarín, que le tiene delicado y agudo." Covarrubias's musical dicta deserve a specialized monograph.

1623, and Alarcón's one play with sung passages (lines 709–712, 1903–1920), the Antichrist proclaims himself to the accompaniment of a resounding *trompa* (line 455).

On the evidence of the above cited musical allusions, Alarcón knew the laws of sympathetic vibration, the distinction between plainsong and polyphony, the meaning of counterpoint, which intervals are consonant and which are dissonant, the names and ethos of "loud" and "soft" instruments, and current practice so far as spacing of instrumental and vocal choirs went. To the credit of the soil that gave him both his birth and his university degree, his wide general knowledge—not just his competency in any one discipline—but typified the prevailing cultural milieu in early Baroque Mexico. Or at least so insisted Alarcón's pioneer Spanish biographer.<sup>11</sup>

Never before nor since did there flourish in colonial Mexico such a plenitude of extremely learned scholars in all branches of human knowledge—some born in the New World, others in Europe. Mexico City was then the true New World Athens. Never as then was honest and prolonged work more in vogue. Never were recreations more honorable and agreeable. Never were more exquisite efforts made at fertilizing the mind with solid and productive studies. Piety drew throngs to temples where accomplished orators preached in Spanish and Náhuatl. The law courts attracted jurisconsults versed in belles lettres. With what profound minds Alarcón conversed when he returned to Mexico in 1608!<sup>12</sup>

In 1609 Mateo Alemán—who had no reason to be partial—wrote a similar panegyric of the Mexican scene.

Without exaggerating and with all sincerity, I can publish to the world at large that Mexico possesses intellects as

<sup>11</sup> Luis Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, *D. Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza* (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1871), p. 108.

<sup>12</sup> At the beginning of the Baroque epoch, Mexico City numbered about 15,000 Spanish families, 80,000 Indians, and 50,000 Negroes and mulattoes. See Leonard, *Baroque Times in Old Mexico*, pp. 72–78, for further statistics and physical details, pp. 78–84 for a cultural summary, and map-paintings opposite pp. 80 and 112 for the layout of the city in 1628 and ca. 1660. Philip W. Powell reviewing this book in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, xI/3 (August 1960), 444–445, rightly bespoke the dearth of monographs. For lack of a specialized monograph, the little that Leonard could say on music was reduced to two paragraphs. C. C. Kerr's "The Organs at the Cathedral of Mexico City," *The Organ*, xxxvi (October 1956), 53–62, was the only recent study of a colonial instrument (see M. A. Vente's corrections in *The Organ*, xxxvii [July 1957], 46).

subtle and penetrating as are to be found anyplace else that the sun shines.<sup>13</sup>

Alemán's testimony and numerous notices drawn from Mexico City cathedral capitular acts (to be quoted below) confirm not only Archbishop García Guerra's exceptional fondness for music, but also his use of his spare time. According to fray Juan Bautista Méndez (a Dominican):

So great was the archbishop's love of music that he frequently visited the Convent of Jesús María to hear the two nuns Inés de la Cruz [1567–1633, *née* Castillet] and Mariana de la Encarnación [1591–1677], both of whom were extremely accomplished musicians. They in turn did all within their power to satisfy his love of music, hoping thereby to win him to their project of a new convent adhering to the Discalced Carmelite rule.<sup>14</sup>

If naught else, Fray Juan Bautista Méndez's anecdote of the nightingale nuns proves that Archbishop Guerra's zeal for music continued being one of his best remembered traits as late as 1690. Certainly no better prelate than he could be picked to confirm the adage that in New World music, at least until 1800, the tastes of the archbishops dictated the heights to which art-music could rise. At Cuzco Antonio de la Raya (1598–1606), at Bogotá and Lima Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero (1599–1609; 1609–1622), and at Bogotá Antonio Sanz Lozano (1681–1690) unite to exemplify this same rule.<sup>15</sup> Though occupant of the Mexican see only four years, García Guerra left an imprint so indelible that in the late 1940's Steven Barwick could write his Harvard dissertation on

<sup>13</sup> Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *Documentos referentes a Mateo Alemán y a sus deudos más cercanos (1546–1607)* (Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1933), p. 54. Quoted in Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la Iglesia en México*, 5th edition (Mexico City: Editorial Patria, 1946), III, 469.

<sup>14</sup> "Historia de la fundación del convento de San José de Carmelitas," manuscript credited to the archive of San José convent in Josefina Muriel, *Conventos de Monjas en la Nueva España* (Mexico City: Editorial Santiago, 1946). The Dominican author of the manuscript quoted by Muriel could not have known Archbishop Guerra personally. He took his degrees at the University of Mexico in 1671, became a university professor in 1690 and died in 1700. For his reference to Archbishop Guerra's musical affinities, see Muriel, p. 358. Sor Inés de la Cruz, who was born at Toledo, emigrated with her parents to Mexico City in 1585 and then (or in 1588) took the habit of a Conceptionist nun in Jesús María.

<sup>15</sup> *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (Washington: Pan American Union, 1960), pp. 69–71, 75–78, 98<sup>b</sup>; "Colonial Music in Colombia," *The Americas*, xix/2 (October 1962), 125.



early colonial music in Mexico only because Archbishop Guerra had authorized in July, 1611, the expense of copying in the most permanent form possible the best works written for Mexico City Cathedral until his day.<sup>16</sup> As has already been mentioned, the chapter knew what kind of musical preludes they were about to receive before he landed at Veracruz August 19, 1608, and had therefore dispatched some able-bodied cathedral singers to meet his ship so that they might join the choice singers he was bringing with him from Spain.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, the two cathedral organs were being tuned with frantic haste, missing pipes for the smaller were being installed, and the mechanism being repaired so that it would be again playable.<sup>18</sup>

Inevitably, the advent of new singers brought with him from Spain caused some of the Mexico City veterans qualms for fear that they would be displaced. The succentor Juan Galiano, who had begun as a highly paid singer 22 years earlier,<sup>19</sup> had perhaps the most reason to fear competition by the tenor brought from Spain, Juan López de Legarda—who was also an experienced succentor.<sup>20</sup> The archbishop quickly allayed Galiano's anxieties, however, by making López de Legarda assistant succentor, and, three months later when this arrangement was seen not to be working, by changing his title to master of ceremonies. To show that musical ability counted rather than being a Castilian, the archbishop also began at once a studied policy of seeking out the best local talent for conspicuous rewards, even if the recipient were a slave. As early as February 27, 1609, he insisted that the chapter start paying the 34-year-old male soprano Luis Barreto, who was a slave, twelve gold pesos monthly.<sup>21</sup> The chapter minutes show that Guerra intervened personally on March 10 and again on March 31 to make sure that this slave-singer with "such a singularly beautiful voice and

such skill in polyphony" received the whole amount in gold, with no discounting.<sup>22</sup> Six years later (1615) Barreto was able to buy his freedom.<sup>23</sup> In 1623 the cathedral was paying him 300 pesos annually, a salary not exceeded by any other *músico*. By 1625, he had been ordained a priest. Now fifty years old, he was able to command the high yearly salary of 400 pesos in nearby Puebla Cathedral, where he was received on October 2, 1625.<sup>24</sup> In 1632, now aged 57, he was back in his home cathedral at Mexico City—again with a singer's salary.<sup>25</sup>

As early as May 1, 1543, the Mexico City chapter began hiring Indian instrumentalists as permanent employees.<sup>26</sup> Throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century the music of shawms, sackbuts, and flutes is mentioned in the cathedral acts with scarcely less frequency than vocal music.<sup>27</sup> Arch-

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, fols. 116<sup>v</sup> and 119.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, fols. 386<sup>v</sup>–387, 388<sup>v</sup>–389, 398, 402 (April 28, May 12, June 30, August 3, 1615). In previous years, Barreto had pleased the chapter so mightily that on August 7, 1612 (fol. 292<sup>v</sup>) the canons bought him two surplices of finest Rouen fabric; and on January 8, 1613 (fols. 309<sup>v</sup>–310) a complete outfit in consideration of his "many excellent services" during the preceding Christmas season. It was Archbishop Pérez de La Serna, Guerra's successor, who prevailed on the chapter to let Barreto purchase his freedom for 1500 pesos in 1615. Three canons assailed this move—the archdeacon, *chantre*, and Dr. Luis de Herrera. On May 29, 1615, the chantre forced the submission of Barreto's case to *letrados*, and only the archbishop's diplomatic plea that Barreto—now 40—was costing the chapter 450 annually and would grow less valuable later, plus Barreto's promise to serve six more years as salaried singer, gained the day. August 11, 1615, his salary was fixed at 300 pesos.

<sup>24</sup>Puebla Cathedral, *A.C.*, viii (1623–1627), fol. 134: "Resiuiu por cantor . . . luis barreto Presbitero con salario de quatro çientos p<sup>s</sup>."

<sup>25</sup>Mexico City Cathedral, *A.C.*, viii (1626–1632), fol. 374<sup>v</sup>. Six years later, the chapter released another slave, a 26-year-old *mulata*, Ursula. Bound to the Hospital del Amor de Dios, she was exchanged August 26, 1639, at her father's request (*A.C.*, ix [1633–1639], fol. 379<sup>v</sup>). However, few slave-musicians seem to have served the cathedral at any time. The notice of December 11, 1576, that two black slaves had been purchased to work the organ bellows (*A.C.*, iii [1576–1609], fol. 19) hardly qualifies them as "musicians."

<sup>26</sup>*A.C.*, i, (1536–1559), fol. 58. For the Spanish text, see footnote 19 of "The Founding Century."

<sup>27</sup>Sample entries deal with players of the following instruments: *sacabuche* (sackbut), May 13, 1575 (*A.C.*, ii, fol. 308), June 23, 1592 (*A.C.*, iv, fol. 78<sup>v</sup>); *chirimía* (shawm), January 13, 1576 (*A.C.*, ii, fol. 317<sup>v</sup>); *bajón* (bassoon), August 16, 1588 (*A.C.*, iv, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>); *trompeta* (trumpet), June 7, 1591 (*A.C.*, iv, 49<sup>v</sup>). Concerning the set of twelve *flautas para el seruicio del coro* (*A.C.*, iv [January 17, 1595], fol. 111), see footnote 270 of "The Founding Century." Next month, February 25, 1595, two ministriles—Juan Maldonado and Andrés de Molina—had to be disciplined for refusing to switch from one instrument to another during versos of the Magnificat, Psalms, Offertory, and

<sup>16</sup>Mexico City Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares* [hereafter *A.C.*], v, vol. 240<sup>v</sup> (July 5, 1611). For the Spanish text of this act, see footnote 170 of "Mexico City Cathedral: The Founding Century."

<sup>17</sup>"Svcesos de D. Frai Garcia Gera," ed. by Alice H. Bushee, *Revue hispanique*, xxv/68 (December 1911), p. 380: "le avia enbiada su cabildo, algunos musicos de la Iglesia, q̄ con los q̄ su S. traia consigo, sacerdotes de Castilla, le alijeravã el pezo del camino."

<sup>18</sup>*A.C.*, v (1606–1616), fol. 91 (August 19, 1608).

<sup>19</sup>*A.C.*, iii (1576–1609), fol. 230<sup>v</sup> (June 17, 1586); hired at 100 pesos de tepuzque.

<sup>20</sup>*A.C.*, v, fol. 101<sup>v</sup> (October 7, 1608). López became *maestro de ceremonias* January 16, 1609.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 114<sup>v</sup>.



bishop Guerra was therefore following a well established local tradition when he encouraged *ministriles* with bounties equal to those lavished on singers. For their extra music during the Corpus Christi octave in 1609, he showered the munificent sum of 150 pesos on the three harpists, two organists, and guitarist who enlivened the afternoons before vespers with their villancicos and chanzonetas.<sup>28</sup> On May 28 of the next year he announced to the chapter that excellent vocal and instrumental music both before and after vespers was an absolute necessity if any great concourse of people were to be attracted into the cathedral during the Corpus Christi octave.<sup>29</sup> In response, the chapter thanked him “for such zealous care”<sup>30</sup> and confided him with the entire oversight of the Corpus Christi music.

Alonso de Santiago, the prebendary who had been cathedral organist for several years, was still alive in 1609. He and Gerónimo de Santiago (evidently his brother) were supposed to have tuned, repaired, and restored both large and small organs in 1608, during the month that Archbishop Guerra was en route from Veracruz to the capital. Because they had somehow muffed the job, the chapter seized Alonso’s death on October 13, 1609,<sup>31</sup> and Gerónimo’s prolonged absence in Oaxaca<sup>32</sup> as their opportunity to summon from Michoacán in May of 1610 the “best” organ builder and repairman in Mexico, the Franciscan named Miguel Bal, whose reputation had been made tuning such organs in the capital as those of Santa Clara and San Juan de la Penitencia. Fray Miguel worked so expeditiously that the organs were again playable at Corpus

Christi, and for his pains the chapter on October 8 (1610) authorized San Francisco *combento* in the capital a 200-peso *limosna*, the cathedral *bajonero* Lorenzo Martínez 50 pesos for helping him and 125 for boarding him, Gaspar Sánchez 25 for 260 new pipes, and Fray Miguel himself 50 for his *necesidades*. Throughout these negotiations—and those of the same summer to outfit a promising boy-soprano for his *colegio* studies (July 13), to buy twelve surplices for the *niños del coro* (August 17), and to raise from 170 to 200 pesos the annual pay of Sebastián Ramírez, the teacher of the boy choristers<sup>33</sup>—the chapter minutes invariably reveal Archbishop Guerra’s “zealous care” to have been the prime incentive to action.

Having made good the deficiencies of the organs in 1610, the chapter turned to instrumentalists in 1611. On August 5, at the archbishop’s suggestion, salaries began to rise. Two of the senior instrumentalists had died that year—Juan Baptista, the sackbut hired at 100 pesos on June 23, 1592, who had been sick enough for a prolonged stay at the Guaztepeque hospital in 1608 and who had missed everything before Palm Sunday in 1609;<sup>34</sup> and Lorenzo Martínez, the *bajonero* since at least 1597, who was indispensable in Advent and Lent because his was the only accompanying instrument allowed in those seasons. On March 15, 1611, the chapter accepted Alonso Baptista, assigning him 200 Castilian ducats annually. As if Alonso were not enough, the cadet son Antonio appeared in the chapter meeting of August 30 with a strong recommendation from the archbishop (now viceroy also) to succeed the other senior instrumentalist who had died that year, Lorenzo Martínez. Two of the canons thought Antonio too young, but the rest agreed with the archbishop that rewarding Antonio’s youthful promise with 150 pesos annually was better than paying adult mediocrity 200 pesos.

Communion, when commanded to alternate by Juan Hernández, the maestro de capilla (*ibid.*, fol. 119). For further extracts from Mexico City cathedral *actas* concerning instrumentalists, see my *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 28–30, 33–34.

<sup>28</sup>*A.C.*, v, fol. 157.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 189: “Y ansimismo propuso de quanta ymportancia era para la devocion y frecuencia del pueblo Xpiano vltra dela solemnidad referida para las horas canonicas que en las extraordinarias despues de medio dia antes de entrar en visperas vbiese mucho concurso de cantores e ynstrumentos que tañesen y cantasen los villancicos y chançonetas que pudiessen = y ansimismo acabadas las visperas hasta entrar en maytines.”

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 190: “dado muchas gracias a su S<sup>a</sup> Ill<sup>ma</sup> por tanto zelo y cuidado.”

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 162.

<sup>32</sup>His six-year contract began in 1607. He was again—or still—in Oaxaca April 18, 1614 (*ibid.*, fol. 354). The chapter dismissed him February 23, 1616 (fol. 425). See footnotes 258 and 259 of “The Founding Century.”

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, fols. 196<sup>v</sup>, 200<sup>v</sup>, 202<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>34</sup>*A.C.*, iv, fol. 78<sup>v</sup>; *A.C.*, v, fols. 131, 136.

<sup>35</sup>Andrés Sas, “La vida musical en la Catedral de Lima,” *Revista Musical Chilena*, xvi/81–82 (July–December 1962), p. 32.

## CATHEDRAL MUSIC, 1613–1648

When Archbishop Guerra died February 22, 1612, Lima cathedral was within a month of installing as chapelmaster Estacio de la Serna,<sup>35</sup> a brilliant



organist-composer of Sevillian birth who before migrating to Peru had been Royal Chapel organist at Lisbon.<sup>36</sup> Two of Serna's *tientos* were published in *Monumentos de la Música Española*, xii (1952), 246-255<sup>37</sup> with accompanying encomiums of their *optimista y radiante* beauty.<sup>38</sup> In contrast with Lima, Mexico City music throughout Guerra's quadrennium continued under the sixtyish prebendary, Juan Hernández, whose term as chapelmaster began on January 17, 1586, but whose polyphonic compositions seemingly fail to survive. Also chapter secretary for almost two decades,<sup>39</sup> he occupied too many posts to be lightly replaced in any of them. At all events, even so musically zealous a prelate as Archbishop Guerra seems to have been too conciliatory an administrator to have tried replacing Hernández.

The next archbishop, Juan Pérez de la Serna (1613-1626), dared excommunicate even the viceroy.<sup>40</sup> Hernández he did not excommunicate, but certainly sought to superannuate. On September 23, 1614, Antonio Rodríguez Mata presented the chapter with a royal document naming him to a half-prebend and to the chapelmastership; the document bore the archbishop's countersignature of approval. At once, Hernández protested that he had been maestro de capilla almost thirty years. As a compromise the chapter conferred on Rodríguez Mata a title much used in Spain under similar circumstances, *maestro de los infantes del coro*.<sup>41</sup> Disliking this title, Rodríguez Mata consented to be known the next year as a mere *músico* while awaiting Hernández's voluntary retirement.<sup>42</sup> On August 7, 1618, he was rewarded for his patience with a chaplaincy and twice soon afterwards for writing the chanzonetas

and villancicos that Hernández had stopped composing.<sup>43</sup> At last on January 7, 1620, the septuagenarian reluctantly quit the lucrative office of chapter secretary; for the money that he was losing he requested restoration of the *tipla* salary once paid him. So faltering a figure did he now cut in *coro* that the entire musical staff could sign a petition handed to the chapter on July 10, asking that they be allowed to sing without the interference of the aged chapelmaster.<sup>44</sup> However, the chapter refused thus to humiliate a veteran whose voice had once been hailed as the truest and most beautiful in New Spain.

In 1621 Hernández continued hobbling to chapter meetings. Two years later Rodríguez Mata was still being conveniently called merely *músico de la capilla*—doubtless to placate Hernández. But by then he had the satisfaction of knowing that the forces under his control were being considered everywhere else throughout the New World as the ultimate in excellence. To take an example: at the request of Guatemala Cathedral authorities, the Mexico City cathedral chapter forwarded to Antigua, Guatemala, on December 1, 1623, an itemized list of the entire cathedral music establishment serving under Rodríguez Mata.<sup>45</sup> As of that date 18 *músicos*, 8 *ministriles* (instrumentalists), 4 choirboys, 2 organists, and 2 maestros were being paid 7374 pesos annually from *fábrica* funds. In addition, 10 singing chaplains were being paid 1435

<sup>43</sup>A.C., vi (1617-1620), fol. 66<sup>v</sup>; fols. 85 and 90<sup>v</sup> (February 1 and 20, 1619).

<sup>44</sup>A.C., vii (1620-1625), fol. 61. Juan López de Legarda, who handed the petition to the chapter, was by then first *sochantre*.

<sup>45</sup>Guatemala Cathedral, *Libro de el Ill<sup>mo</sup> Cabildo de Santiago de Guatemala delos aquerdos . . . que se acen desde el Año de 1599: en adelante*, fols. 148<sup>v</sup>-150<sup>v</sup>. Mexico City personnel, according to the list of December 1, 1623, registered the following 18 *músicos* (annual salaries in *pesos de oro común*): Tomás López (150), Nicolás Crespo (200), Sebastián Ramírez (300), Juan López de Legarda (250), Melchor de Herrera (300), Agustín de Salazar (120), Antonio de Ribas (250), Luis Coronado (300), Cristóbal Ponce de León (200), Pedro de Fuentes (200), Sebastián Gutiérrez (120), Bartolomé de Zeli (50), Luis Barreto (300), Alonso de la Parra (250), Francisco Ruiz Osorio (220), Diego de Huerta (300), Andrés de Magdalena (50), Juan González (100). Eight ministriles earned the following amounts: Juan Maldonado (354), Juan Baptista (350), Alonso Árias (250), Alexo García (300), Joseph Xuárez (150), Pedro de Escobedo (300), Lázaro Rodríguez (200), Francisco de Herrera (200). The four choirboys, all classed as *tiples*, were Bartolomé Quebedo (50), Simón Martines (40), Jacinto de Aguilera (40), Francisco de Andrade (100). Juan Ximénez, first organist, earned 300 pesos; Fabián Ximeno, second organist earned 700 (*lapsus calami* for 200?). On May 14, 1632, Rodríguez Mata rated as the best soloists in the above list: Barreto *tipla*, Herrera contralto, Coronado organist, and Huerta (A.C., viii [1626-1632], fol. 374<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>36</sup>Martín de León, *Relacion delas exequias* (Lima: Pedro de Merchán y Calderón, 1613), fol. 26; Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo, "Subsídios para a história de música em Portugal," *O Instituto*, LXXIX (1962), p. 645.

<sup>37</sup>See also Manuel Rodrigues Coelho, *Flores de Musica*, ed. by M. S. Kastner (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1959), I, page xxv<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>38</sup>Francisco Correa de Arauxo, *Libro de Tientos*, ed. by M. S. Kastner (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1952), II, 14 (introduction).

<sup>39</sup>Elected chapelmaster in 1586 (A.C., III, 219<sup>v</sup>), his ascent to chapter secretary came about fifteen years later. He lost the secretary's office at the end of 1619 (A.C., vi [1617-1620], fol. 179 [January 7, 1620]).

<sup>40</sup>Francisco Sosa, *El Episcopado Mexicano*, third edition (Mexico City, Editorial Jus, 1962), I, 156-157.

<sup>41</sup>Guerrero began on very much these same terms at Seville September 11, 1551 (see *La Música en la Catedral de Sevilla 1478-1606 Documentos para su estudio* [Los Angeles: Raúl Espinosa, 1954], p. 23a).

<sup>42</sup>A.C., v, fol. 381 (February 13, 1615).



from endowment. Pluralists such as Juan López de Legarda earned the most. Of his 779 pesos—400 from *fábrica* sources, 329 from cathedral endowment—López de Legarda earned 200 for being master of the choirboys, 200 for being succentor, 250 as *músico*, and 129 as *capellán de coro*. To prove their quality, two of the musicians serving in 1623 were themselves destined to follow Rodríguez Mata as *maestro de capilla*: Luis Coronado, 1643-1648, and Fabián Ximeno, 1648-1654.

In 1625 the English Dominican Thomas Gage called music "so exquisite in that City, that I dare be bold to say, that the people are drawn to their churches more for the delight of their musick, than for any delight in the service of God."<sup>46</sup> On August 2, 1629, the year of the great floods that caused 27,000 in the capital to flee elsewhere (Puebla, especially),<sup>47</sup> Rodríguez Mata—by now *racionero* and titular *maestro de capilla*—agreed that the number of musicians on the payroll could be reduced drastically.<sup>48</sup> The measure of the devastation was taken by Archbishop Manso y Zúñiga when he wrote Philip IV on October 16 that more than 30,000 Indians had died in the floods and that of a previous 20,000 Spanish families only 400 remained. Further disaster followed in the form of epidemics.<sup>49</sup>

However, sufficient recovery was made in the next decade for Luis Coronado, now principal organist, and several other musicians to obtain salary increases in 1632 and 1633,<sup>50</sup> for new outfits to be purchased for the choirboys in 1633,<sup>51</sup> and for the repair of numerous old polyphonic choirbooks in 1639.<sup>52</sup> From the Mexico City excess, Rodríguez Mata could in 1632 forward to nearby Puebla the partbooks of Francisco Guerrero's 1570 motets.<sup>53</sup> Luis de Cifuentes, hired as a *triple* at a mere 100 pesos annu-

ally on October 23, 1615, had risen in the next two decades to the doctoral canonry and on August 1, 1636, was affluent enough to endow St. Peter's matins and Mass with *la mayor solemnidad que ser pueda* of villancicos and chanzonetas composed newly every year for the occasion.<sup>54</sup> Rodríguez Mata, taking his cue from his predecessor's extra-musical parleys, became *licenciado* in 1639 so that two years later he could enter the rich field of tithe-collecting in the Chalco district, with Toluca as headquarters.<sup>55</sup> Rodríguez Mata was wealthy enough at his decease in 1643 to endow two chaplaincies.

Although his only compositions mentioned in the capitular acts were vernacular chanzonetas and villancicos, Rodríguez Mata's extant oeuvre in Mexico City Cathedral Choirbook II consists of two sets of lamentations *a 4*: Lesson 1 for Good Friday at folios 106<sup>v</sup>-114, Lesson 1 for Holy Saturday at folios 114<sup>v</sup>-119, and two passions *a 4*—Matthew for Palm Sunday at folios 1<sup>v</sup>-14, and John for Good Friday at 72<sup>v</sup>-80. In addition, his *Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Lucam, a 4* is in the choirbook catalogued at the Newberry Library in Chicago as Case MS VM 2147 C 36, Volumes II, at folios 115<sup>v</sup>-118, and v, at 122<sup>v</sup>-125 (see above, page 71).

All three of his passions belong to the *turba*-type composed by Victoria. In conformity with Victoria's style they eschew all artifice, and instead consist of dark-hued chords throughout. Felix Mendelssohn protested against this type. After hearing Victoria's John Passion sung Good Friday of 1831 in the Sistine Chapel, he argued in a lengthy letter (dated at Rome June 16, 1831)<sup>56</sup> to his old mentor, Carl Zelter, that it was inartistic to use the same kind of simplistic four-part homophony for cries such as "Crucify him" and "Barabbas" that serves also for "And he was with Jesus of Nazareth" or "Hail, king of the Jews." Not only do Victoria's four-voice

<sup>46</sup>Thomas Gage's *Travels in the New World*, ed. by J. E. S. Thompson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 72. In the introduction, p. xlvi, Thompson writes: "In all matters, except religious, which can be verified, I have found Gage truthful and reliable."

<sup>47</sup>Sosa, *op. cit.*, I, 175.

<sup>48</sup>A.C., VIII (1626-1632), fol. 241 (August 2, 1629).

<sup>49</sup>Sosa, I, 177.

<sup>50</sup>A.C., VIII, fol. 374<sup>v</sup> (May 14, 1632); IX (1633-1639), fol. 35<sup>v</sup> (November 8, 1633).

<sup>51</sup>A.C., IX, fol. 32 (October 7, 1633).

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 400<sup>v</sup> (November 15, 1639). Eight days later the chapter appropriated 100 pesos for their repair (fol. 402<sup>v</sup>), after which they were to be put some place where they would not be mistreated.

<sup>53</sup>Legajo xxxiii at Puebla Cathedral contains the 1570 also printed partbook with this inscription: "desde la ciudad de Mexico desde el año de mil seiscientos i treinta y dos años—siendo m<sup>o</sup> el señor racionero Antonio de mata rodriguez."

<sup>54</sup>A.C., IX, fol. 167.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 238<sup>v</sup> (April 24, 1643). In the interim since Rodríguez Mata's appointment as tithe-collector, a cathedral musician active since at least 1632 (A.C., VIII, fol. 374<sup>v</sup>)—Melchor de los Reyes—had served as *Theniente de Maestro de Capilla* at 300 pesos annually (A.C., X, fol. 150<sup>v</sup> [February 14, 1642]).

<sup>56</sup>*Reisebriefe . . . aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1832* (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1861), pp. 176-178. See also, Theodor Göllner, "Two Polyphonic Passions from California's Mission Period," *Yearbook for Inter-American Musical Research*, VI (1970), 67.



Passions according to Matthew and John<sup>57</sup> forgo anything contrapuntal, but also they both involve numerous short sections of what would now be classed as F Major music (one flat in signature), with most sections ending on the dominant chord.

To spike, if possible, Mendelssohn's objections to turba passions, Felipe Pedrell spiced his edition of Francisco Guerrero's 1580 Matthew and John Passions<sup>58</sup> with performance directions (heading each short section with some such adverb as "audaciously," "indignantly," "simply," "ironically"). The twenty short sections in Guerrero's Matthew Passion, although setting exactly the same twenty Scriptural portions as Victoria, do so *a 5* (a few sections reduce). Also, in contrast with Victoria, Guerrero allowed himself an occasional imitation (*Quid ad nos*) and some word-painting (*Alios*), and he varied cadences ending successive movements (distributed among A, C, and G).

Rodríguez Mata's passions differ from both Victoria's and Guerrero's not so much for their style but textwise. He opens with a polyphonic setting of the title *Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Mattheum* [or *Lucam* or *Joannem*] and closes with polyphony for the last words of the Scriptural narrative (Matthew 27.61, Luke 23.49, John 19.37). Like both Guerrero and Victoria, Rodríguez Mata does reduce on occasion to three, or even two, voices: as in *Nihil tibi* (Matthew 27.19), when Pilate's wife admonishes him to let that just man alone because of her dream. But whereas Victoria brought two adjacent voices together in any binium, Rodríguez Mata here pits tiple against baxo. In Passion excerpts such as *Nihil tibi* and *Eliam vocat* (Matthew 27.47b, Choirbook II, fols. 7<sup>v</sup>-8 and 12<sup>v</sup>-13) that include crotchets (original time-values), Rodríguez Mata opts for the C mensuration sign. In excerpts such as *Flevit amare* (26.75b = fols. 6<sup>v</sup>-7) and *Ave Rex* (27.30 = fols. 9<sup>v</sup>-10) notated with voids, he chooses  $\mathcal{C}$ . He mandates a direct chromaticism in the superius between "Ave" and "Rex" of the latter excerpt (and a first-inversion dominant-7th on "-dae-"):

In *Flevit amare* his insertion of a sharp-sign before B in the melodic progression A-B-A (tenor, fol. 6<sup>v</sup>)

<sup>57</sup>*Opera Omnia*, v (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1908), pp. 113-118, 170-173.

<sup>58</sup>*Hispaniae schola musica sacra* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1894), II, 24-37, 38-47. A copy of the Alessandro Gardano edition of Guerrero's *Passio Secundum Matthaem et Joannem more hispano* is in the Archivio Storico della Cappella Lauretana at Loreto. (See Giovanni Tebaldini's *Catalogo*

implies that as late as 1640 Mexico City cathedral singers still customarily flatted any B between A's. Obviously his singers continued needing to know the rules for Renaissance ligatures to sing such an excerpt as *Deus meus* (fol. 12, alto, left descending tailed alpha on "me"-us).

Rodríguez Mata's successor, Luis Coronado, who held the post five years, 1643-1648, was the first of three successive Mexico City maestros who rose to the chapelmaster's podium from the organist's bench. Choirbook II contains his four passions (fols. 15<sup>v</sup>-33, 34<sup>v</sup>-45, 46<sup>v</sup>-58, 60<sup>v</sup>-71). Although nurtured in the same sober Spanish tradition as Rodríguez Mata whose Matthew and John passions are copied in the same choirbook, Coronado inserts many more melismas, allows himself many more melodic and rhythmic sequences, and sticks to the same ending chord (G minor in all four passions), in contrast with Rodríguez Mata, who veers between A and D ending chords. Both composers carefully distinguish between C and  $\mathcal{C}$  mensurations. On occasion Coronado specifies a mensuration not found in Rodríguez Mata's passions,  $\Phi 3$ , with semibreves transcribable as quarter-notes. In the Crucifigatur of his Matthew passion (27.22b, 23b = fols. 24<sup>v</sup>-25), he precedes his tenor part with a signature of one flat, the other voice parts with a two-flat signature.

Like Rodríguez Mata, Coronado inserted sharp-signs before B and E to inhibit flattening of these notes in an inverted mordent (Mark 15.41b = fol. 44<sup>v</sup>, two bottom staves). Also, like many another Spanish composer from Bermudo's time to his own, Coronado boldly specified the diminished fourth melodic interval (fol. 37<sup>v</sup>, second staff). Simplistic as may seem the passions of both Rodríguez Mata and Coronado, they served their liturgical purpose so perfectly that 150 years later four-part passions of precisely the same type were being copied anew for use in so distant an outpost of the Spanish empire as Santa Barbara, California.

Coronado's fame travelled at least as far as Puebla, where Legajo XLII of the music archive contains loose-sheet parts for his *Missa a 12 Vozes de Octavo Tono*. This Tone VIII Mass for three choirs, each consisting of SATB, remains as yet unstudied.

*storico-critico* [Loreto: 1921], p. 22.) The Seville Cathedral parchment codex of 60 leaves dated 1580 that Pedrell knew contains all four passions.



Mexico City Cathedral: Choirbook II, fols. 7<sup>v</sup>-8



Rodríguez Mata

Ni - hil Ni - hil ti - bi

Ni - hil Ni - hil - ti - bi

et ju - sto il - li mul - ta en - im pas - sa sum per vi - sum

et ju - sto il - li mul - ta en - im pas - sa sum per vi - sum

ho - di - e pro - pter e - um.

ho - di - e ho - di - e pro - pter e - um, e - um.

Choirbook II, fols. 9<sup>v</sup>-10

□ = ○

A - ve Rex Ju - dae - o - rum

A - ve Rex Ju - dae - o - rum

A - ve Rex Ju - dae - o - rum

A - ve Rex Ju - dae - o - rum



Luis Coronado

Choirbook II, fols. 24<sup>v</sup>-25

*Juan de Lienas, maestro outside  
Mexico City Cathedral*

While holder of a John Knowles Paine Traveling Fellowship from Harvard University, Steven Barwick wrote a letter to Dr. Harold Spivacke dated March 25, 1949, in which he suggested microfilming for the Library of Congress a mutilated 108-folio choirbook then at the Museo Colonial del Carmen, Villa Obregón, Mexico, D.F.<sup>59</sup> This most fortunate

<sup>59</sup>George Smisor of the Biblioteca Benjamin Franklin, Mexico City, did the microfilming of not only this choirbook but also the Puebla Cathedral choirbooks, using funds supplied by the Library of Congress.

gesture saved for musical research *Libro de Coro, No. 21*, subsequently lost from the Museo Colonial del Carmen. Working solely from the microfilm, Jesús Bal y Gay in 1952 edited the contents in a handsome *Tesoro de la música polifónica en México* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes [1953]). Of the 216 pages still present when the codex was microfilmed, sixty contain music by Juan de Lienas: his *Missa super fa re ut fa sol la*, a 5 (on a subject also used in Spain by Morales, Melchor Robledo, and Ginés de Boluda) occupying twenty-eight pages; his *Magnificat Tertii toni*, a 5, twelve pages; *Salve Regina*, a 4, eight; portions of a *Requiem* a 5, six; Maundy Thursday lamentations



a 4, six, and a 5, two; and a motet setting Matthew 26.26, *Coenantibus autem illis*, a 4, two pages. Hernando Franco and Francisco López Capillas, Mexico City cathedral chapelmasters 1575–1585 and 1654–1674, enter the same codex, each with music taking up four pages. Was Lienas still another chapelmaster in Mexico City, but one whom the chief copyist of the Carmen codex cited by his birthplace instead of by his patronymic? Lienas is indeed the name of a small place six miles north of Huesca in Aragon.

Apart from the now lost Carmen codex, Lienas is well represented in at least five of the six choirbook miscellanies catalogued at the Newberry Library in Chicago under call-number Case VM 2147 C 36. Donated March 30, 1899, by the Chicago banking magnate Charles Lawrence Hutchinson (1854–1924), these six Newberry Mexican choirbooks aroused no immediate scholarly interest.<sup>60</sup> The first Ph.D. dissertation to discuss them was written by Eliyahu Schleifer.<sup>61</sup> Steven Barwick first mentioned in print these six Newberry volumes when in 1970 he published “A Recently Discovered Miserere of Fernando Franco,” *Yearbook for Inter-American Musical Research*, vi, 77–89 (see above, page 68).

As Barwick presciently observed, folios 78<sup>v</sup>–82 and 94<sup>v</sup>–99 of Newberry I, although unascribed, can be assigned to Juan de Lienas on the strength of the following concordances in the Convento del Carmen codex: *Salve Regina*, a 4 at pages 36–43 and *Magnificat Tertii toni*, a 5 at 46–57. In Newberry vi, the apparently anonymous *Incipit lamentatio-Aleph Quomodo-Beth Plorans-Hyerusalem* at folios 105<sup>v</sup>–108 is Lienas’s—on the strength of not one but two concordances naming him as composer, the first in Newberry iii, folios 126<sup>v</sup>–129 (“in cena domini don ju<sup>o</sup> de lienas”), the second in Carmen, pages 200–207.

For lack of Mexico City cathedral documents mentioning him, can any hints be gleaned concern-

ing musical life in either the Carmen *convento* or other *conventos* in the Mexico City area that Lienas may possibly have served? As early as June 2, 1594, Philip II had signed a cedula (received at Mexico City March 16, 1595) recommending that the viceroy and oidores help the Discalced Carmelites in every way possible, including money gifts up to 4000 pesos de minas for the building of their church and completion of their dwelling. The founder-donor of the Convento del Carmen in what is now Villa Obregón (formerly San Ángel) was Andrés [Zar de Sorogaistoa] de Mondragón who bought the ground on which the *convento* was built from the Indian cacique, Don Felipe de Guzmán Iztlotlinque = Izlotlinqui, lord of Coyoacán. In the founding deed dated May 11, 1597, Mondragón—who had made his money as a barber-surgeon in Mexico City—stipulated that on November 30 (his name day) and on memorial days for himself, his wife Elvira Gutiérrez, and his descendants were to be celebrated *misas cantadas con su [canto de] órgano con todo solemnidad que sea posible*.<sup>62</sup>

The architect who planned and supervised the sumptuous building, Andrés de Segura de la Alcuña, was “perhaps the most important in seventeenth-century Mexico.” Born near Cadiz in 1577, he took Discalced Carmelite vows at Puebla in 1598 after a miraculous escape from shipwreck—being known henceforth as Fray Andrés de San Miguel (died 1644).<sup>63</sup> The first stone of the Carmen friary was laid June 29, 1615, followed by two years of intense construction before it was ready for occupancy.<sup>64</sup> Further endowments within less than a decade made the wealth of the Carmen *convento* the cynosure of Baroque Mexico and the chapel a truly fitting environment in which to have heard on special days the Masses of Victoria, Guerrero, and Lienas contained in the one surviving Convento del Carmen choirbook.

<sup>62</sup> Francisco Fernández del Castillo, *Apuntes para la Historia de San Angel (San Jacinto Tenantitla) y sus alrededores* (Mexico City: Imprenta del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnología, 1913), p. 57.

<sup>63</sup> Manuel Toussaint, “Fray Andrés de San Miguel, arquitecto de la Nueva España,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, iv/3 (1945), p. 13.

<sup>64</sup> This is the date given by Federico Gómez de Orozco in his “Apuntes para la historia de la villa de San Angel, D.F.,” *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía*, cuarta época, v (1927), 479. The long delay in getting the building started resulted not so much from the opposition of the Dominicans (who already had a friary in San Jacinto Tenantitla[n]) as from the engagements of the chosen architect elsewhere.

<sup>60</sup> What interest any Mexican music excited at the turn of the century centered in such easily accessible items published at Chicago as Narciso Serradell’s *La Golondrina* and Juventino Rosas’s *Sobre las olas*; see my “Visión musical norteamericana de las otras Américas hacia 1900,” *Revista Musical Chilena*, xxxi/137 (1977), pp. 31–32.

<sup>61</sup> Concerning Schleifer, see my “Mexican Colonial Music Manuscripts Abroad,” *Notes of the Music Library Association*, xxix/2 (December, 1972), 204 (note 3), and comment on his “New Light on the Mexican Choirbooks at the Newberry Library (Notes, xxx/2 [December, 1973], 231–249) in the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, xxxviii (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1976), p. 563, item 9164.



Not the friars themselves, but rather Indian choirs directed by Indian maestros provided the polyphony performed in colonial Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian, and Carmelite *conventos*.<sup>65</sup> Teresa of Ávila, initiator of the Discalced Carmelite reform, herself forbade her followers anything but *recto tono* singing of the Office—not even tolerating Gregorian chant.<sup>66</sup> Only in 1685 did Gregorian chant begin being sung by Spanish Discalced Carmelite friars, the Italian congregation (which in its 1635 *Ordinarium* explicitly forbade anything but monotone singing, whatever the feast) waiting even longer. However, her ascetic rules, and for that matter the 1581 Alcalá constitutions forbidding any *vpaturam* = *upaturam* = *hacer garganta* (florid song), applied only to Discalced friars under vows—not at all to Indian choirs officiating within friary precincts on Feast days or other solemn occasions in Baroque Mexico.

Where else may Lienas have officiated, apart from the Carmen *convento*? In the Carmen choirbook, lower voice parts pitched within the range of adult male voices are almost invariably texted, thus implying that tenor and bass parts were sung, not played by substituting instrumentalists. On the other hand, the lower voice parts in the Newberry series frequently lack text, suggesting that instruments played the tenor and bass lines. The first volume of the Newberry series, bound in crinkled yellow parchment, was taken apart on a library order dated February 7, 1972, so that the leaves could be deacidified. Shortly thereafter, the binding when studied under ultraviolet light revealed upside down on the back cover this inscription: *este libro de misas es de este conbento de nuestra señora de la encarnacion*. Although the front cover of the same volume bears the inked inscription *Cate [Catedral]/Al-1/7-19-*

82, the back cover certainly implies a sometime connection with Encarnación nunnery. Founded at Mexico City in 1594, Encarnación lacked a suitable church until one began being built in 1639.<sup>67</sup> In Encarnación as in other wealthy Mexican nunneries instruments played by the nuns themselves conveniently substituted for missing male voices.<sup>68</sup>

At least two “professional” scribes collaborated in copying Carmen. Although superficially alike, their hands can be distinguished by comparing telltale treble clef signs and mensuration 3’s throughout Lienas’s *Missa fa re ut fa sol la, a 5* at pages 111–136 and Victoria’s polytextual *Ave maris stella* Mass that precedes it at pages 78–107. On the contrary, the Newberry volumes are hodgepodes of gatherings copied at different times by at least twenty different scribes. Newberry iv, v, and vi were not even bound until after 1720—on the evidence of printer’s sheets in the bindings (Joseph Bernardo de Hogal<sup>69</sup> arrived at Mexico City in 1720). Nonetheless, likenesses in handwriting do prove that the scribe who copied page 56 in Carmen also copied 20 openings in Newberry ii (*de las lamentaciones de jueves y biernes 5to*)—as against 102 openings attributable to other scribes; and copied 35 openings in Newberry iii (*I Coro dela Salbe y salmos de ocho de dō Juº lieñas*)—as against 101 openings copied by other scribes. This identity of hand provides a further link between Carmen and the Newberry series.

To summarize: Lienas’s repertory in Carmen for male choir not exceeding five voices and emphasizing Tone III belongs to a retrospective volume that except for the López Capillas Magnificat could well have been copied for Carmen choir usage anytime between 1617 and 1639. His polychoral repertory in the Newberry series with untexted lower lines fits

<sup>65</sup> For data on Indian choirs in *conventos* see Gabriel Saldívar y Silva, *Historia de la música en México (Épocas precortesiana y colonial)* (Mexico City: Ediciones “Cultura,” 1934), pp. 88–99, 314 (especially last item); my *Music in Mexico A Historical Survey* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1952), pp. 59–67; *The Music of Peru Aboriginal and Colonial Epochs* (Washington: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1960), pp. 43–52; “European Music in 16th-Century Guatemala,” *Musical Quarterly*, L/3 (July 1964), 345–352; *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory*, pp. 9, 154–172, 198–199, 203–204, 277–288.

<sup>66</sup> Concerning Teresa of Ávila’s rules on singing, the 1581 Alcalá Constitutions, and the subsequent history of music among Discalced Carmelites, see Livino del Niño Jesús’s Pontifical School of Sacred Music thesis, “La Música Sagrada en la Reforma Carmelitana,” summarized in *Tesoro Sacro Musical*, XLII/5 (September–October 1959), 99–103.

<sup>67</sup> Manuel Ramírez Aparicio, *Los Conventos suprimidos en México* (Mexico City: J. M. Águilar y C.ª, 1861), p. 147. Álvaro de Lorenzana, patron of the Encarnación *convento*, paid all the expenses of building the church—the cornerstone of which was laid December 1, 1639.

<sup>68</sup> See the catalogue of music sung in Santísima Trinidad convent, Puebla, in *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico*, pp. 10–17. Thomas Gage, who reached Mexico City October 3, 1625, wrote that in the capital there were brawls among the rich families who sent their daughters to learn music in nunneries to defend “which of these nunneries most excelled in music.” Concerning the excellence of the music in rich Concepción *convento*, the sumptuous church of which was inaugurated November 13, 1655, see Ramírez Aparicio, p. 394.

<sup>69</sup> José Toribio Medina, *La Imprenta en México (1539–1821)* (Santiago: En Casa del Autor, 1911), viii, 398, 402.



better the rich Encarnación nunnery within the 1639–1654 range—during which period Luis Coronado and Fabián Ximeno at Mexico City and Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla at Puebla made eight- and twelve-voice polyphony their preferred vehicle on great feasts.

Juan Hernández's name on page 226 of the Carmen Codex (heading an incomplete "lamentation A 4 de Ju<sup>o</sup> hernandes") tempts us to continue seeking some connection between Lienas and the Mexico City cathedral maestro who came from the region of Lienas in Spain. A fanciful reconstruction would have it that Hernández taught the youthful cacique to revere Robledo of Saragossa, Victoria of Ávila, and Guerrero of Seville, thus preparing him for a chapelmaster's career in the wealthiest conventos of the capital. A disastrous marriage made him a laughing stock. He died about 1650, aged 70.

Against these mere hypotheses, what certainties can we cling to? His *Salve, a 4*, found in both Newberry I and Carmen, has now established itself as one of the most poignant works in the colonial repertory. Recorded in 1966 (Angel S36008) by Roger Wagner, this *Salve* a decade later still rated in his opinion—after he had conducted numerous performances on transcontinental tour—as a nonpareil New World polyphonic masterpiece. Both the quality and extent of Lienas's other Carmen and Newberry repertory promise the discoverer of his precise dates and true identity—Spanish, creole, or Indian—a lasting laurel wreath in American musicology.

#### FABIÁN [PÉREZ] XIMENO, CATHEDRAL ORGANIST-MAESTRO, 1648–1654

On December 1, 1623, Fabián Ximeno ranked as second organist in Mexico City cathedral, Juan Ximénez as first.<sup>70</sup> On January 30, 1635, now a *presbítero*, Ximeno received 200 pesos for testing the new large organ under construction at nearby Puebla Cathedral.<sup>71</sup> When its twin was finished, he was paid another 200 pesos for his services at the dedication on May 2, 1648.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup>See footnote 45. In *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico*, pp. 73–74, I accepted at face value an annual salary of 700 pesos, but now ask whether 700 was a scribal mistake at either Mexico City or Guatemala for 200.

<sup>71</sup>Puebla Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, x (1634–1639), fol. 47.

<sup>72</sup>Puebla Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, xii (1648–1652), fol. 29.

By November 28, 1642, he had risen to become first organist of Mexico City cathedral. On that date he persuaded the Mexico City chapter to hire as organ tuner and repairman Joseph Vidal[es].<sup>73</sup> The cathedral treasury was just then so depleted that on the following December 23 the chapter met secretly to discuss reducing all musicians' pay. The axe fell publicly March 3, 1643, when the chapter ordered everyone reduced by ten percent and no musicians engaged (except possibly an eminent sopranoist) until further notice.<sup>74</sup> Because he knew how indispensable he was, Fabián Peres [Pérez] Ximeno—as his full name reads in certain acts<sup>75</sup>—contested this blanket cut June 26, 1643, and obtained that same day assurance that the 100 pesos deducted from his own annual salary would be restored.

At the chapter meeting of March 31, 1648,<sup>76</sup> the canons learned of Licenciado Luis Coronado's death, whereupon they at once named Fabián Ximeno to be the new maestro de capilla and Juan Coronado to be his assistant. The promotion to maestro entitled Ximeno to special seating in the choir enclosure and a fifty-peso annual salary boost effective November 26, 1649.<sup>77</sup> Even so, he claimed to be "poor" and because of his long cathedral service deserving of more money, which on May 2, 1651, the chapter refused him.<sup>78</sup> At the same meeting "was read another petition of the said maestro, in which he asks dissolution of certain choirs, and in particular of one choir led by a Negro, because of the indecency of their singing, and the nonsense which they utter when assisting at Masses and at other paid church functions."<sup>79</sup>

<sup>73</sup>Mexico City, *Actas Capitulares*, x (1640–1650), fol. 199<sup>v</sup>. Vidal[es] was promised the same salary as his unnamed predecessor "por afinador y Maestro de haçer organos."

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 228<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 248<sup>v</sup> (June 26, 1643); *Actas Capitulares*, xii (1652–1655), fol. 39<sup>v</sup>; A.C., xxxvi (1741–1744), fol. 35<sup>v</sup> (January 30, 1742).

<sup>76</sup>A.C., x, fol. 637<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 749<sup>v</sup>. A century later Ximeno was still remembered as one of the two best paid musicians in cathedral history. See *Actas Capitulares*, xxxvi (1741–1744), fol. 35<sup>v</sup> (January 30, 1742).

<sup>78</sup>A.C., xi (1650–1653), fol. 33<sup>v</sup>. On January 31, 1651 (fol. 14) the chapter had granted him a paid three-weeks leave.

<sup>79</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 33<sup>v</sup>: "Leyose otra pet<sup>on</sup> del dicho M<sup>o</sup> enq<sup>o</sup> pide se quitten las capillas de musicos, Y en particular, Vna de un negro, por la indecencia, conque cantan, y disparates que dicen enel officiar las missas. Y en otros actos tocantes al ministerio [fol. 34] de iglesia, fuera de que se minoran las obensiones, dela Capilla dela Catedral, donde es interessada la fabrica."



Tiple Solo y con la copilla

Ay ay ga-le-gui-ños

 A single musical staff in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, C5, D5, E5, and F5.

Tiple A5

Ay ay ga-le-gui-ños

 A single musical staff in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, C5, D5, E5, and F5.

Tiple A5

Ay ay ga-le-gui-ños

 A single musical staff in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, C5, D5, E5, and F5.

Tenor A5

Ay ay ga-le-gui-ños

 A single musical staff in tenor clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, C5, D5, E5, and F5.

Bajo A5

Ay ay ga-le-gui-ños

 A single musical staff in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, C5, D5, E5, and F5.

Acompañamiento del gallego

A single musical staff in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The accompaniment consists of a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, C5, D5, E5, and F5.

### Ay ay galeguiños ay que lo veyo

A 5 con acompañamiento

Fabián Ximeno

Tiple solo

Ay ay ga-le-gui-ños ay ay

 A single musical staff in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, C5, D5, E5, and F5.

Tiple

A single musical staff in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The staff contains a whole rest.

Tiple

A single musical staff in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The staff contains a whole rest.

Tenor

A single musical staff in tenor clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The staff contains a whole rest.

Bajo

A single musical staff in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The staff contains a whole rest.

Acomp.

A single musical staff in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The accompaniment consists of a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, C5, D5, E5, and F5.



ay que love - yo mas ay que lo mi - ro ay que love-yoenun pe - se - bri - ño

10

Ay ay ga-le-gul - ños ay ga-le-gul-ños ay ay ay ga-le-  
Ay ay ga-le-gui-ños ay ay ay ga-le - gui-ños ay ga-le-  
Ay ay ga-le-  
Ay ay ga-le-gui-ños ay ay ay ga-le-



gui - ños ay ay que lo ve-yo lo ve-yo ay mas ay que lo mi-ro

gui - ños ay ay que lo ve-yo ay mas ay que lo mi-ro

8 gui - ños ay ay que lo ve-yo lo ve-yo ay mas ay que lo mi-ro

gui - ños ay mas ay que lo mi-ro

ay que lo ve - yo ay que lo ve - yo en un pe - se -

ay que lo ve-yo ay que lo ve - yo en un pe - se -

8 ay que lo ve - yo lo ve - yo en un pe - se -

ay ay ay que lo ve - yo en un pe - se -





20

Ay ay o fi-lo de Deus ay

bri - ño

bri - ño

bri - ño

bri - ño

bri - ño

ay que a la te - rra vi - no

ay o fi - lo de

ay

ay

ay



25

Deus ay ay fi-lo de Deus ay ay que a la te-rra vi -  
 o fi-lo de Deus de Deus ay que a la te-rra vi -  
 8 o fi-lo de Deus de Deus ay ay que a la te-rra vi -  
 o fi-lo de Deus ay ay que a la te-rra vi -

30

ay que lo ve - yo ay que lo ve-yo mas ay que lo mi - ro ay  
 no  
 no  
 8 no  
 no



35

ay ay que lo veyo en un pe - se - bri - ño

ay que lo

ay que love - yomas

ay que love - yomas

40

ve - yo ay mas ay que lo mi - ro mas ay que lo mi - ro mas ay que lo mi - ro

ay mas ay mas ay que lo mi - ro mas ay que lo mi - ro mas ay que lo mi - ro

mas ay que lo mi - ro mas ay que lo mi - ro mas ay que lo mi - ro

ay mas ay mas ay que lo mi - ro mas ay que lo mi - ro



ay ay ay que lo veyo en un por-ta - li - ño ay en un

ay ay ay que lo veyo en un por-ta - li - ño ay ay en un

ay ay ay que lo ve-yo lo veyo en un

ay ay ay que lo veyo en un por-ta - li - ño en un

por - ta - li - ño ay ay ay en un por-ta - li - ño

por - ta - li - ño ay ay ay en un por-ta - li - ño

por - ta - li - ño ay ay en un por-ta - li - ño

por - ta - li - ño ay ay ay en un por-ta - li - ño



Copla 1a.

50

Ay so engan - ti - nas e dai mil bol - ti - nas

55

ay to - cai las flau - ti - nas tambien los pan - dei - ros ay

ay ay que fa - ce puche - ros por mis a - mo - ri - ños.

D.C.

Copla 2a.

60

Ay fa - ga - mos - le - festas q̄en - tre du - as bes - tas



ay que mui - to le cues-tas na-çe sen - do no - bre Ay

65

ay ay na te - rra tan po-bre por os pe - ca - di - ños.

D. C.

Ximeno next complained that the payments to unauthorized choirs took bread out of the mouths of the duly appointed cathedral singers, whose right it was to officiate instead. In reply, the canons reminded Ximeno that certain poor clergy in these "nonunion" choirs would be left penniless, were the cathedral singers to monopolize every paid engagement, and ended by naming the cathedral *provisor*, Doctor Pedro de Barrientos, "well experienced in these wrangles between choirs," to resolve their differences with his usual prudence. In their discussion it is quite evident that the music of the *capilla del negro* pleased certain members of the chapter so well that they were ready to protect the Negro, even at the risk of offending their most veteran musical staff.

Sensing the need to brighten the sound of his own rather elderly choir, Ximeno next proposed the importation of some new instrumentalists from nearby Puebla. At their meeting of May 26, 1651, the Mexico City chapter argued "whether or not to receive the instrumentalists who have arrived from Puebla."<sup>80</sup> The next February 9 (1652) one such player who had left Mexico City Cathedral a decade earlier was rehired at an annual 100 pesos—Nicolás

Grinón, harpist.<sup>81</sup> This same harpist, first hired at Puebla Cathedral August 14, 1643, *con cargo de tocar harpa y violon*,<sup>82</sup> had been earning 200 pesos annually at Puebla in 1651. But a general salary reduction ordered there on August 18, 1651, plus some other problems, had dissuaded him from continuing.<sup>83</sup> He liked Mexico City no better this time, quitting the capital after only seven months.<sup>84</sup>

During Ximeno's last two years, his trying to act as both chapelmaster and first organist proved too much for him. Meantime the discipline of his musicians deteriorated. To steady them in their proper course the chapter was forced to resort to so time-honored a system as fines, refusing to abate the fines

<sup>80</sup> Before taking his parents to Puebla in 1642, Nicolás Grinón had been Mexico City Cathedral harpist. See Mexico City Cathedral, *A.C.*, x, fol. 176 (July 8, 1642). Once at Puebla, Grinón was persuaded to stay (*ibid.*, fol. 198 [November 21, 1642]).

<sup>81</sup> Puebla Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, xi (1640-1647), fol. 193.

<sup>82</sup> Puebla Cathedral, *A.C.*, xii (1648-1652), fol. 354 ("reuxa de salarios"). He was also miffed at Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Puebla maestro de capilla, for failing to equalize "las Obenciones de todos los músicos" (he lodged this complaint with the Puebla chapter March 8, 1650).

<sup>83</sup> Mexico City, *A.C.*, xi, fol. 199<sup>v</sup> (September 3, 1652): "Admitesse el despidimiento de Grinón el músico y Arpista de la Capilla." Hernando López Calderón, a native of Puebla, succeeded Grinón December 7, 1654, with 60 pesos annually and the obligation of coming only when called. February 18, 1656, his salary rose to 150 pesos on condition that he come oftener (*A.C.*, xii [1652-1655], fol. 139; xiii [1656-1660], fol. 235<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>80</sup> *A.C.*, xi, fol. 43: "Mando despachar Cedula para si se han de recibir o no Los músicos menestriales que vinieron de la Puebla."



a jot when June 28, 1652, the musicians sent in a petition.<sup>85</sup> Because certain senior musicians summoned before the chapter acted presumptuous, the canons on October 14, 1653, reminded them to observe due respect.<sup>86</sup> Shortly before the following April 17, 1654, Ximeno died.<sup>87</sup> Only four days later the *bachiller* Francisco López Capillas *presbítero* was picked to succeed him both as maestro de capilla and as organist.<sup>88</sup>

At the April 21, 1654, meeting, the chapter agreed to pay 100 pesos to Juan Coronado, the *bachiller* who on March 31, 1648, had been named Ximeno's assistant, and another 100 pesos to Ximeno's nephew, Francisco Vidales. Like Luis Coronado, who trained Juan, so also it would appear that Ximeno had prepared his own young nephew.

In the act of April 6, 1655, the chapter not only appointed Francisco Vidales, "sobrino del m<sup>o</sup> fabian Ximeno," to be the new chapelmaster's "ayudante de organista," but also decreed that the two should alternate from week to week, except at double feasts, when the attendance of both would be henceforth required.<sup>89</sup> The next year Vidales transferred to Puebla Cathedral, which today still conserves in partbooks not only Vidales's music but also his uncle's *Missa Quarti toni, a 11* (labelled "sobre el Beatus Vir de Fray Xacinto" in the tiple 2<sup>o</sup> Coro part); *Missa de la Batalla, a 8* (*Sexti toni*); an additional four voice parts (SATB) for a *Missa de Lorroí* (= Jean Leroy) originally *a 8*; *Magnificat Tertii toni, a 8*; and two Lenten motets, *Velum templi scisum est, a 4*, and *Multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me, a 3*.

In the Newberry Library choirbooks already mentioned as sources for Rodríguez Mata's Luke passion and numerous works by Juan de Lienas, incomplete parts for Ximeno's *Missa Quarti toni, a 11* (here entitled *Missa super Beatus vir, a 11*<sup>90</sup>); complete parts

for his *Missa de la Batalla, a 8*,<sup>91</sup> for a through-composed *Magnificat Tertii toni, a 8*,<sup>92</sup> a "G minor" *Magnificat, a 11*,<sup>93</sup> "G minor" *Dixit Dominus, a 8*, and "F Major" *Laudate nomen Domini, a 11*,<sup>94</sup> exemplify brilliant, pulsating works from his pen. On the somber side: Choirbook III at Mexico City Cathedral contains his five-voice psalms 110 and 114 (Vulgate numbering), *Confitebor tibi Domine in toto corde neo* and *Dilexi quoniam* (polyphony starts with "Quia inclinavit," verse 2). Both of the latter belong to the Office for the Dead and therefore end with Requiem aeternam verses.

How popular became his ubiquitous *Missa Quarti toni, a 11* parodied on Fray Jacinto's *Beatus vir* is evident from a surviving part in the so-called Sánchez Garza villancico collection<sup>95</sup> purchased March 17, 1967, for the Mexican Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes. The same collection contains the parts (three tipples, tenor, bajo, and acompañamiento = basso continuo) for his gallego *a 5*, *Ay ay galeguños ay que lo veyo*, the text of which is in the dialect of Galicia. This extremely fetching F Major Christmas carol (two coplas intervene between repetitions of the estribillo) is shown above at pages 88–96 (first published in 1974 and 1975<sup>96</sup>).

#### FRANCISCO LÓPEZ CAPILLAS, MEXICO CITY NATIVE-BORN ORGANIST-MAESTRO, 1654–1674

The will of Francisco López Capillas, notarized January 13, 1674, five days before his death at Mexico City, establishes him as the first cathedral chapelmaster born in the viceregal capital. On the evidence of his surviving works, no finer composer flourished anywhere in the New World before 1800. These twin distinctions entitle him to the extended

<sup>91</sup>A brilliant festival Mass, the lower voice parts of which are texted, Ximeno's *De la Batalla* shares Janequin ancestry with numerous other now well-known Spanish battle Masses. A one-movement Sanctus concludes it.

<sup>92</sup>Verses end on A (D is intermediate cadencing chord). Tipples struggle frequently to high a<sup>1</sup>. Although the Et misericordia verse is marked "sencillo" (four soloists), even here the lowest part lacks text. Ximeno starts the Gloria in C 3 but shifts midway to C. Elsewhere in the Magnificat he veers back and forth between the two mensurations.

<sup>93</sup>In this psalm as elsewhere, Newberry ascriptions rather consistently list him as *fauian peres ximeno*.

<sup>94</sup>Mensurations shift eight times between C and C 3.

<sup>95</sup>The original provenience of the collection was Santísima Trinidad convent at Puebla. See my *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico*, p. ix.

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 181–187; *Seventeenth-Century Villancicos from a Puebla Convent Archive with added parts for ministriles* (Lima: Ediciones "CVLTVRA," 1975).

<sup>85</sup>A.C., xi, fol. 172<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>86</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 319.

<sup>87</sup>A.C., xii (1652–1655), fol. 39<sup>v</sup>: "Mandosse despacher çedula de ante diem para Nombrar M<sup>o</sup> de Capilla y organista desta Sancta Igllesia por hauer vacado estas dos plaças con la muerte del M<sup>o</sup> fauian Perez Ximeno."

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 40<sup>v</sup> (April 21, 1654).

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 183<sup>v</sup>. In this act Ximeno's nephew is called Francisco Vidal at fol. 183<sup>v</sup> but Francisco Vidales at fol. 184.

<sup>90</sup>In Newberry II, the scribe wrote before the tenor part (on 42<sup>v</sup>): "Esta misa se tañe un poco mas bajo delo q̄ esta pūtado" (play this Mass somewhat lower than notated). The highest written note in the tiple part is g<sup>1</sup> (Aztec fondness for "tl" may account for the quaint "tliple" in Newberry III, 49<sup>v</sup>). This Mass ends with a one-movement Agnus combining "miserere nobis" with "dona nobis pacem."

monograph on his life and works that will one day be written to preface the *opera omnia* edition that he deserves.

His father and mother, both residents of Mexico City, were Bartolomé López and María de la Trinidad. Although mere identity of commonplace names guarantees nothing, a resident named Bartolomé López was a royal notary on May 7, 1593.<sup>97</sup> If their son Francisco López was born ca. 1607, his obvious first teachers in Mexico City Cathedral included Antonio Rodríguez Mata. However, the only work by a Spanish-born composer on which López based a parody mass (*Re sol*) was a *canción* by Juan de Riscos [I]. Never an emigrant to Mexico, the Riscos in question spent the forty-five years from 1598 to 1643 as *maestro de capilla* of Jaén Cathedral.

Lope de Vega, in his novel finished at Seville in 1603, *El Peregrino en su patria*, placed Riscos at the head of a triad of paramount composers born in southern Spain: "en la música Riscos, [Alonso] Lobo y [Ambrosio] Cotes" (*Colección de las obras sueltas*, V [Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1776], 346). Did López study with Riscos during a visit to Jaén, and did he pay tribute to his chief teacher by placing the *Re sol* parody at the head of his collected masses—just as Francisco Guerrero in 1566 and Alonso Lobo in 1602 had honored their chief teachers with a parody to open their collected masses?

In the important literary document, "Declaración de la Missa," that prefaces Choirbook VII at Mexico City Cathedral, López mentions another prominent Andalusian who may have taught him, the theorist Pedro de Guevara (author of *Arte para componer canto llano* [Seville: A. Pescioni, 1582])—and who did emigrate to Mexico City. López's acquaintance with works by Lupus Hellinck (ca. 1496–1541) and Jean Richafort (ca. 1480–ca. 1547), both mentioned in the same "Declaración de la Missa," proves his familiarity with Flemings far outside the usual round of composers encountered in early New World archives. Whoever did teach him, his dexterity with cancrizans canons (last Agnus of his *Missa Quam pulchri sunt gressus tui*, a Palestrina parody) and with notational puzzles (Hexachord Mass), documents musical erudition of the most exceptional kind.

<sup>97</sup>Mexico City, *Actas de Cabildo*, XI (Libro Undécimo) (México: Imprenta y Librería de Águilar e Hijos, 1897), p. 108.

López's first documented employment lasted the seven years from 1641 to 1648 at Puebla. Although the record of his Puebla years has already been published in a prior issue of *Inter-American Music Review*, the story will be again repeated in the next two paragraphs.

López already held the academic degree of *bachiller* when contracted December 17, 1641, as second organist of Puebla Cathedral at 400 pesos annually.<sup>98</sup> For this sum he obligated himself to play not only organ but also *bajón* during Advent and Lent. Hired "at the pleasure of the chapelmaster" (who from 1629 to 1664 was the "illustrious" Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla), López Capillas substituted for the first organist Pedro Simón during such long periods as September 1, 1643, to January 15, 1644, several more months before July 15, 1644, and May 11, 1646, to January 11, 1647.<sup>99</sup> Already by September 13, 1645, López had become so indispensable an organist (and singer when not presiding at the organ) that the chapter assured him of tips for special events outside the cathedral that other musicians could attend but not he, and dispensed him from henceforth playing the *bajón* except within the cathedral itself when summoned by Gutiérrez de Padilla.<sup>100</sup> Still earning 400 pesos annually in 1645 (200 for playing the organ, the other 200 for singing), he was paid an extra 200 for taking Simón's place on the bench dur-

<sup>98</sup>Puebla Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, XI (1640–1647), fol. 118: "Que se reçiue al B<sup>r</sup> fran<sup>co</sup> lopes por organista y que este a la voluntad del maestro de capilla con cargo que a de tocar bajon con salario de quatro cientos pesos."

<sup>99</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 194<sup>v</sup> (September 1, 1643): "Que fr<sup>co</sup> Lopez organista toque hasta que venga Pedro Simon Y venido se prouehera lo que conuenga; fol. 214 (January 15, 1644): "Que fr<sup>co</sup> Lopez organista Por q<sup>to</sup> a seruido el tiempo q̄ auia de asistir el Licenciado Pedro Simon se le paguen los quattro meses q̄ ha faltado susodicho a razon Y conforme gana el salario el dicho L<sup>do</sup> Pedro Simon y que de este auto se de q<sup>ta</sup> a su Ex.<sup>aa</sup>"; fol. 231 (July 15, 1644): "Que a fr<sup>co</sup> Lopez organista se le den ducientos p<sup>os</sup> Por lo que a seruido Y se le de en adelante salario con quien se concierte Para lo qual se cite a cauildo = Y que a Pedro Simon se despida Y que desde q̄ se fue no le corra salario Y lo que se le deuiera se Retenga"; fol. 346 (January 11, 1647): "Que al B<sup>r</sup> fran<sup>co</sup> Lopes organista se le den ducientos p<sup>os</sup> Por los ocho meses q̄ a seruido Por el P<sup>o</sup> Pedro Simon Y para el aumento q̄ pide de salario a respecto de auer quedado solo se traiga p<sup>a</sup> el primer Cauildo."

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 279: "Que se le den a fr<sup>co</sup> Lopez organista las obenciones de cantor Por quanto tiene ducientos p<sup>os</sup> de salario de tal Cantor Y los otros ducientos de organista con cargo de asistir a dhas obenciones no tomando bajon sino fuere en la yglesia, quando le llame el maestro Y si estubiere ocupado en dha iglesia, si hubiere alg<sup>a</sup> obencion se le den como si estubiere presente a ganarla =".





ing eight months before January 11, 1647.<sup>101</sup> Four days later the chapter regularized his status by naming Francisco López—now a *licenciado*—organist at 600 pesos annually.<sup>102</sup> Of the 600, half was to come from an account budgeted for a singer. All expenses connected with organ repairs were to be the responsibility of the cathedral, not López. Simón, whom the chapter had already dismissed once (July 15, 1644), could not personally protest his second dismissal January 15, 1647, because he was again out of town fixing organs for a fat fee elsewhere. When he did return, the chapter would at first do nothing for him except rehire him July 24, 1647, as organ tuner.<sup>103</sup>

This was not enough to please Simón, who managed to get back all his former posts January 17, 1648.<sup>104</sup> The chapter yielded because he had made himself too valuable for Puebla Cathedral to forfeit his versatile services. Not only had he become the indispensable organ tuner, repairman, and builder, but also he had been constructing the *violones*<sup>105</sup> (bass viols) and other instruments constantly needed by the Puebla musicians as their old wore out. Reinstating Simón meant also subtracting something from López, in this case the 100 pesos extra being paid López for playing *bajón* in Advent and Lent.<sup>106</sup> Now thoroughly disillusioned with his on-again, off-again status, López decided that he must look elsewhere

for a post that would not fluctuate. On May 2, 1648, Fabián Ximeno received a 200-pesos gratuity for inspecting the new big organ in Puebla Cathedral and discussing construction of its twin.<sup>107</sup> On July 29 [1648], *bachiller*<sup>108</sup> Ygnacio Ximeno succeeded López (who had already left May 15<sup>109</sup>), but at only 400 pesos annually. On the same July 29, this pliant relative of the great Fabián Ximeno agreed to Simón's henceforth siphoning off not only the tip money (*obenciones*) due for cathedral funerals and the like, but also to Simón's earning a pro rata share of the regular organist's salary anytime that Simón felt inclined to mount the organ loft and play.<sup>110</sup>

López of course bettered himself by leaving. From April 21, 1654,<sup>111</sup> to his death January 18, 1674, he served as organist-choirmaster of Mexico City Cathedral, meantime filling the cathedral archive with an array of Masses, Magnificats, and other liturgical works not exceeded in quantity or quality by any other Mexico City maestro. For his early rise he had Gutiérrez de Padilla to thank, because it was Padilla who engineered his entry at Puebla without a formal competition, and who protected him during his seven years there, and then helped him find better employment elsewhere. By April 21, 1654, his

<sup>101</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 346: "Que al B<sup>r</sup> fran<sup>co</sup> Lopes organista se le den ducientos p<sup>os</sup> Por los ocho meses q̄ a seruido Por el P<sup>e</sup> Pedro Simon y para el aumento q̄ pide de salario a respecto de auer quedado solo se traiga p<sup>a</sup> el primer cauildo." This act still calls him *bachiller*, but the next makes him a *licenciado*.

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 347: "Que al 1<sup>do</sup> fran<sup>co</sup> Lopez organista se le den Cada año de salario seisçientos p<sup>os</sup> los treçientos de cantor y treçientos de organista y que si fuere necess<sup>o</sup> aderesar el organo sea a costa dela yglessia."

<sup>103</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 384<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>104</sup>*A.C.*, xii (1648-1652), fol. 6<sup>v</sup>: "Que se buelua a receuir a P.<sup>o</sup> Simon por Organista y Cantor = Y porquanto el liz<sup>do</sup> fran<sup>co</sup> lopez lleuaua seisçientos p<sup>os</sup> de salario y para que se reparta el trauaxo y ocupaz<sup>on</sup> tocando por Semanas cada vno el dho organo con Salario de tresçientos p<sup>os</sup> a cada vno con calidad que el dho P<sup>e</sup> Simon aya de templar el Organo, y los gastos que ttuuieren en adereçarlos sea por quenta dela fabrica ="

<sup>105</sup>*A.C.*, xi, fol. 194 (August 20, 1643).

<sup>106</sup>*A.C.*, xii, fol. 7<sup>v</sup>: "Que el Liz<sup>do</sup> Fran<sup>co</sup> lopez sirua solo el ofi<sup>o</sup> de organista con el Sal<sup>o</sup> de tresçientos p<sup>os</sup> confirmando el auto que se hizo en el Cauildo de diez y siete deste mes = Y por quanto lleuaua Cien p<sup>os</sup> de Salario por tocar el Vaxon en el Choro quando faltaua del Organo y lo tocava el liz<sup>do</sup> Pedro Simon sele releua deste trauaxo para que no toque el dicho Vaxon y solo sirua el ofi<sup>o</sup> de Organista con el Salario delos tresçientos p<sup>os</sup> como esta mandado."

<sup>107</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 29: "Al Liz<sup>do</sup> Gimeno Organista de Mex<sup>co</sup> ducientos p<sup>os</sup> por la Benida q̄ hizo a esta ciudad a ber el Organo que se a comprado y otro grande que se a de hazer para la Yglesia nueua."

<sup>108</sup>Mexico City, Archivo General de la Nación, *Grados de Bachilleres en Artes*, Vol. 141, Exp. 182, fols. 437-438<sup>v</sup> (January 9, 1648). He received the bacillerato by examination. Cf. fol. 438: "Ignacio Ximeno Presbitero digo q̄ conforme ala constitucion de nro muy S<sup>io</sup> P<sup>e</sup> Martino quinto de loable memoria y el estatuto de salamanca . . . si algun estudiante por falta de cursos quisiere graduarse de B<sup>r</sup> en Artes sugetandose al rigor de el examen . . . por auer estudiado fuera de esta vniversidad y no tener cursos provados en ella . . ." Four examiners tested him.

<sup>109</sup>The cabildo of October 6, 1648, voted: "q̄ a Pedro Simon Organista se le libre En la Contaduria lo que monta la ocupacion que tuuo desde quinze de mayo deste dho año hasta fin de jullio en tañer el Organo en lug<sup>r</sup> de Fran<sup>co</sup> Lopez Organista y sea respetiue de lo que tenia de salario el susso dho."

<sup>110</sup>Puebla Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, xii (1648-1652), fol. 49<sup>v</sup> (July 29, 1648): "Que se Reçiua por Organista desta Yglesia en lug<sup>r</sup> del Liz<sup>do</sup> Fran<sup>co</sup> Lopez que lo hera a quien se despido al B<sup>r</sup> Ygnacio Ximeno con quatroçientos p<sup>os</sup> de Salario con cargo que P<sup>o</sup> Simon lleue las Obenciones dela Capilla y si fuere a tocar el Organo alguna parte le pague quien lo lleu<sup>e</sup>."

<sup>111</sup>Mexico City Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, xii (1652-1655), fol. 40<sup>v</sup>: "Nombrasse al B<sup>r</sup> Francisco Lopez Capillas presbitero por Maestro de la Capilla de Muzica desta S<sup>ta</sup> Yglesia, y por organista de ella, atento a su mucha suficiencia y haulidad, para dhos ministerios, y se señalaron de salario quinientos pessos . . ."



# Magnificat Secundi, toni\*



Codice del Convento del Carmen, pp. 72-75

Francisco López Capillas

**Tiple** 5

**Alto**

**[Tenor]**

**Baxo**

A - ni - ma me - a Do - mi -

A - ni - ma me - - a Do - mi - num,

A - ni - ma - me - a Do - - mi

A - ni - - ma me - - a Do - mi -

10

- - - num, Do - - - mi - - - num.

Do - - - mi - num.

- - - num, (Do - - - mi - - - num.)

num, (Do - - - mi - - - num.)

\*Transcription by Jesús Bal y Gay, published in *Tesoro de la música polifónica en México*, 1 (Mexico City: 1952 [1953]), 42-49.



Qui a res-pe-xit hu-mi-li-ta-tem an.

10 15

cil-lae su-ae, an-cil-lae, an-cil-lae su-ae:

mi-li-ta-tem an-cil-lae su-ae, an-cil-lae su-ae:

pe-xit [hu-mi-li-ta-tem an-cil-lae su-ae:

Hu-mi-li-ta-tem [an-cil-lae su-ae:

20 25

ec-ce e-nim o-

ec-ce e-nim ex hoc be-a-tam me-di-cent o-

ec-ce e-nim ex hoc be-a-tam me-di-cent o-

ec-ce e-nim o-



- mnes gé - ne ra - ti o - nes.  
 - mnes gé - ne ra - ti o - nes.  
 - mnes gé - ne ra - ti o - nes.]  
 - mnes gé - ne ra - ti o - nes.]

Et mi - se - ri - cor - di - a e -  
 Et mi se - ri - cor - di - a  
 Et mi - se - ri - cor - di - a

- jus a pro - gé - ni - e in pro - gé - ni  
 e - jus a pro - gé - ni e in pro - gé -  
 - jus a pro - gé - ni - e in pro - gé -



20 25

- es ti - - men - - ti - bus e - - - - - um, ti -  
- ni es ti. men - ti bus e - - - - - um, (e - - - - - um) ti  
ni - - es ti. men - - ti - bus e - - - - - um, e - - - - - um, ti

30 35

- men - ti - bus e - - - - - um, ti - men - ti - bus e -  
- men - ti - bus e - - - - - um, (ti - - men - ti -  
- men - ti - bus e - - - - - um, ti - men - ti - bus e -

40 45

- - - - - um, ti - men - ti - bus e - um, e - - - - - um.  
- bus e - - - - - um.)  
- - - - - um, e - - - - - um ti - men - ti - bus e - - - - - um.



5

De po - su it po ten - tes, po ten tes de se - de,

De po - - su it po ten tes de se - de,

De - po - - su it po ten tes [de se - - de,

De po - su it po ten - - tes [po ten tes de se - - de,

10 15

et ex - al ta - vit hu - - - mi - les.

et ex - - - al ta - - - vit hu - - mi - les.

et ex - - al ta - - - vit hu - - - mi les.]

et - - - ex - - - al - - - ta - vit hu - - - mi - les.]

5

Su - sce - pit Is - - - ra - el

Su - - - sce - - pit Is - - - ra - el

Su - - - sce - pit Is - - - ra - el

Su - - - sce - pit Is - - - ra - el



10 15

pu - e - rum su - um, re - cor - da - tus mi -

pu - e - rum su - um, re - cor - da - tus mi -

[pu - e - rum su - um, re - cor - da - tus mi -

[pu - e - rum su - um, re - cor - da - tus mi -

20

- se - ri - cor - di - ae su - ae, mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae

- se - ri - cor - di - ae su - ae, mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae

- se - ri - cor - di - ae su - ae, mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae

- se - ri - cor - di - ae su - ae, mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae

25 30

su - ae, mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae [su - ae.] su - ae.

su - ae, mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae su - ae.

su - ae, mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae su - ae.]

su - ae, mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae su - ae.]



5

Glo - ri - a Pa -

Glo - ri - a Pa - tri, et Fi - li o, (et Fi - li

Glo - ri - a

10 15

tri, et Fi - li o, et Fi -

o,) (et Fi - li o,) (et Fi - li o,)

Glo - ri - a Pa - tri, et Fi -

Pa - tri, et Fi - li - o, (et

20 25

li - o, et Spi - ri -

et Fi - li - o, et Spi - ri -

li - o, [et Spi - ri - tu - i San

Fi - li - o,) et Spi - ri - tu - i San - - - - - cto,





35

tu i San cto.

tu i San cto, San cto.

cto, et Spi ri tu i San cto.

[et Spi ri tu i San cto.]



*mucha suficiencia y haultidad, para d<sup>hos</sup> ministerios* was so patent that none disputed his Mexico City cathedral appointment.<sup>112</sup> Whom to choose for his assistant posed the chapter with a more delicate problem—Juan Coronado, picked as Ximeno's assistant in 1648, or Francisco Vidal[es], Ximeno's nephew who was already showing signs of greater promise? The chapter compromised by dividing the 200-peso assistant's salary equally between Coronado and Vidales. As carrier of this Solomon's judgment to the pair, the chapter chose the treasurer, Canon Simón Esteban Beltrán de Alzate;<sup>113</sup> but his fair words could not hide from Coronado their choice of Vidales to alternate with López every other week on the organist's bench, except at double feasts.<sup>114</sup> At the more solemn feasts, López was to direct, Vidales play.

The *primera solemne dedicación* of the cathedral on Purification, 1656, inaugurated the most brilliant music year since 1600. The Duke of Albuquerque, viceroy, suggested on January 28 that López was genius enough to write a four-choir Mass in time for St. James (July 25), when four bishops were to be consecrated—Mateo Sagada Bugeiro for the capital, Alonso de Cuevas Dávalos for Oaxaca, and two others. According to the viceroy's proposal, each of the four choirs would sing a Mass "complete in itself" and different from all the rest. Choirs from the city under their own chapelmasters would eke out the numbers needed for such musical panoply. They would be "so carefully divided into four equal choirs and well trained that the four different Masses sung simultaneously would blend into a perfectly har-

monious whole."<sup>115</sup> Easily the prince of Mexico City chapelmasters since Franco, López won the complete confidence of the new archbishop before the year was finished.<sup>116</sup> His virtues (*lo mucho que ha trabajado*) continued to protect him even when the powerful *licenciado* Bartolomé de Quevedo complained to the chapter on June 4, 1660, that Maestro López had insulted him and profaned the sacred enclosure the previous Wednesday.<sup>117</sup>

However, neither the archbishop's protection nor his own acknowledged merits availed him in 1661, when he tried persuading the chapter that "the offices of maestro de capilla and organist cannot properly be filled by the same person."<sup>118</sup> For more than two decades, the custom of conducting from the organ bench at every event less than a double feast had given Mexico City two musicians—maestro de capilla and organist—for the price of one. This economy at the highest musical level served as a frequent example when other savings were being suggested; for instance: (1) in the secret chapter meeting of December 23, 1642, to discuss lowering of musicians' salaries; (2) in the open meeting of March 3, 1643, when a one-tenth reduction for all *músicos* and the interdicting of new appointments was broached; (3) on June 28, 1652, when a musicians' petition for lighter fines was refused; (4) on April 30, 1655, when Joseph de Loayssa y Agurto and Cristóbal Bardo won reluctant increases with the proviso that no more petitions for raises would be entertained; (5) on August 26, 1661, when the chapter decided to grapple with the thorny problem of cuts through three successive meetings; (6) on September 2, 1661,

<sup>112</sup>Custom required a public contest. Ten days earlier, the chapter had posted "edictos, con termino de quarenta dias" (fol. 35<sup>v</sup>). However, López Capillas already enjoyed such fame in Mexico City that the chapter commissioned him the very day of issuing *edictos* to compose the Corpus Christi, Assumption, and SS. Peter and Paul chanzonetas. He presented the chapter with a choirbook on March 10, 1654 (A.C., xii, fol. 26<sup>v</sup>). His first work to be printed was the extremely beautiful odd-verse *Magnificat secundi toni* published in Jesús Bal y Gay's *Tesoro* (1952 [1953]), pp. 42–49, and recorded at Schoenberg Hall, UCLA, on April 18, 1961, by Roger Wagner.

<sup>113</sup>A.C., xii, fol. 41. Preacher of the sermon at the first solemn dedication of the cathedral February 2, 1656, Beltrán de Alzate was in his own right a sufficiently wealthy Maecenas to endow special music for Assumption and St. Peter's, and to bequeath money for the printing of the villancico texts. See Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Obras Completas*, II (*Villancicos y Letras Sacras*), ed. by Alfonso Méndez Plancarte (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952), facsimiles opp. pp. 144, 224, 320; J. T. Medina, *La Imprenta en México 1539–1821*, II (Santiago de Chile: En Casa del Autor, 1907), pp. 492, 494.

<sup>114</sup>A.C., xn, fol. 183<sup>v</sup> (April 6, 1655).

<sup>115</sup>A.C., xiii, fol. 16<sup>v</sup>: "Que se encarguen A los Maestros de Capp<sup>a</sup> Las diuiciones de los quatro Choros Lo qual ajusten con todo Cuidado Para que a vnos otros . ni vnos a otros se hagan dissonancia sin que [fol. 17] con toda perfeccion se Ministren Las quatro Missas."

<sup>116</sup>On August 29, 1656 (fol. 95), he petitioned the chapter for added helpers. The canons replied, "let him have whatever the archbishop approves." On December 15 (fol. 115) Diego de Cevallos, *m<sup>o</sup> del Organo*, was hired to fix one of the organs. Four days later Alonso Fernández, *ayudante de Maestro de organista*, and Don Francisco Ursuchil, *afinador de dicho organo*, were each hired at 50 pesos—the latter to help Cevallos during Fernández's absences. Eighteen years later Ursuchil (Don Francisco de Escobar y Ursuchil) figured prominently in López Capillas's will.

<sup>117</sup>A.C., xiii, fol. 404<sup>v</sup>. Quevedo demanded that López be fined no less than 50 pesos, but the chantre protested *no es conbeniente tenga tanta superioridad e imperio* and the canónigo magistral reminded the chapter of López's *puntualidad, y su Virtud*. Another canon came to López's rescue calling attention to "how hard he had worked" both at ceremonies and *en los conciertos de capilla* ("chapel concerts").

<sup>118</sup>A.C., xiv (1661–1662), fol. 40<sup>v</sup> (September 13, 1661).

when the chapter met the threat of a combined walkout by clapping a 20-peso fine on any musician heard advocating such “union” tactics.<sup>119</sup> With memories such as these, the chapter could listen patiently on September 13, 1661, to López’s denunciation of the hermaphroditic organist-chapelmaster union, and could even agree that the union was harmful.<sup>120</sup> Nevertheless, they advised him to go on living with the “bad custom” as best he could, because for *justos motivos y causas superiores* no alleviation was in sight.

The first “native-born American” elected a Mexican archbishop was Feliciano de la Vega, born in Lima and translated from Popayán in 1639. The first “native of Mexico City” was Cuevas Dávalos, translated from Oaxaca in 1664.<sup>121</sup> Upon entrance in November, Cuevas Dávalos at once suggested receiving *bachiller* Nicolás de Rivas for *músico* at a 150-peso salary.<sup>122</sup> Though the chapter could find funds for this unneeded addition, money was not available for López’s necessities. When time for the annual Christmas music came the next month, he seems to have decided on a new tack—no new compositions and no special performances. On December 16, the chapter called him to explain why no villancicos were being prepared and why such pitifully meager performances were being staged. He replied that those extras were not part of his job, whereupon the chapter drew up the following notice: “For 80 years Mexico City chapelmasters have been composing the villancicos, and if López does not wish to continue doing so, a proper remedy will be found.”<sup>123</sup> The chapter also complained that the Saturday Salves lacked luster, because too many singers were playing truant to go sing for more money elsewhere.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>119</sup>A.C., x fols. 205<sup>v</sup>, 228<sup>v</sup>; xi, fol. 172<sup>v</sup>; xii, fol. 197<sup>v</sup>; xiv, fols. 37, 38<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>120</sup>A.C., xiv, fol. 40<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>121</sup>Sosa, I, 184; 277–278, 290 (consecrated for Oaxaca October 13, 1656), 299 (translation to Mexico City).

<sup>122</sup>A.C., xvi (1664–1667), fols. 119, 120<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>123</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 122<sup>v</sup>: “Hauiendo llamado al M<sup>to</sup> de Capilla para sauer por que se hauian escusado los Villancicos y demas solemnidad q̄ se acostumbra, Respondio no ser de su cargo, Cossa que le hizo mucha nouedad a Su Señoria y assi hacia esta propuesta . . . = Determinose se notifique al M<sup>to</sup> de Capilla acuda segun ha sido costumbre de ochenta años a este parte a Componer los Villancicos, segun que le toca por su obligacion, y de no hacerlo assi se proueer el remedio que combenga.”

<sup>124</sup>As early as November 11, 1557 (A.C., I [1536–1559], fol. 150<sup>v</sup>), the chapter had to begin disciplining musicians who wandered off for extra pay elsewhere at hours when they were being paid for cathedral services. On February 4, 1578 (A.C., III [1576–1609], fol. 46), Archbishop Moya de Contreras had to

With the arrival of an unmatched prelate, Fray Payo Enríquez de Rivera,<sup>125</sup> in 1668, López’s fortunes mended. His musical advice was at last taken seriously enough for the chapter to engage as principal organist *licenciado*<sup>126</sup> Joseph Ydiáquez, the best organ teacher<sup>127</sup> and one of the more exceptional performers<sup>128</sup> in the three colonial centuries. So well was he doing within only a few months of being hired that the chapter on January 10, 1673, voluntarily doubled his salary.<sup>129</sup> A month later López entered an intensive campaign to recruit singers from other parts of New Spain.<sup>130</sup> Best of all, López was himself rewarded by cedula dated March 23, 1673 at Madrid, and effective at Mexico City on May 7, 1673, authorizing his promotion from half- to full-prebend.<sup>131</sup> So large did his personal income now grow that two generations later his *renta* was a legend. On January 30, 1742, Juan Téllez Xirón—who began as a cathedral *seise* in 1693 and as organist in 1697—remembered López’s income as 1000 pesos in *renta* alone.<sup>132</sup>

López Capillas’s will signed January 13, 1674, not only certifies his having been born in Mexico City of parents whom he names but also adds other details to his biography. After the usual formularies of faith, he asks to be buried in the cathedral chapel of Nuestra Señora de la Antigua with 500 Masses said for his soul. He leaves all funeral arrangements to his executor, master carpenter Antonio de la Torre.

threaten with excommunication anyone who hired the boy choristers for unauthorized outside functions.

<sup>125</sup>Sosa, II, 31.

<sup>126</sup>Archivo General de la Nación, Grados de Bachilleres en Artes desde el Año de 1651 hasta el de 1668 Letra J. Tomo. 8, 143, Expediente N<sup>o</sup> 310, fols. 707–708<sup>v</sup>: “. . . digo yo heche matricula en la facultad de artes el año de 1662 Y respecto de estar enfermo no pude asistir a cursar todo el tiempo que era necesario Y atento de que el estatuto de salamanca y mandamiento del excellentissimo S<sup>r</sup> Duque de Albuquerque Virrey que fue de esta n<sup>a</sup> esp<sup>a</sup> permite que se puedan graduar por suficiencia sujetandose al rigor de la examen Y estoy presto de examinarme como vno de los estudiantes de que habla este estatuto . . .” Five examiners tested Ydiáquez with two questions each, beginning at 10 the morning of February 14, 1666.

<sup>127</sup>Ydiáquez taught Manuel de Zumaya, who occupies a place in Mexican music equal to that of José de Orejón y Aparicio in Peruvian. Ydiáquez’s other creole pupils included his successor as principal organist, Juan Téllez Xirón, and Cristóbal Antonio de Soña (A.C., xxiii, fols. 132<sup>v</sup> [January 9, 1693], 297<sup>v</sup> [May 25, 1694]; xxiv, fol. 197 [January 5, 1697]).

<sup>128</sup>Ydiáquez was a “great tiento-player” (A.C., xxiv [1695–1697], fol. 29).

<sup>129</sup>A.C., xviii (1670–1673), fol. 368.

<sup>130</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 372<sup>v</sup> (February 7, 1673).

<sup>131</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 397<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>132</sup>A.C., xxxvi (1741–1744), fol. 35<sup>v</sup>.



Among charities, he remembers the cathedral archconfraternities of the Blessed Sacrament and souls in purgatory. He leaves five pesos toward the beatification of Gregorio López.

He acknowledges a total personal indebtedness approximating his annual cathedral income of 1000 gold pesos. As creditors he lists these twelve persons: the Mexico City merchant Pedro de Almanza (240 gold pesos), iron worker Hernando Alonso Vargas (200 pesos payable to Vargas's widow), dean of the cathedral Juan de Poblete (50), constable Sebastián de Almazán (38), his nephew Agustín de San Cristóbal (50), licentiate Juan de Cepeda (50), master tailor Jacinto de Saravia (21), majordomo of the cathedral Antonio de Robles (190), Pedro de la Parra ("small amount"), the linen merchant Cosme de Mendieta who had loaned him money to buy a salver and a gilded silver pitcher (50), Miguel de Azevedo (9), and *bachiller* Don Francisco de Escobar y Orsuschil, his relative and his faithful substitute on the cathedral organ bench since 1656 (104).

Among his assets, he itemizes property including two dwellings and surrounding lots that he had bought from the Santa Clara nuns (mortgaged to them and the nuns of Jesús María convent for a total of 3500 pesos). On deposit he holds 500 gold pesos belonging to Mother Inés de San José of Saint Catherine of Siena convent in Mexico City. He orders this sum returned to her immediately after death. His personal effects include silver tableware that he itemizes. The two houses and environs are to become the lifetime property of a maiden lady, Doña Isabel de Mafra y Vargas, with the proviso that she continue paying off the mortgage and keep the houses and lots in good condition. On her death the rent from said houses and environs shall be used to found two cathedral chaplaincies held by his relatives, beginning with Francisco de Escobar y Orsuschil (if he outlives Isabel de Mafra y Vargas). But this bequest becomes invalid if the latter tries to sell or otherwise dispose of said houses and surrounding lots.

His furniture not already in Isabel de Mafra y Vargas's custody (except an organ already disposed of) and what furniture remains in his own dwelling shall be hers, in conformity with a deed notarized June 1, 1673, by Pedro del Valle. Among other generosities, he gives Mother María de San José, a nun in San José convent, 100 pesos and asks that she

pray for him. His silver candle holders are to go to Saint Peter's chapel in the cathedral, and 50 pesos are to be spent on ornaments for the chapel in which he himself is to be buried, Nuestra Señora de la Antigua. Simón de Frías, priest in charge of the latter chapel, shall determine what ornaments are bought.

He leaves 50 pesos to Ignacio de Rivera, the free mulatto who has attended to his personal necessities, 12 pesos to Patrona, an Indian girl who has also attended him, and 20 pesos to Juana de Carmona, wife of Diego de Arévalo. Don Francisco de Escobar y Orsuschil is to inherit his chest of *violones*, any three pictures that he chooses from those owned by the testator, and 100 gold pesos, all as a token of gratitude for longtime personal assistance.

Without setting a time limit for sales, he gives his executor Antonio de la Torre the right to auction or otherwise sell every possession not heretofore itemized in the will. Doctor Diego de Malpartida, Mexico City Cathedral canon, and Don Francisco de Escobar y Orsuschil, are named as the overseers who shall make sure that each clause of his will is duly fulfilled. Diego de León, a youth whom he helped rear, shall have 20 pesos. His music books and sheet music are to become the property of the cathedral.

His universal heirs who shall equally divide his estate are to be his three sisters, Leonor, Elena, and Gerónima López de la Trinidad. He acknowledges no descendants. The sealed memorial that he originally intended for Canon Diego de Malpartida to open after his death has now been torn up, and all the provisions therein contained have been written into the present will. For their attentions to his last-minute welfare, he gives both Canon Malpartida and Escobar y Orsuschil 300 pesos. All prior wills and codicils are revoked and voided. The royal notary before whom he executes this final will and testament dated January 13, 1674, Francisco de Quiñones, certifies him to be in his right mind and judgment. Witnesses to his signature are the Augustinian friars Juan de Rueda and Pedro de Contreras (both priests), Doctor Ambrosio de Lima, and Bernardo Enríquez del Castillo.

Obviously so complex a will was not improvised any mere five days before death. That the will had been elaborated long before January 13, 1674, is proved by Clause 6 mentioning a sealed memorial to be opened by Canon Malpartida after his death. However, on the next-to-last page of his eight-page

will he declares that after incorporating all its provisions in the present document he has himself torn up the memorial.

The three musically interesting clauses in the will document are: (1) his gift of his music books and sheets to the cathedral; (2) his owning a chest of viols; (3) his possession of an organ in his house. But the document signed by him that casts most light on his musical background and attainments is his preface to Mexico City Cathedral Choirbook VII, entitled "Declaración de la Missa" (already mentioned above). The eminent scholar Lester D. Brothers published his transcription of this "Declaración" in the *Yearbook for Inter-American Musical Research*, IX, 1973.

All of López Capillas's extant music sets Latin text. However, the vernacular texts of at least two festive cycles by him survive: *Letras que se cantaron en la festividad de octava, que la Santa Yglesia Cathedral Metropolitana de Mexico celebró en la Dedicacion de su Imperial templo* (México: Hipólito de Rivera, 1656) and *Letras que se cantaron . . . En los Maitines de la Aparicion de la Santissima Imagen de la Virgen Maria Madre de Dios de Gvadalype* (México: Uiuada de Bernardo Calderón, 1669).<sup>133</sup> Appropriately, since he was born at Mexico City, López Capillas was the first cathedral maestro to compose villancicos honoring the Virgin of Guadalupe.

### Will of Franco López Capillas

Mexico City, Archivo General de Notarias del Distrito Federal. Francisco de Quiñones, 547 Q (olim 325) 1675, fols. 8-11<sup>v</sup>.

En el nom<sup>e</sup> de Dios todo Poderoso amen, sea notorio como yo el L<sup>do</sup> don fran<sup>co</sup> lopez Capilla Racionero de la santa yglesia Cathedral desta Ciu<sup>d</sup> de mex<sup>co</sup> y m<sup>ño</sup> de capilla en ella vez<sup>o</sup> y originario desta dha ciudad hijo lex<sup>mo</sup> de Bartholome lopez y de Maria de la trinidad mis padres difuntos. Estando enfermo en cama en la enferm.<sup>d</sup> que Dios a sido seruido darme y en mi acuerdo y cumplidamente creyendo como firma y verdaderamente creo en el misterio ynefable de la santissima trinidad, Padre hijo y Espiritu Santo tres personas distintas y vna sola diuinidad. . . . [fol. 8<sup>v</sup>] y deseando preuenir las

<sup>133</sup>*Suplemento Especial III, Biblioteca Hispano Americana Septentrional* (México: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1951), pp. L34-L35 [items 194, 210].

materias tocantes al descargo de mi conçiencia otorgo mi testam<sup>to</sup> en la man<sup>ra</sup> sigu<sup>e</sup>—1. Lo primero encomiendo mi alma a dios nro s<sup>r</sup> que la crio y redimio con su preciosa sangre Pasion y muerte y el cuerpo a la tierra de que fue formado y siendo fallecido quiero ser sepultado en la dha s.<sup>ta</sup> ygles<sup>a</sup> Cath<sup>l</sup> en la capilla de nra s.<sup>ra</sup> de la antigua y deixo a la dispos<sup>on</sup> de mis albaceas la del funeral.—2. mando se digan por mi alma y las de mi yntencion quinientas misas Resadas cuya limosna se pague de mis bienes—3. mando a las mandas forçosas y acostumbres a cada vna vn peso de oro comun con que las aparta de mis vienes.—4. mando se den de limosna a la Archicofradia del sant<sup>mo</sup> Sacram<sup>to</sup> fundada en la santa yglesia Cath.<sup>l</sup> veinte pesos de oro coñ y que se paguen de mis vien<sup>s</sup>—5. mando se den asimismo de limosna a la Archicofradia de las animas del purgatorio fundada en dha s<sup>ta</sup> Ygles<sup>a</sup> cinco ps.<sup>o</sup> de oro comun = y otro cinco ps.<sup>o</sup> a los santos lugares de Hierusalem = y otro cinco ps.<sup>o</sup> P<sup>a</sup> ayuda de la veatificasion del Padre Gregorio Lop<sup>s</sup> cuya limosna se pague de mis vienes—6. declaro que en poder del D<sup>r</sup> don Diego de Malpartida canonigo desta santa Ygless<sup>a</sup> deixo vna nem<sup>a</sup> serrada y sellada y rubricada del presente Escriu<sup>o</sup> y firmado de mi nom<sup>e</sup> la qual es mi voluntad, que siendo falleçido [fol. 9] y no antes se abra y publique con la solemnidad que el der.<sup>o</sup> dispone y se este y pase por ella como cosa del descargo de mi conçiencia.—7. declaro que deuo a Pedro de almança vez<sup>o</sup> y mercader desta ciu<sup>d</sup> Dosçientos y quarenta pesos de oro comun poco mas o menos que constara por su libro m.<sup>do</sup> sele paguen—8. declaro que deuo a Doña Maria de bargas viuda de hern<sup>do</sup> alonso, Dosçientos y vn pesos de obra de fierro que me hizo mando se le paguen—9. declaro que devo al S.<sup>r</sup> Dean de esta dha s<sup>ta</sup> Ygless<sup>a</sup> Don Juan de poblete çinquenta pesos de oro comun mando se le paguen—10. declaro que deuo al alfz [alferez] Sebastian de almansa vezino de esta ciudad treinta y ocho ps.<sup>o</sup> mando se le paguen—11. declaro q̄ deuo a mi sobrino Don Agustin de San xptou<sup>l</sup> çinquenta ps.<sup>o</sup> de oro comun; mas o menos lo que el dijere deuaxo de su simple juram<sup>to</sup> mando se le paguen—12. declaro que deuo al Liz<sup>do</sup> Ju<sup>o</sup> de sepeda Presuitero çinquenta pesos de oro comun mas o menos lo que dixere deuaxo de su juram<sup>to</sup> mando se le paguen—13. declaro que deuo a Jaçinto de Sarauia m<sup>ño</sup> de sastre veinte y vn pesos mando se le paguen—14. declaro que deuo a alfz Antonio de Robles mayor.<sup>mo</sup> de dha santa yglessia çiento y nouenta pesos poco mas o menos lo que constare por su juram<sup>to</sup> m<sup>do</sup> se paguen—15. declaro que deuo a Pedro dela parra vna corta cantidad de pesos mando se pague de mis vienes y se este por el ajuste que hiciere mi albacea—16. declaro que deuo a cosme de mendieta mercader de creao çinquenta pesos que presto sobre vna saluilla y vna xarra de plata sobredorado mando sele



paguen y se cobren dhas prendas—17. declaro que deuo a miguel de aseuedo nueue ps<sup>o</sup> de oro comun [fol. 9] mando se le paguen—18. declaro que deuo al B<sup>r</sup> don fran<sup>co</sup> de Escobar y orsuchil çinquenta y quatro ps<sup>o</sup> de oro comun m<sup>do</sup> se le paguen—19. declaro por mis vienes lo que constare deuserse de mi Preuenda mando se cobren = y asimismo declaro por mis vienes, dos pares de Casitas que las vn<sup>as</sup> Vbe y compre delas Religiosas de santa clara desta Çiudad, y las otras en solar pertençiente a dha compra, labre y reedifique y sobre las dhas dos casas y dos açesorias pequeñas y lo que les perteneçe estan ympuestos y cargados de mil y quinientos pesos de prinçipal de Çenso a fauor de dhas Religiosas de santa clara y vn mil ps<sup>o</sup> de oro comun â fauor del conu<sup>to</sup> de Jesus Maria desta dha ciudad de prinçipal, que todos hacen tres mil y quinientos pesos 20. declaro que tengo en mi poder en deposito quinientos pesos de oro comun pertençientes ala m<sup>e</sup> ynes de San Joseph religiosa del conu<sup>to</sup> de Santa Catherina de sena mando que luego que yo fallasca se paguen de mis vienes—21. assimismo declaro por mis vienes el omenaje de casa y otras cosas de su seruicio y de mi persona—[22.] declaro asimismo por mis vienes ocho platillos vn platon mediano vna saluilla con su bernegal y vna bandejita y otras cosillas menudas todas de Plata—23. = mando que durante los dias de la vida de Doña Ysael de maf[a]ra y Bargas soltera vez<sup>a</sup> desta ciu<sup>d</sup> goze la suso dha las dos Cassas principales y dos açesorias con el cargo de pagar los reditos de los çensos sobre ellas ympuestos, a quien ruego y encargo cuyde de su aderezo lo mas bien que pudiera = fenecidos los dias de la vida de la dha doña Ysael de mafra y Bargas, quiero y es mi voluntad, que sobre todas las dhas Cassas y lo que las perteneçe de derecho lo ymponga vna Capellania de misas resadas respectiue a lo que valieren reuaxados los principales de los censos, y desde luego nombro por Patrones [fol. 10] y Capellanes de la dha capellania a mis Parientes Prefiriendo el mayor al menor y por Prim<sup>er</sup> Capellan y patron al B<sup>r</sup> Don fran<sup>co</sup> de escobar y orsuchil presuitero a quien si alcanzare en los dias de la vida a la dha doña Ysael de Mafra y Bargas se doy facultad la que Requeria para la fundacion de dha Capellania y Çituacion de misas y lo demas a ello consenriente sin que la susodha pueda vender ni enagenar ni asensuar las dhas Casas, por que en tal Caso cese en la posesion de ellas. [24.] y por quanto a algunos años que a la dha doña Ysael de Mafra y Bargas le hize graçia y Donacion de algunos vienes muebles y la mayor p<sup>te</sup> de ellos paran al presente en poder de la susodha y algunos paran en la casa de mi morada saluo vn organo que dispuse del; mando q̄ los vienes que estuuieren en mi cassa delos que contiene dha Donaçion se la entreguen a la susodha p.<sup>a</sup> que juntan<sup>te</sup> con los que paran en su poder los goze y posea y distribuya como fuere su voluntad por q̄ aprueuo reualido la dha Donaçion q̄ paso en esta

ciudad a prim<sup>o</sup> de Junio del año pass<sup>do</sup> de mill y seisc<sup>o</sup> y sesenta y tres, ante Pedro del Valle escriuano de su mag<sup>d</sup> a que me Remito—[25.] mando que de mis vienes, se den a la Madre Maria de San Joseph monja profesa de velo blanco en el conu<sup>to</sup> de san Joseph de graçia desta dha ciu<sup>d</sup> çient<sup>s</sup> pesos de oro comun de limosna a quien pido me encomiende a Dios nuestro s<sup>r</sup>.—[26.] Mando se den dos candeleros medianos de plata que yo tengo p<sup>a</sup> el seruicio de mi Cassa a la capilla de San Pedro de dha santa Yglessia Cathe<sup>l</sup> = y Cinquenta p<sup>s</sup> para el ornato dela capilla de n<sup>ra</sup> se<sup>ñ</sup>ora dela antigua donde se a de enterrar mi Cuerpo los quales se den al mayordomo de ella que lo es Simon de frias Pres<sup>to</sup> para que los distribuya como fuere su voluntad en dho ornato—[27.] mando se den de mis vienes a Ygnacio de Riuera mulato libre que me a seruido çinquenta pesos—y a Patrona yndia que asi—[fol. 10<sup>v</sup>] mismo me a seruido doze pesos de oro comun. asimismo mando se le den a juana de carmona muger de Diego de areualo veinte pesos de oro com<sup>n</sup> y se page lo referido de mis vienes—mando que al dho B.<sup>r</sup> don fran<sup>co</sup> de escobar y orsuchil se le den el terno de violones, y tres quadros los que escoxiere de las que deyo por mis vienes, y çien pesos de oro Com<sup>n</sup> por lo bien que me a asistido. 28. Y Para cumplir y pagar este mi testamento y lo en el contenido deyo y nombro por mi albacea testamentario y thenedor de mis vienes a Antonio dela torre m<sup>ño</sup> de carpintero y vez.<sup>o</sup> desta dha ciudad, a el qual le doy el poder que derecho se requiere y es necesario para que entre en ellos los venda y remate en almoneda o fuera della como mas bien visto le fuere y le se de el dho cargo todo el tiempo que huuiere menester, aunque sea pass<sup>do</sup> el que el derecho dispone que el mas le prorrogo = con de la raçion que a todos los actos que huuiere de asistir como tal albacea en lo tocante al cumplimiento de este mi testam<sup>to</sup> y a de ser y sea con yntervencion q̄ el dho Doc<sup>tor</sup> don diego de malpartida canonigo de esta santa yglessia y del dho B<sup>r</sup> Don fran<sup>co</sup> de Escobar y orsuchil a quienes tengo encargado que por Amor de Dios nro s.<sup>r</sup> cuyden den que precisa y puntualmente se cumpla este mi testamento quees ala que voy—29. mando que se den de mis vienes a Diego de leon muchacho que e criado veinte pesos—30. ytem mando que los papeles y libros de la musica se entreguen [fol. 11] a la parte de la santa yglessia Cathedral—y cumplido y pagado este mi testamento en el remanente que quedare de todos mis vienes derechos y acciones que en qualquier manera me pertenesen de lo ynstituto y nombro por mis vnicas vniversales herederos â leonor lopez, a elena lopez, y Geronima lopez de la trinidad mis hermanas, para que lo ayan gosen y hereden por yguales partes con la Bendixon de Dios y la mia atento a que no tengo herederos forçossos ni otros ascendientes ni descendientes—y Por quanto por vna de las clausulas de este mi testam<sup>to</sup> tengo declarado dejaua en poder del dho Dor don Die<sup>o</sup> de



Malpartida vna mem<sup>a</sup> serrada y sellada firmada de mi nombre y Rubricada del presente escriua<sup>o</sup> y que se abriessse siendo falleçido y se estuuiese y passase por ella; Por ser descargo de mi Conçiençia = â ora declaro que no queda la dha memoria en poder del sussodho por hauerla yo roto, respecto de que en el ynterim que ordene este mi testam<sup>to</sup> cumpli con lo que hordenaua en dha memoria y descargue mi conçiençia en la parte que contenia—mando que a los dhos D<sup>or</sup> don diego de Malpartida y B.<sup>r</sup> don fran<sup>co</sup> de Escobar y orsuchil se les entreguen tresçientos pessos para el descargo de mi conçiençia sin que tengan obligacion de dar quenta de su distribuçion por que en caso que se les pida, los deço por herederos de ellos y por el press<sup>te</sup> reuoco y annulo y doy por ningunos y de ningun valor ni efecto todos y quales q̄. testamentos [fol. 11<sup>v</sup>] cobdicilios poderes para testar y otras vltimas disposiciones que antes de esta aya fho y otorgado por escrito y de palabra, para que no valgan ni hagan fee en juicio ni fuera del, saluo este testam<sup>to</sup> que otorgo por mi vltima y postrimera voluntad que quiero se guarde cumpla y execute como en el se contiene; que es fho en la ciud<sup>d</sup> de mex<sup>co</sup> a treçe dias del mes de henero de mil y seisc<sup>o</sup> y setenta y quatro años. E yo el escriu<sup>o</sup> doy fee que conosco al otorgante y que a lo que notoriamente parece esta con su entero iuiçio que lo firmo siendo testigos el Padre fray Juan de Rueda el padre fray Pedro de Contreras del horden de señor san Augustin; el Doctor Ambroçio de lima y Bernardo Enrriquez del castillo presentes

el M<sup>o</sup> fran<sup>co</sup> Lopez Capillas  
Ante mi fran<sup>co</sup> de quiñones escriuano Real

#### DECLARACION DE LA MISSA [Mexico City Cathedral Choirbook VII]

El motivo que e tenido para declarar algunas dificultades acerca de las figuras q̄ contiene la Missa por ser del tiempo Ternario a sido el auer causado nouedad a algunos de mis Cantores, y auer contienda sobre dichas figuras: y aunque la autoridad de Maestro de Capilla desta santa Iglesia bastaua, pues claro se infiere, que no auia de sacar ninguna obra a luz para que me la enmendaran los que no son maestros sino cãtores: porq̄ no todos los que componen son legitimamente, ni propriamente son Maestros perfectos, q̄ el vso de componer no a todos haze Maestros; pues ay muchos que componen por costũbre y no por ciencia, y para probar esta verdad lean la Bula del Papa Iuan 22 porque Maestro en qualquier Arte a de ser científico, y conocer las causas por sus causas, y el que no las supiere no las juzgue temerariamente, como algunos juzgaron desta obra y para satisfacer los pondre aqui las autoridades de grandes Maestros en quien yo aprendi lo obrado. &c.

#### I

En el primero Kyrie empieça el Tenor con un longo, el qual es imperfecto; porque la figura que se le sigue es su menor. vale cinco semibreves, por que en el tiempo ternario pierde la maxima y la longa la sexta parte de su valor, como lo dize el Maestro Pedro de Gueuara Loyola Maestro desta santa Iglesia en su compendio de musica en el Cap. 15. Pedro Manchicourt en el motete *Hic est panis*, en el Tiple. *Prenestina*, en la 2.<sup>a</sup> p. del motete de S. Barbara 2.<sup>o</sup> lib. a 5. Lupo en la Ossana de la Missa *peccata mea*: y si estas autoridades no bastaren con la de Ricafort en la 2.<sup>a</sup> p. del motete *Beati omnes*, en el Tenor valganse de la arimetica, pues la sexta parte de 6. es una. luego el longo imperfecto valdra cinco semibreves, y el que lo contradixere pruebe lo.

#### II

En el Christe el Alto lleua el canto llano con una maxima imperfecta, y dos semibrebes con un punto que muestran que van con la maxima, y con ellos cumple el numero ternario, vale diez compases, vean al Maestro Pedro de Loyola en la sita arriba pues siendo dupla del longo, es evidente que pierde dos semibrebes; prosigue con unos longos negros, valen a quatro c[om]pases, por que toda figura negra en dicho tiempo pierde la tercia parte de su valor, lean al dicho Pedro de Loyola en el Cap. 17 de su compendio de musica, como lo hizo el Maestro Morales en la Missa lomearme, Lupo en el agnus de la Missa *peccata mea*, y todos los Maestros lo enseñan.

#### III

En el tercero Kyrie, el segundo contra alto lleua el canto llano con unos brebes negros, valen dos semibrebes, por la razon arriba dicha de la que pierden las figuras negras: el tenor canta por tiempo imperfecto, y prolacion perfecta, empieça con pausa de longo que vale doze compases, y lleua el canto llano en semibrebes, que vale cada uno tres compases, vean a Prenestina en la Missa lomearme.

#### IV

En el Qui tollis de la Gloria, el Tenor muda el tiempo, que es el imperfecto o medio circulo vuelto con prolacion perfecta, el semibrebe vale tres compases, el brebe seis, y las pausas tẽdran el mismo valor, la dificultad esta en el *tu solus Sanctus*, donde deciende con el canto llano, cõ minimas las quales pasan dos al compas respecto del tiempo vuelto por que aqui pierde la minima la mitad de su valor, y al que le pareciere que hago arte nueuo lea al Maestro Ceron en el libro 20. al numero 4. sobre la explicacion de la Missa de Prenestina Lomearme en la Gloria.



## V

En el *Incarnatus est*, el Tiple tiene un longo negro, y un semibrebe negro, y dos seminimas, el longo vale quatro compases, el semibrebe uno, y las dos seminimas vale cada una a medio compas por respecto del longo, y con ellas cumple el numero ternario como se puede ver en la Missa Lomerarme del dicho autor en el Credo donde el Contralto canta las figuras dichas en la parte *Deum de Deo*. y el Maestro Pedro de Loyola lo trae doctamente en su compendio en el Cap. 21. de la tercera manera del semibrebe negro, y la longa.

## VI

En el *Osan[n]a* todos cantan al numero ternario como lo muestran sus figuras, no e querido hazer mas dificultades por no hazer incantable la Missa, que con esta declaracion qualquiera con facilidad podra regirla, y al que le pareciere ser supuestas dichas pruebas, lea al Maestro Pedro Ceron en el libro 18. en el Cap. 9. donde hallara todo lo dicho, y otras muchas dificultades.