

Lilla. *LILLA.* *PRINCE.*
Dami la ca - ra ma - no, ab - brac - cia mi mio cor, tu sei il mio dol - ce amor, non mi riu - pon - di? Son di be -
Reich mir die Hand, mein Lieber, um - ar - me del - ne Braut. Wo warst du denn geblieben? Du sprichst ja kei - nen Laut. Hier steht der,

Ghita. *GHITA.* *CORRADO.*

Larghetto.

gli occhi tuoi il fi - do a - do - ra - tor, mi mi - sero, che muor se nol se - con - di. Ciel! que - st' In - fan - te! Non mi fuggir, mio
def - sen Leben in dei - nen Hän - den ruht, o schenk ihm Gegenliebe, ihn tö - det Lie - besglut. Weh mir, das ist der Infant. O, fliehe nicht, mein

mov *Ciel! que - st' Cor - rado!*
Weh mir, das ist Cor - rado.

bene, con - forto alle mie pe - ne, io spe - ro sol da te, io spe - ro sol da te. Ah! si' Lu - bi - no or - zione! che mi sa - ra di
Leben! Kannst du die reinste Liebe, das treueste Herz verschmähen? Das treueste Herz ver - Wenn jetzt Lu - bi - no käme, wie würd' es mir, wie

Canst du *Wie würd' es mir, wie*

Wie würd' es mir, wie *Wenn Tita jetzo käme, wie*

me! sarà di me! Mi par di sentir gente, mi par di sentir gente. Lilla! Gli spaci, oh Dri! son qui ben
würd es mir ergehn? Ich glaub ich höre Leute, Ich glaub ich höre Leute, Lilla! Sie sind es, o Himmel! Hier bin ich,

mai sarà di me! *Ghita!*
würd es mir ergehn? Bertha!

SESTETTE, Sung by Mr. Kelly Mr. Fox and Signora Bannister Junr Mr. Dignum Mrs. Bland



LILLA Martini

Night thus from me concealing the form of him I love Oh let his voice re-vealing his truth my

Larghetto

GHITTA
Night thus from me concealing the form of him I love Oh let his voice re-vealing his truth my

Sem. p T.S.

SERASKIER

doubts remove night thus from me concealing the form of her I love Oh let her voice re-

ISMAEL

doubts remove night thus from me concealing the form of her I love Oh let her voice re-

T.S.

-vealing her truth my doubts remove Oh heave'n the Seraskier a lovers accents hear with sympathetic.

GHITTA **ISMAEL**

-vealing her truth my doubts remove Oh heave'n the Seraskier with sympathetic.

LILLA

pas-sion fond ex-pectation cheer fond ex-pectation cheer should my husband hear us what could poor Lilla

GHITTA

pas-sion fond ex-pectation cheer fond ex-pectation cheer Ah should my husband hear us what

PETER
hark

do what could you do I'm sure there's some one near us I'm sure there's some one near us Ghitta

could poor Ghitta do I'm sure there's some one near us I'm sure there's some one near us

LILLA **GHITTA**

our husbands near us my love I'm here my love I'm here your here then but who is this fo

SERASKIER **LEOPOLD**

Lilla their husbands near us your here then but who is this fo

LILLA

near but who is this fo near Honest peasants home returning from their labour I sup-

GHITTA

near but who is this fo near Honest peasants home returning from their labour I sup-

PETER

pose how I pray came you fo knowing whether they are friends or foes jea-lous fears per-

LEOPOLD

pose how I pray came you fo knowing whether they are friends or foes



Canzonetta.

N.º 26.
der
Prinz.

Andante
un poco
sostenuto.

Non far - mi più lan - gui - re, o ve - la mi - a,
Lafs, Liebchen, mich dein hol - des Auge sehen,
las - cia mi un po - ce - der, quel vi - so bello: se ti vien voglia di sa - per ch'io si - o,
sonst muß ich Armer schmach - tend hier ver - gehen! und soll - test du nicht mel - nem Nahmen fragen,
gua - da - ti in me - zo il cor, ch'io vi - vo in quel - lo.
dein eig - nes Herz es könn - te dir thn sa - gen.

Siehe 7^a Stanza.

(pp. 15-17) = Principe, *Più bianca* (N.º 5); "How the deuce," duet (pp. 18-21) = Ghitta and Tita, *Un briccone senza core* (N.º 6); "Blithe as the hours of May,"¹⁸ soprano solo (pp. 28-29) = Lilla's aria, *Dolce mi parve un dì* (N.º 13); "So kindly condescending," finale (pp. 36-39) = *O quanto si un bel giubilo* (Act I, Finale); "Night that from me concealing," sestette (pp. 50-54) = *Da mi la cara mano*, setto (N.º 22); Finale, portion beginning "Now while music" (pp. 79-82) = *Viva, viva la regina* (N.º 30, portion).

Storace's borrowings include the same Act I finale excerpted by Mozart in the *Don Giovanni* banquet scene. Storace quoted also the waltz in Martín y Soler's Act II finale that gives him the cachet of having been "the first to introduce a waltz on stage into

an opera."¹⁹ Nor did Storace's borrowings stop with the eight items just mentioned. In the overture to *The Siege of Belgrade* Storace labels as a "Spanish Tune" his instrumental version of the canzonetta in *Una cosa rara* sung by the Principe, *Non farmi più languire* (N.º 26).

For the American spread of Martín y Soler's *Una cosa rara* Storace's profuse and literal borrowings take on crucial importance when it is recalled that *The Siege of Belgrade* enjoyed a continuous American stage history from 1796 to 1840. It premiered at New York City December 30, 1796 (and ran up at least 17 performances there before 1801), and opened at Hartford, Connecticut, July 5, 1797, and at Boston March 24, 1798 (Haymarket Theatre)

¹⁸Wolfe, *Secular Music*, II, 544, item 5598: "Blithe as the hours of May, Sung by Mrs. Oldmixon in the Siege of Belgrade. Martini," was published at Baltimore in *The Music Journal for the pianoforte*, Vol. 2, no. 37 (1800-1801), pp. 26-27.

¹⁹"Walzer" in *Riemann Musik Lexicon Sachteil*, ed. Wilibald Gurlitt (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1967), p. 1061: "Als 1786 in Wien der erste W. von zwei Paaren auf der Bühne getanzt wurde (in: *Una cosa rara* von Martín y Soler), fand er aufnahmefreudiges Publikum."



Spanish Tune

Andantino
un poco
Sostenuto

fem. ρ

[Mozart]

Allegretto alla Turca

f

Viol. Solo

and March 13, 1799 (Federal Street Theatre).²⁰ Summarizing revivals during the forepart of the nineteenth century, Loewenberg cites performances at Philadelphia and New York City as late as 1840. On December 21 of the latter year John Braham made his American debut at the Park Theatre, New York, in the role of Seraskier.²¹

SPANISH DANCES

The Massachusetts Magazine: or Monthly Museum, edited by Thaddeus M. Harris, vii/2 (May 1795), pages 106–107, carried an article called “Dances in Spain.” Although not so credited, this article was

²⁰See the tables inserted in O. G. T. Sonneck, *Early Opera in America* (New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1963), after pp. 90 (New York City), 154 (Hartford), 144 and 148 (Boston).

²¹For members of the cast supporting the English tenor of Jewish descent, John Braham (1772–1856), at his 1840 New York debut in the role of Seraskier, see Odell, *Annals of the*

culled from Joseph Townsend’s *A Journey Through Spain in the Years 1786 and 1787* (London: C. Dilly, 1792 [3 vols.]), I, 331–333.

The Spanish government did not formally recognize United States independence claims until October 27, 1795 (in a treaty signed by Manuel de Godoy and Thomas Pinckney). However, Spain had aided the American cause during the Revolution by a loan of four million *reales* as early as 1776, and by herself declaring war on England June 22, 1779.²² The year

New York Stage (1928), iv [1834–1843], p. 450. Forty years before debuting in America as Seraskier, Braham had appeared at Trieste with Nancy Storace in *Una cosa rara*. For the New York stage history of *The Siege of Belgrade* 1796 to 1840, see Odell, *Annals*, I [to 1798], pp. 428–430, 434; II [1798–1821], pp. 20, 469, 500, 523 (partial cast September 26, 1818); III [1821–1834], pp. 14, 64, 99, 140, 235, 240, 304, 318 (cast April 25, 1828), 388, 516, 550, 568, 570.

²²Ramón Ezquerro, “Estados Unidos, España y la independencia de los,” *Diccionario de Historia de España*, 2da ed. (Madrid: Ediciones de la Revista de Occidente, 1968), I, 1330–1332.



1795 therefore was a propitious one for publication in the youthful United States of the first article having anything to say concerning Spanish amusements.

Fortunately, Townsend was no disdainer of Spanish usages.²³ Elsewhere in his *A Journey* he had mentioned assisting at a Mass in the Mozarabic chapel at Toledo Cathedral (I, 311–312), admiring the new organ of 5,300 pipes and 110 stops at Seville Cathedral (II, 318), and enjoying “some good *seguidillas*, *tiranas*, and other Spanish songs” sung aboard a vessel carrying him down the Guadalquivir from Seville to Cádiz (II, 364). What he had to say concerning the bolero that he saw danced at a ball in Aranjuez, and the fandango that it resembles (this was the excerpt that was copied into the May 1795 issue of *The Massachusetts Magazine*), therefore deserves repetition here.

At a ball to which I was invited by the Duchess de la Vauguion,²⁴ I had the happiness to see Madame Mello dance a volero [= bolero]. Her motions were so graceful, that whilst she was dancing she appeared to be the most beautiful woman in the room; but she had no sooner retired to her seat than the delusion vanished.

This dance bears some resemblance to the fandango, at least in sprightliness and elegance; but then it is more correct, than that favourite, yet most lascivious pantomime. The fandango itself is banished from genteel assemblies, and justly so. As danced by the vulgar, it is most disgusting: as refined in higher life, covered with a most elegant yet transparent veil, it ceases to disgust; and, from that very circumstance, excites those passions in the youthful breast, which wisdom finds it difficult to curb. This dance must certainly come to them by tradition from the Moors. The music of it has such a powerful effect on young and old, that all are prepared for motion, the instant the instruments are heard; and, from what I have seen, I could almost persuade myself to receive the extravagant idea of a friend, who, in the warmth of his imagination supposed, that were it suddenly introduced into a church or into a court of judicature, priests and people, judges and criminals, the gravest and the gay, would forget all distinctions, and begin to dance.

²³Joseph Townsend (1739–1816) enters the *Dictionary of National Biography*, xix, 1033–1034, as a geologist. An M.A. of Clare College, Cambridge, 1765, he next studied medicine at Edinburgh and in 1781 published *The Physician's Vade Mecum* (10th ed., 1807).

²⁴She was the wife of the French ambassador at the Spanish court 1784–1790, Paul François Vauguion (1746–1828).

Sheet Music Dances

The Spanish Barber, or the Fruitless precaution, an opera in three acts . . . The music by Dr. [Samuel] Arnold (1740–1802) “advertised for performance at the New Theatre, Philadelphia, on July 7, 1794,”²⁵ began with “The Fandango Overture.” In 1809, Benjamin Carr (1768–1831) published at Philadelphia a *Spanish fandango as a rondo* (reissued at Baltimore from the same plates ca. 1812 and in 1820).²⁶ The pantomime of *Gil Blas*, premiered at the New York theatre (December 10, 1802), and “repeated several times during the season,”²⁷ included a *Fandango* published a decade later in [Victor] Pelissier’s *Columbian melodies, a monthly publication*, no. 11 (1812), page 110.²⁸ In late summer of 1817 two publishers at New York issued *A favourite fandango, danced by Mrs. Williams on the slack wire at the Olympic Theatre, Philadelphia, with variations for the piano forte and flute or violin accompaniment (ad libitum) composed by [Jean Tatton] Latour*.²⁹

²⁵Sonneck, *A Bibliography*, p. 406. Geoge Colman adapted the libretto from Beaumarchais.

²⁶Wolfe, *A Bibliography*, I, p. 164, items 1658, 1658A, 1658B.

²⁷Odell, *Annals*, II, 162.

²⁸Wolfe, II, p. 674, item 6893. Basing his transcription on the Library of Congress copy, Karl Kroeger edited Pelissier’s *Fandango in Pelissier’s Columbian Melodies, Music for the New York and Philadelphia Theaters* (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions [Recent Researchers in American Music, XIII–XIV], 1984), p. 36. According to Kroeger’s biographical précis, pp. ix–x, Pelissier played French horn in the theater at Cap François (= Cap Haïtien) before emigrating to the United States. On May 29, 1792, he joined another refugee from the Cap François theater orchestra, violinist Joseph Cézair, in a concert at Philadelphia. On December 27, 1793, he played horn in a concert at New York, where during the next decade he made his living as a composer and performer for the New York theater. Thereafter he returned to Philadelphia, where from 1809 to 1812 or 1813 he composed and arranged music for the Philadelphia stage.

On February 22, 1814, New York theatrical colleagues gave a benefit for the now aged and almost blind Pelissier. Two other benefits followed on December 20, 1814, and March 18, 1817. *The Euterpeiad*, III/3 (April 27, 1822), 18, published his obituary without, however, specifying more details of his origin and death than that he was “a Frenchman by birth.”

²⁹Proving its durability, Latour’s “favourite fandango” was republished at Philadelphia by G. E. Blake in 1818–1820 and reissued at Philadelphia from the New York plates by J. B. Klemm in 1823/1824. See Wolfe, II, pp. 512–513, items 5266C



FANDANGO

Danced at the New York Theatre in the Fantomime of [Victor Pelissier]
GIL BLAS

In comparison with Fandangos by Domenico Scarlatti (*Obras inéditas para tecla*, edited by Rosario Álvarez Martínez [Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1984], pages 27–32) and Antonio Soler (Samuel Rubio, *Catálogo Crítico* [Cuenca: Instituto de Música Religiosa de la Diputación Provincial, 1980], page 135, item 464, and Frederick Marvin, *Fandango* [New York/London, Mills Music, 1957]), Pelissier's *Fandango* chooses for its meter 3/8 rather than 3/4. Pelissier's phrases throughout begin with upbeats rather than downbeats, and he shifts from unrelieved D minor to D Major for a concluding section. Unlike Scarlatti and Soler, Pelissier does not adhere throughout to tonic-dominant and subdominant-dominant ostinato patterns, nor does he close on the chord of A Major.

Apart from fandangos, New York and Philadelphia publishers before 1825 brought out *Spanish Bolero's* [= Boleros] or *patriotic airs* (New York: James Hewitt, 1807/1810), *A Spanish minuet* (New York: Edward Riley, 1825), and a *Spanish waltz* (Philadelphia: G. E. Blake, 1821/1824)—none credited, however, to a Spanish composer (or any composer, for that matter).

and 5267. Mrs. Williams, who danced Latour's fandango on a slack wire, belonged to West's circus.

Spanish Language Love Songs

The nationality of Enrique González, active at New York from 1818 to 1826, remains to be established. But Edward Riley at 29 Chatham Street engraved, printed, and published on González's behalf between 1818 and 1826 six Spanish-text songs, with piano accompaniment. Collectively called *Collecion de canciones Españolas*,³⁰ the six songs bear these titles (first lines in parentheses): *La Ausencia* ("Dulce memoria de mi querer"), *Cancion á Eliza* ("Siempre suspira por tus ojuelos"), *Cancion de Estela* ("La hermosa Anita el otro dia"), *Cancion pastoral de Estela* ("Si acaso hay en vuestra aldea"), *La declaracion* ("Dulce poseedora del corazon mio"), and *Los echos de un amante* ("Yd tristes ecos de mis gemidos").

³⁰Copy in Library of Congress. See Wolfe, 1, p. 318, item 3162: *Collecion de canciones Españolas. Con acompañamiento de forte piano. Compuestas y dedicadas á la Señorita Doña Manuela Diago por Enrique Gonzales*. Propriedad del Autor. 200 cts. New York, Engrav'd, printed & published for the Author by E. Riley.

Spellings, capitals, and accents in the above paragraph conform with the erratic originals.



Descriptive Pieces

Before locating at New York City from 1797 to 1810, Peter Weldon had played an active role in the musical life of Jamaica.³¹ However, his nationality—like that of Enrique González—remains to be established. Richard J. Wolfe found him variously listed in New York directories 1797–1810 as “teacher of music” or “professor of music,” and added that during these years he appeared in New York concerts as pianist, conductor, and even as clarinetist.³² Odell gave these exact dates of New York events in which Weldon took part: March 11, 1800 (pianist); June 9, 13, 16, 20, 23, 27, 1801; April 3, 1806 (vocalist); January 20, 1807 (pianist); April 14, 1807 (orchestra conductor); January 13, 1809 (violinist); February 3, 1809; December 19, 1809.³³

At New York City, Weldon copyrighted April 11, 1809, a 15-page “historical and military piece for the piano forte dedicated to the Supreme Junta of Sevilla, Generals [Francisco Javier] Castaños [1756–1852] and [Teodor] Reding [de Biberegg (1755–1809)], their brave officers and soldiers, and to all Spanish patriots.” Entitled *La Batalla de Baylen y rendicion de el General [Pierre] Dupont [1765–1838] al exercito Español patriotico al mando de los Generales Castaños y Reding*, this descriptive work—after a “Scene in Seville”—contained “Ferdinand the Seventh’s March,” “The battle of Baylen” (= Bailén, July 19, 1808), and concluded with “The patriots and peasantry rejoice in the victory.” The opening “Escena en Sevilla” is illustrated by an oblong engraving on the title page entitled, *Vease la*

*proclama de la Junta Suprema de Sevilla de 29 de Mayo de 1808.*³⁴ In a reissue advertised in the *New York Evening Post* of May 16, 1812, Weldon published the same piece with alterations that included a new engraving showing angels blowing trumpets, from which issues forth the phrase “La Batalla de Talavera de la Reyna, Cuesta, Wellesley, &c. El sitio de Zaragoza, Palafox, O’Neill, &c.”³⁵

Weldon’s next “descriptive and military piece for the piano forte,” celebrating Spanish valor during the Peninsular Wars, was published “with an accompaniment for the violin and bass.” Entitled *El sitio de Gerona*,³⁶ *Pieza descriptiva y militar para el piano forte, con acompañamiento para el violin y baxo. Por Pedro Weldon* (13, 4, and 2 pages), it was advertised by Joseph Willson in the *New York Evening Post* of May 16, 1812, and again on June 6, 1815, with this notice: “Just received a few copies of ‘The Siege of Gerona’ with elegant engravings by [William S.] Lenny” of New York.³⁷

Following in Weldon’s wake during the next generation, numerous residents of American port cities continued publishing a plethora of battles and sieges. However, the first internationally famous American to compose a Spanish military piece was Louis Moreau Gottschalk (*b* New Orleans, May 8, 1829; *d* Tijuca, Brazil, December 18, 1869). At Madrid on June 13, 1852, he premiered *El sitio de*

³¹Richardson Wright, *Revels in Jamaica 1682–1838* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1937), pp. 266, 270, 292, 296. At Kingston on August 2, 1788, Weldon played “first fiddle” in a performance of Samuel Arnold’s *Inkle and Yarico*; on August 9, 1788, he played a *Concerto on the Piano Forte* in a “pleasing manner”; at an April 28, 1791, concert he played harpsichord solos; on December 5, 1791, he received a benefit in Kingston’s Assembly Room.

³²*Secular Music*, III, p. 948. In the same volume at p. 1158, Wolfe locates Weldon as a sheet music publisher at 76 Chamber Street, New York, 1800–1801 and at 53 Robinson Street in 1803. *New York 1810 Census Index*, ed. Roland V. Jackson, *et al.* (Bountiful, Utah: Associated Indexing Systems, Inc., 1976), p. 342, locates Peter Weldon as a New York City resident under 45 years of age, with four children less than ten years old in his household.

³³*Annals*, II, pp. 93, 124, 269, 286, 287, 323, 324, 343. The June 1801 concerts (p. 124) took place in Vauxhall Garden.

³⁴Wolfe, III, p. 948, describes the internal engravings thus: p. 6, six portraits within circular frames of General José Palafox y Melzi (1780–1847), Ferdinand VII, General Joaquín Blake (1739–1827), General Gregorio García de la Cuesta (1741–1811), General Castaños, and General Reding; p. 7, three portraits within circular frames of General Romano, Conde de Florida-blanca (= José Moñino, 1728–1808), General O’Neill; p. 8, the surrender of General Dupont to General Castaños; p. 13, wounded soldiers being administered to on the battlefield.

³⁵Weldon made the changes after the Battle of Talavera de la Reina fought July 27, 1809. Concerning the Battles of Bailén and of Talavera de la Reina, see the *Diccionario de Historia de España*, 2da ed., I, 445–447, and III, 725–726; for the Sitios de Zaragoza, see the same *Diccionario*, III, 1068–1070.

³⁶The Siege of Gerona culminating September 26, 1809, with the loss of 9000 of the besieged and 20,000 attacking French, ended in the capitulation of Gerona. See the *Diccionario*, II, 201.

³⁷The engravings on page 4 show the marshalling of troops for the defense of Gerona, on page 6 the city under siege, on page 12 supplies reaching the besieged city. Wolfe, III, 995, based his description on a copy in the possession of Carleton Sprague Smith.



Zaragoza, in an arrangement for ten pianos.³⁸ Upon returning home from his triumphal Spanish tour of 1851–1852, Gottschalk on April 29, 1853, premiered at New Orleans *La Jota aragonesa* excerpted from *El sitio de Zaragoza*.³⁹

In the same year that *La Jota aragonesa* was first published at New York, 1855, William Hall issued Gottschalk's *Souvenirs d'Andalousie, Caprice de Concert sur La Caña, Le Fandango, et Le Jaleo de Jerez*. On the title page Gottschalk announced (in French) that he had improvised most of the work in his concert at the Teatro del Circo (Madrid) December 16, 1851, and had first performed it in its published form at the gala soirée given by the Duc de Montpensier at Seville August 25, 1852.⁴⁰

³⁸Twenty-seven page manuscript version reduced for solo piano (listed in John G. Doyle, *Louis Moreau Gottschalk 1829–1869, A Bibliographical Study and Catalog of Works* [Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1982], pp. 232–233), is in the Library and Museum of the Performing Arts (Lincoln Center), New York Public Library.

The sieges of Saragossa culminated in the surrender of the city to the French February 20/21, 1809. On June 24, 1852, Gottschalk climaxed his Madrid appearances with thunderously applauded *El sitio de Zaragoza* for ten pianos.

After a preliminary note in *La Nación* of October 18, 1851, the same Madrid newspaper on November 4 carried an announcement of the reception given in his honor by María Cristina's husband, Agustín Fernando Muñoz, the Duque de Riánsares (1808–1873). On November 18, 1851, Gottschalk played at the royal alcázar before Queen Isabella II, her consort Francisco de Asís, and the Queen Mother, María Cristina (*La Nación*, November 20). On November 28, he played a recital at the residence of the father of the composer, Soledad Bengochea de Carmena, and on December 16 his second concert at the Teatro del Circo (*La Nación*, November 29 and December 18). After touring southern Spain, he returned to give three triumphal concerts in the Teatro del Príncipe June 13, 15, and 24, 1852 (noticed in *El Clamor Público* of June 15, 16, and 26). See Mercedes Agulló y Cobo, ed., *Madrid en sus diarios, 1845–1859* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1965), pp. 273–274.

³⁹Doyle, p. 294. Gottschalk's New York publisher, William Hall, issued *La Jota aragonesa* in 1855. Escudier (Paris) published it as Gottschalk's Opus 14 in 1856; Schott (Mainz) followed in 1859. Seven other European publishers (including Gutheil and Jurgenson at Moscow and Leopas at St. Petersburg) followed suit. See Franz Pazdírek, *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur*, viii, 413.

⁴⁰See *The Piano Works of Louis Moreau Gottschalk*, ed. Vera Brodsky Lawrence (New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1969), v, 211: "Le Cadre de ce morceau fut improvisé dans le Concert que donna l'Auteur au Théâtre 'del Circo' de Madrid le 16 Décembre 1851, et fut ensuite exécuté

À MON AMI, COLLIGNON.

SOUVENIRS D'ANDALOUSIE

CAPRICE-CONCERT.

SUR LA CAÑA, LE FANDANGO, ET LE JALEO DE JEREZ.

COMPOSÉ PAR

L. M. GOTTSCHALK

VIENNE 32.

Le Cadre de ce morceau fut improvisé dans le concert que donna l'Auteur au Théâtre 'del Circo' de Madrid le 16 Décembre 1851, et fut ensuite exécuté tel qu'il est aujourd'hui à la Soirée 'de gala' que donna S.A.R. le Duc de Montpensier au Palais de San Telmo à Séville le 25 Août 1852.

New York
Publishers: Wm. Hall & Son, 157 Broadway.

Paris: BUREAU CENTRAL. Lemoine, SCHOTT. Meyer, SCHOTT. Wilm, LUCCA.

At least two other works with opus numbers date from Gottschalk's Spanish tour. *Minuit à Séville*, his opus 30, was premiered in the United States at New York City March 28, 1856, and published by Hall two years later.⁴¹ *Manchega, Étude de concert*, Gottschalk's opus 38, awaited 1860 for its New York publication (Paris, 1861; Mainz, 1862), but had been premiered at New York as early as January 31, 1856. In a holograph of the first 22 measures now at The Historic New Orleans Collection, Gottschalk notated *Manchega* in 3/4 (*Allegro giocoso*); but in the 1860 published version he changed the meter to 6/8.⁴² Gottschalk's bibliographer, Doyle, quotes F.-J. Fétis's dictum (*La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*

tel qu'il est aujourd'hui à la soirée 'de Gala' que donna S.A.R. le Duc de Montpensier au Palais de San Telmo à Séville le 25 Août 1852."

⁴¹Doyle, p. 302. Gottschalk dedicated the version published at New York in 1858 (Paris and Mainz in 1859) to his Havana-born idolator, Nicolás Ruiz Espadero (*b* January 15, 1832; *d* August 30, 1890).

⁴²Doyle, p. 225.



MON AMI COLLIGNON.

SOUVENIRS D'ANDALOUSIE

CAPRICE DE CONCERT.

par

L. M. GOTTSCHALK.

(M. tr: 168. ♩)

mf

bien rythme
EL FANDANGO.

Tranquillo.

p

pp

LACANI
con melancolia ma senza



First system of musical notation. The upper staff contains a series of trills marked with "tr.". The lower staff contains a melodic line with dynamics including *Rall.*, *pp*, *Rall.*, and *pp*. A *ritardando* hairpin is present. The word *rapido.* is written above the final measure.

Second system of musical notation, titled "EL JALEO DE JEREZ". The upper staff features a melodic line with a *ritardando* hairpin and the instruction "Con grazia". The lower staff contains a bass line with a *mf* dynamic.

Third system of musical notation, featuring a *loco.* instruction above the upper staff. The upper staff has a melodic line with a *ritardando* hairpin. The lower staff contains a bass line.

Fourth system of musical notation, featuring a *loco.* instruction above the upper staff. The upper staff has a melodic line with a *ritardando* hairpin. The lower staff contains a bass line.

Fifth system of musical notation, titled "Elegante." above the upper staff. The upper staff has a melodic line with a *ritardando* hairpin. The lower staff contains a bass line with a *pp* dynamic.



First system of musical notation, featuring a treble and bass clef with various notes and rests.

Second system of musical notation, including dynamic markings *pp* *rallent.* and *p*, and a tempo marking *rapido* with a rhythmic pattern $2 \ 1 \ 2 \ 1 \ 2 \ 4 \ 3$.

Third system of musical notation, including a dynamic marking *f* and a tempo marking *loco*.

Fourth system of musical notation, including dynamic markings *f* and *Espress*, and the tempo marking *Brillante*.

Fifth system of musical notation, continuing the piece with various notes and rests.



8^{va} loco.

Musical notation for the first system, measures 1-6. The right hand features a melodic line with slurs and accents, while the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment of chords. Dynamics include *ff* and *loco.* markings.

Espress. p Grazioso

Musical notation for the second system, measures 7-12. The right hand continues with melodic patterns, including a triplet. The left hand accompaniment remains consistent. Dynamics include *Espress.* and *p Grazioso*.

8^{va} ff

Musical notation for the third system, measures 13-18. The right hand has a more active melodic line. The left hand accompaniment features a *ff* dynamic marking.

8^{va} Brillante. loco.

Musical notation for the fourth system, measures 19-24. The right hand features a *Brillante.* section with slurs and fingerings (1 3 2 1). The left hand accompaniment includes a *loco.* marking.

8^{va} loco.

Musical notation for the fifth system, measures 25-30. The right hand continues with melodic patterns and slurs. The left hand accompaniment includes a *loco.* marking.



8^a

p Tranquillo.

This system contains the first five measures of the piece. The right hand features a melodic line with triplets and slurs, while the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment. The tempo is marked 'Tranquillo' and the dynamics are 'p'.

8^a

p Brillante.

This system contains measures 6 through 10. The right hand continues with similar melodic patterns, and the left hand accompaniment becomes more active. The tempo changes to 'Brillante'.

8^a

pp Leggiere. loco.

This system contains measures 11 through 15. The right hand has a more rapid melodic line, and the left hand accompaniment is sparse. The tempo is 'Leggiere' and the dynamics are 'pp'. The word 'loco.' is written above the right hand in the final measure.

8^a

loco.

This system contains measures 16 through 20. The right hand continues with a rapid melodic line, and the left hand accompaniment is consistent. The tempo is 'loco.'.

8^a

loco.

This system contains the final five measures of the piece. The right hand continues with a rapid melodic line, and the left hand accompaniment is consistent. The tempo is 'loco.'.



8⁴-----loco.

ff ^

This system shows the first system of a musical score. The right hand (treble clef) has a melodic line with a 'loco.' marking above it. The left hand (bass clef) has a bass line with a 'ff' dynamic marking and an accent (^) over a note.

8⁴-----

ff ^

This system shows the second system of the musical score. The right hand continues the melodic line. The left hand has a bass line with a 'ff' dynamic marking and an accent (^) over a note.

loco.-----8²-----

pp Grazioso.

This system shows the third system of the musical score. The right hand has a 'loco.' marking and a '8²' marking. The left hand has a 'pp Grazioso.' marking.

8¹-----

1 3 2 1

This system shows the fourth system of the musical score. The right hand has a '8¹' marking. The left hand has a bass line with a fingering '1 3 2 1' under a note.

8²-----

1 3 2 1

This system shows the fifth system of the musical score. The right hand has a '8²' marking. The left hand has a bass line with a fingering '1 3 2 1' under a note.



8^a

M.D. M.D. loco. M.D. M.D. M.D. M.D.

f *M. collato.* M.G. M.G. M.G. M.G. M.G.

Brillante.

mf

8^a

8^a

8^a

pp *rapido e leggiero.*
Marcato il canto.



82

Scintillante. *pp*

This system shows the first two measures of a musical piece. The right hand features a rapid, shimmering sixteenth-note pattern. The left hand provides a simple harmonic accompaniment. The tempo and character are marked "Scintillante." and the dynamics are "pp".

83

Marcato il canto.

This system covers measures three and four. The right hand continues with a similar sixteenth-note texture. The left hand has a more active role with eighth-note accompaniment. The instruction "Marcato il canto." is placed in the right hand.

84

Brillante.

This system covers measures five and six. The right hand's sixteenth-note pattern becomes more varied, including some trills. The left hand accompaniment remains steady. The tempo and character are marked "Brillante."

85

ff subito.

This system covers measures seven and eight. The right hand features a dense, powerful sixteenth-note texture. The left hand accompaniment is also more active. The instruction "*ff* subito." is written in the left hand.

86

This system covers measures nine and ten. The right hand continues with a dense sixteenth-note texture. The left hand accompaniment is consistent with the previous system.



8^a

Musical score system 1, measures 1-4. Treble clef, bass clef. Dynamics: *f*. Performance markings: *M.G.*, *M.D.*, *M.D.*.

loco .

M.G. M.D. M.G. M.D.

8^a

martellato .

f animato .

Musical score system 2, measures 5-8. Treble clef, bass clef. Performance markings: *loco .*, *M.G.*, *M.D.*, *M.G.*, *M.D.*, *8^a*, *martellato .*, *f*, *animato .*

8^a

con fuoco .

Musical score system 3, measures 9-12. Treble clef, bass clef. Performance marking: *8^a*, *con fuoco .*

8^a

animato .

Musical score system 4, measures 13-16. Treble clef, bass clef. Performance marking: *8^a*, *animato .*

8^a

loco .

Musical score system 5, measures 17-20. Treble clef, bass clef. Performance marking: *8^a*, *loco .*



First system of musical notation. It consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat). The upper staff contains complex chords and arpeggios, while the lower staff has a more rhythmic accompaniment. A dynamic marking of *ff* is present. A dashed line above the staff is labeled *R¹*.

Second system of musical notation. It continues the grand staff from the first system. The upper staff features a melodic line with some grace notes. The lower staff has a steady accompaniment. A dynamic marking of *ff* is present. A dashed line above the staff is labeled *R²*. The word *Furioso.* is written at the end of the system.

Third system of musical notation. It continues the grand staff. The upper staff has a more active melodic line. The lower staff has a rhythmic accompaniment. A dynamic marking of *ff* is present. A dashed line above the staff is labeled *R²*. The word *lucio.* is written above the staff.

Fourth system of musical notation. It continues the grand staff. The upper staff has a melodic line with some grace notes. The lower staff has a rhythmic accompaniment. A dynamic marking of *ff* is present. A dashed line above the staff is labeled *R²*. The words *tutta la forza.* and *lucio.* are written above the staff.

Fifth system of musical notation. It continues the grand staff. The upper staff has a melodic line with some grace notes. The lower staff has a rhythmic accompaniment. A dynamic marking of *ff* is present. A dashed line above the staff is labeled *R²*. The word *FINIS* is written at the end of the system.



of July 20, 1851) that manchegas take their name from La Mancha "where seguidillas originated.

Apart from Gottschalk's peninsular pieces, he published at least eight pieces composed in the Spanish Caribbean islands: *Danza*, Op. 33 (Puerto Rico); *La Gallina danse cubaine*, Op. 53; *La Gitanella*, Op. 35;⁴⁴ *Ojos criollos*, Op. 37; *Souvenir de Cuba*, mazurka, Op. 75; *Souvenir de la Havane Grand caprice de concert*, Op. 39; *Souvenir de Porto Rico Marcha y danza de gibaros*, Op. 31; and *Suis-moi Vamos a la azotea*, Op. 45.

SPANISH MUSIC IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY LEXICONS

John Weeks Moore (1807–1889)⁴⁵ the New Englander who was the first American-born compiler of a *Complete Encyclopaedia of Music* (Boston: J. P. Jewett and Co., 1854 [1004 pages]), took his information from "the works of Gerber, Choron, Fayolle, Orloff, Burney, Hawkins, Hogarth, Calcott, Gardiner, Busby, Hamilton, Fétis, and other distinguished authors."⁴⁶ In his 220-word article on "Spanish Music" (page 890) he cited the *romance* as the favorite national genre and the six-course guitar "constructed with double strings, each pair being tuned in unison, with the exception of the [two] lowest, which are tuned in octaves" as the national instrument. In his article on the guitar (552) Moore stipulated six courses tuned a fourth apart downward from the violinist's open E string, except for the third course tuned a major third lower than the second course. Moore's music example reads downward: e' b g d A E.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 298.

⁴⁴Doyle, p. 287, prefers believing the gypsy element in *La Gitanella* associates it with Spain, not the Caribbean islands.

⁴⁵Concerning Moore, who is profiled in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, xiii, 133, see Charles E. Wunderlich, "A History and Bibliography of Early American Musical Periodicals, 1782–1852," pp. 211–213, 227–228, and 740–741. Weeks edited *The World of Music* at Bellows Falls, Vermont, 1840–1843, and then, with Solon Silsby, 1843–1848.

⁴⁶Preface to the *Complete Encyclopaedia*, p. 4. Dated at Bellows Falls, Vermont, 1854, the same preface recurs in the edition published at Boston by Oliver Ditson in 1875 with a 46-page "Appendix to Encyclopaedia of music, containing events and information occurring since the main work was issued."



The Spaniards, the reputed inventors of the guitar, derived the name they give it *guitarra*, from *cithara*, the Latin denomination of almost every instrument of the lute⁴⁷ kind. The demand for this beautiful and graceful instrument has of late so increased that several American Houses have commenced the manufacture of them. The guitar seems to be coming into very general use. Until within a few years most of the guitars were imported from France or Germany, and some few from Spain. The Spanish instruments, though very superior to the French and German in point of tone, were of but little use here, as they soon went to pieces. We have seen some American made guitars of superior tone and finish, made after the Spanish model, which we think will prove rich in tone, and being made here, will stand the severest tests of the climate.

Moore's longest biographical article on a sixteenth-century Spaniard, a 960-word entry on Francisco

⁴⁷Moore ends his article on the lute (p. 538) with the observation: "Authors are not agreed as to the country to which we are indebted for its origin. Some give it to Germany and derive the name from the German *laute*, while others ascribe it to the Arabians, and trace its name from the Arabic [for] *laud*."



MINUIT A SEVILLE.

"En medio de mis pesares
Por vivir quise dormirme
Que el que vive como yo
Cuando duerme es cuando vive."

Tradición andaluza.

L. M. Gottschalk.

M. M. 100 = ♩

ff
pianissimo.
m.d.
m.g.
Ped.

m.d.
m.g.
m.g.
m.g.
m.g.
m.g.

riten.
morendo.
tres rythme.
m.d.
ff p subito
m.g.
Ped.



First system of musical notation. It consists of a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. The right hand plays a melodic line with a slur over the first two measures. The left hand plays a bass line with a slur over the first two measures. Pedal markings "Ped." are present at the beginning of each measure. Asterisks are placed below the bass line in the second and fourth measures.

Second system of musical notation. It begins with the instruction "ben marcato il canto." and a dynamic marking "P". The right hand has a slur over the first two measures. The left hand has a slur over the first two measures. Pedal markings "Ped." are present. Asterisks are placed below the bass line in the second and fourth measures.

Third system of musical notation. It begins with the instruction "subito i una corda." and a dynamic marking "mzf". The right hand has a slur over the first two measures. The left hand has a slur over the first two measures. Pedal markings "Ped." are present. Asterisks are placed below the bass line in the second and fourth measures. The system ends with a triplet of notes in the right hand, marked with a "3".

Fourth system of musical notation. It begins with the instruction "ben sostenuto il canto." and a dynamic marking "P". The right hand has a slur over the first two measures. The left hand has a slur over the first two measures. Pedal markings "Ped." are present. Asterisks are placed below the bass line in the second and fourth measures.



First system of musical notation. It consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music features a series of chords in the right hand, many of which are beamed together and have a slur over them. The left hand plays a rhythmic accompaniment. Pedal markings "Ped." are placed below the bass staff at the beginning of the first and third measures. Asterisks are placed below the bass staff at the end of the first and third measures.

Second system of musical notation. Similar to the first system, it features a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The right hand has beamed chords with slurs. The left hand has a rhythmic accompaniment. Pedal markings "Ped." are placed below the bass staff at the beginning of the first, second, and fourth measures. Asterisks are placed below the bass staff at the end of the first, second, and fourth measures. The word "subito." is written above the treble staff with an upward-pointing arrow above the third measure. A dynamic marking "p" is placed below the treble staff at the beginning of the third measure.

Third system of musical notation. It consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music features a series of chords in the right hand, many of which are beamed together and have a slur over them. The left hand plays a rhythmic accompaniment. Pedal markings "Ped." are placed below the bass staff at the beginning of the first, second, and fourth measures. Asterisks are placed below the bass staff at the end of the first, second, and fourth measures.

Fourth system of musical notation. It consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music features a series of chords in the right hand, many of which are beamed together and have a slur over them. The left hand plays a rhythmic accompaniment. Pedal markings "Ped." are placed below the bass staff at the beginning of the first and third measures. Asterisks are placed below the bass staff at the end of the first and third measures. The number "4167" is written in the bottom left corner of the page.



Più Animato armonioso.

*il canto ben marcato
i legato.*

m.d.

2 Ped.

Ped.

Ped.

 The first system of the musical score consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines. Pedal markings are present below the bass staff.

espress.

Ped.

* Ped.

* Ped.

* Ped.

 The second system continues the musical piece. It features similar notation to the first system, with a focus on expressive playing as indicated by the "espress." marking. Pedal markings are used to sustain the harmonic texture.

Ped.

* Ped.

* Ped.

* Ped.

* Ped.

* Ped.

 The third system introduces more complex rhythmic patterns, including triplets and sixteenth-note runs in the upper staff. The lower staff continues with a steady accompaniment. Pedal markings are used to manage the sustain of the chords.

cresc.

f subito.

mf

P

Ped.

* Ped.

* Ped.

 The fourth system shows a dynamic shift from mezzo-forte (mf) to piano (P) and then to fortissimo (f subito). It includes triplet figures in the upper staff. Pedal markings are used to control the dynamics and sustain.



espress.

f

Ped. * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

This system of music features a treble and bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody in the treble clef is marked *espress.* and includes a dynamic marking of *f*. The bass clef accompaniment consists of chords and moving lines. Pedal markings are indicated by the word "Ped." and asterisks below the staff.

legato il canto espress. *legato e*

Ped. * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

This system continues the musical piece with the instruction *legato il canto espress.* and *legato e*. The notation and accompaniment are consistent with the previous system, with pedal markings below the staff.

marcato il canto.

f

24 34 3 4

Ped. * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

This system is marked *marcato il canto.* and includes a dynamic marking of *f*. It features a 4-measure rest (marked with an 'x') and a 24-measure rest. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals. Pedal markings are present below the staff.

f

Ped. * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

This final system on the page continues the musical piece with a dynamic marking of *f*. The notation and accompaniment are consistent with the previous systems, with pedal markings below the staff.



f ben marcato il canto.

staccato e senza rall.

legato il canto.

4 34
2 1 x 1 2 1 x 1 2 1 x
3
Ped. * Ped. * Ped.

espress.

appassionato.

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

senza rall.

cresc. con grazia.

p *rf*
Ped. * Ped. *



espress.

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

This system contains the first six measures of the piece. The right hand features a melodic line with slurs and accents, while the left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and single notes. Pedal markings are placed below the bass line.

elegante.

33 4 2 3 4 3 4

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

This system contains measures 7 through 12. It includes fingering numbers (33, 4, 2, 3, 4, 3, 4) above the right-hand notes. The tempo/mood is marked "elegante." and the dynamics include a forte "f" marking.

ardito e marcato il canto.

martellato.

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

This system contains measures 13 through 18. The tempo/mood is marked "ardito e marcato il canto." and the dynamics include a forte "f" marking and the instruction "martellato." (staccato). Pedal markings are present below the bass line.

4107

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

This system contains measures 19 through 24. It concludes the page with a final chord in the right hand and a sustained bass line. The number "4107" is printed in the bottom left corner.



martellato. *ff* **mezzo forte subito.**

il canto marcato.

l'accompagnamento staccato e martellato.

Ped. * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

Musical score system 1: Treble and bass clefs, key signature of one sharp (F#), 2/4 time signature. The piece begins with a forte (ff) dynamic and a martellato (hammered) articulation. The melody is in the right hand, and the accompaniment is in the left hand. The system ends with a mezzo forte subito dynamic change.

Ped. * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

Musical score system 2: Continuation of the musical score from system 1. It features the same melodic and accompaniment lines with various pedaling instructions.

Ped. * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

Musical score system 3: Continuation of the musical score from system 2. The melodic line continues with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the accompaniment provides harmonic support.

Ped. * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

4187

Musical score system 4: Continuation of the musical score from system 3. The system concludes with a final cadence. The page number 4187 is printed at the bottom left.



tutta la forza.

The first system of musical notation consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). The music features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes in the treble, with a steady bass accompaniment. Dynamics include accents and a fortissimo (ff) marking.

Ped. * Ped. *

The second system continues the musical piece. It features a crescendo hairpin leading to a fortissimo (ff) dynamic. The notation includes various note values and rests, with a final measure ending in a fermata.

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

The third system of musical notation shows a continuation of the melodic and harmonic material. It includes a fermata over a note in the treble staff and a final measure with a fermata.

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

The fourth system concludes the piece. It features a decelerando hairpin labeled 'un poco rit.' (un poco ritardando). The notation includes a final cadence with a fermata.

un poco rit.

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *



1º tempo meno mosso.

f e piano subito.

First system of musical notation for piano. It consists of a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The music features a series of chords and melodic lines. Pedal markings are present: "Ped." at the beginning, and "Ped." with a star symbol at the end of each of the three measures.

ben marcato il canto.

Second system of musical notation for piano. Similar to the first system, it features a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. Pedal markings are present: "Ped." at the beginning, and "Ped." with a star symbol at the end of each of the three measures.

P molto i una corda.

Third system of musical notation for piano. It features a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. Pedal markings are present: "Ped." at the beginning, and "Ped." with a star symbol at the end of each of the three measures.

tristi i dolente.

ben sostenuto il canto.

Fourth system of musical notation for piano. It features a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. Pedal markings are present: "Ped." at the beginning, and "Ped." with a star symbol at the end of each of the three measures.



First system of musical notation. It consists of a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef. The right hand plays a melody with a slur over the first three measures. The left hand plays a bass line. Pedal markings are present: "Ped." at the beginning of the first measure, and "Ped." with a star symbol at the end of the second and fourth measures.

Second system of musical notation. Similar to the first system, it features a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The right hand continues the melodic line with slurs. Pedal markings include "Ped." at the start of the first measure, and "Ped." with a star symbol at the end of the second, fourth, and sixth measures.

Third system of musical notation. It begins with the dynamic marking "*p subito.*". The notation continues with a grand staff and similar melodic and bass line patterns. Pedal markings are "Ped." at the start of the first measure, and "Ped." with a star symbol at the end of the second, fourth, and sixth measures.

Fourth system of musical notation. It continues the piece with a grand staff. Pedal markings are "Ped." at the start of the first measure, and "Ped." with a star symbol at the end of the second, fourth, and sixth measures.



malinconico.

misterioso.

teneramente.



alantandosi.

First system of musical notation. Treble and bass staves. Pedal markings: Ped. (under first measure), Ped. (under second measure), Ped. (under third measure). Asterisks are placed between the second and third measures.

pendendosi.

Second system of musical notation. Treble and bass staves. Pedal markings: Ped. (under first measure), Ped. (under second measure), Ped. (under third measure). Asterisks are placed between the second and third measures.

m.d.

pianissimo.

m.f.

m.f.

lento e grazioso.

Third system of musical notation. Treble and bass staves. Dynamics: *ff* (under second measure), *pesante.* (under third measure), *fff* (under fourth measure). Pedal markings: Ped. (under first measure), Ped. (under second measure), Ped. (under third measure), Ped. (under fourth measure). Asterisks are placed between the second and third measures, and between the third and fourth measures.



Salinas (843–844), combines information from Sir John Hawkins and Charles Burney.⁴⁸ In the forepart of his Salinas article Moore abridges Hawkins's translation of Salinas's autobiographical preface to *De musica libri septem*.⁴⁹ Next he drastically abbreviates Hawkins's explanation of its contents. He concludes with a paragraph drawn from both authors—Burney, then Hawkins.

The most curious parts of the concluding chapters are the little fragments of old Spanish melody which belong to his specimens of versification. Some of these are very graceful and pleasing, particularly when we consider that at that time they had received no polish from the opera. Of this work it may be sufficient to say, that a greater degree of credit is due it than to almost any other production of modern writers of the same kind. The author was a practical as well as theoretical musician, and throughout the whole of his book he manifests a disposition the farthest removed, that can possibly be imagined, from that credulity which betrayed Glareanus and others into error. This disposition led him to inquire accurately and minutely into the doctrines of Greek writers: and from the confidence with which he sometimes blames them we are led into the persuasion that the truth was on his side.

Moore's other Renaissance Spaniards comprise most of those itemized by Burney:

Juan Bermudo (pp. 134–135, "wrote a work entitled *Declaracion de instrumentos*");

Fernando de Las Infantas (p. 447, "a priest of Cordova, in Spain, several of whose sacred compositions were published at Venice between the years 1578 and 1583");

Luis Milán (p. 598, "Spanish nobleman and musical amateur at Valencia, published *El Maestro*");

Francisco Montanos (p. 614, "portionarius in a church at Valladolid published *Arte de Musica theorica y practica*, 1592");

Cristóbal de Morales (p. 615, "the earliest Spanish mu-

⁴⁸Charles Burney, *A General History of Music From the Earliest Ages to the Present Time*, ed. Frank Mercer (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1935]), II, 238–239 (Bk. III, ch. v of the 1776–1789 edition). At pages 253–254 of the original edition Burney included 15 examples from *De musica libri septem* (not all with correct page numbers). What John Brande Trend had to say concerning "Salinas: A Sixteenth-Century Collector of Folk Songs," *Music and Letters*, VIII/1 (January 1927), pp. 13–24, enlarges on Burney.

⁴⁹John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, ed. Charles Cudworth (New York: Dover Publication, 1968), I, 404–405.

sician of any consequence whose name we have been able to meet with").

Diego Ortiz (p. 692, "of Toledo, a celebrated contrapuntist published at Venice *Musices Liber Primus Hymnos, Magnificas, Salves, motecta, psalmos*, 1565");

Guillermo de Podio (p. 739, "didactic writer on harmony, published in 1495 a work entitled *Ars musicorum*");

Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja (p. 707, "Dr. Burney observes of this Pareja, that he was the first who maintained, though not without opposition, the necessity of a musical temperament");

Francisco Tovar (p. 927, "published at Barcelona a work entitled *Libro de Musica Practica*");

Tomás Luis de Victoria (p. 964: "Peacham styles him 'a very rare and excellent author, whose vein was grave and sweet'").

Moore's Spaniards born in the eighteenth century include Domingo Terradellas (whose birth at Barcelona he places in the year 1701), Vicente Martín y Soler ("Russian imperial counsellor, celebrated in Italy by several operas and ballets, went afterwards to Vienna, where in 1785 he wrote *Il Burbero di buon cuore* which was particularly esteemed by connoisseurs, though his *Una cosa rara*, 1786, and *L'arbore di Diana*, 1787, more generally pleased; in 1788 he proceeded to St. Petersburg"), and Manuel García ("was born at Seville in the year 1775"). Because Manuel García initiated grand opera in the United States, Moore gives him a 464-word paragraph that includes not only the titles of fourteen of García's 43 stage works but also details concerning his engagement at the Park and Bowery Theatres in New York from November 29, 1825, to September 30, 1826.

Ambitious as was Moore's *Complete Encyclopaedia* for its epoch, it cannot bear comparison with the three-volume *Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians* edited by John Denison Champlin, Jr., with "critical assistance of William Foster Apthorp." Published in lavish format at New York by Charles Scribner's Sons in 1888 (472 + xxv pp.), 1889 (611 pp.), and 1890 (624 pp.), it contains "more than a thousand illustrations," including 635 portraits of musicians. So far as Spaniards go, not only does Champlin include articles on inevitable Morales (II,



584)⁵⁰ and Victoria (III, 542–543),⁵¹ but also on a host of others from Francisco Guerrero (II, 203)⁵² to Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (I, 122–123), Manuel Fernández Caballero (I, 250, with portrait), and Felipe Pedrell (III, 102).

Because he deliberately forwent “musical literature”—as he termed theorists and historians known solely for their writings (preface, page v)—Champlin did not profile Salinas, Nasserre, or even Cerone. But his generous coverage of composers compensates—especially when he takes the trouble to list the compositions of such figures as Baltasar Saldoni (III, 290–291) and Mariano Soriano Fuertes (III, 404–405), who are now remembered exclusively for their literary efforts. In the case of a composer-performer such as Pablo Sarasate (III, 300–301, portrait included), Champlin goes beyond mere biography and compendious list of works. He also provides separate articles on Sarasate’s *Spanische Tänze*⁵³ (III, 407) and *Ziegnerweisen*⁵⁴ (III, 613). In these he gives names of dedicatees, data concerning first performances, and publication history (including arrangements).

⁵⁰Concerning Morales, Champlin echoed A. W. Ambros: “He was the greatest of the Spanish musicians in Rome at the period immediately preceding Palestrina. He was evidently well drilled in the Netherlandish school of counterpoint, but showed in his music a Spanish fire and spirituality which entitle him to be ranked with the great composers of the Roman school.”

⁵¹[Victoria] “was especially noted for a Spanish warmth, depth, and intensity of feeling, and a certain exalted religious mysticism. Like that of other non-Italians of his day, his reputation has suffered unjustly at the hands of Baini, Palestrina’s biographer.”

⁵²[Guerrero’s] “works are known throughout Spain, in every cathedral town, but are extremely rare in the rest of Europe.” Champlin was aware of Guerrero’s having begun his professional career as maestro de capilla at Jaén, aged only 17. He also correctly dated Guerrero’s journey to Jerusalem during the latter half of 1588, but he fell victim to João de Carvalho’s misguided attempt (*Itinerario da viagem que fez a Jerusalem, 1734*) to make Beja (instead of Seville) Guerrero’s birthplace.

⁵³Simrock (Berlin) published Sarasate’s Spanish Dances in seven parts: opp. 21 (dedicated to Joseph Joachim, *Malagueña, Habanera*), 22 (*Romanza Andaluza, Jota Navarra*), 23 (*Playera, Zapateado*), 26 (dedicated to Leopold Auer), 28, 29, and 30 (*Bolero*).

⁵⁴Premiered at the Leipzig Gewandhaus, January 31, 1878, the *Ziegnerweisen* were reviewed that year in *Signale*, pp. 97 and 205. Senff (Leipzig) had published both score and reduction with piano accompaniment in 1877. Frédéric Szarvady was the dedicatee.

Champlin’s judgments of Spanish composers do often repeat sentiments expressed in either F.-J. Fétis’s *Biographie universelle des musiciens* (Paris, 1860–1865), Arthur Pougin’s two-volume *Supplément* (1878, 1881), or Hermann Mendel’s *Musikalischen Conversations-Lexikons* (eleven volumes and Supplementband, Berlin, 1870–1883). Nonetheless, any alphabetical sampling of the composers included by Champlin compares very favorably with their coverage in more recent American encyclopedias. The names of thirty will give an idea of Champlin’s range:

Pedro Albéniz, Francisco Andreví, Juan Emilio Arrieta, Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, Ramón Carnicer, Guillermo Cereda, Juan Cererols, Joaquín Espín Guillén, Manuel Fernández Caballero, Pascual Fuentes, Manuel del Popolo Vicente García, Juan García Salazar, Joaquín Gaztambide, Eugenio Gómez, José Melchor Gomis, José María González y Rodríguez, Francisco Guerrero, Pablo Hernández, Rafael José Hernando, José Inzenga, Vicente Martín y Soler, Cristóbal Morales, Cristóbal Oudrid y Segura, Felipe Pedrell, Baltasar Saldoni, Francisco Sánchez Gavañach, Fernando Sor, Mariano Soriano Fuertes, Tomás Luis de Victoria, Sebastián Yradier.

Champlin (I, 359) correctly understood that Fray Manuel Correa, the Carmelite who ended his career as Saragossa Seo chapelmaster (*d* August 1, 1653), was not the same individual as his homonymous Portuguese compatriot Manuel Correa [do Campo], prebendary of Seville Cathedral (*d* at Seville, January 6, 1645). Relying on Joaquim Vasconcellos’s two-volume *Os musicos portugueses* (Oporto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1870), Champlin also marched ahead of his time when he profiled various other Portuguese composers, ranging from Henrique Carlos Correa (I, 359), Cosme Delgado (I, 409), João Alvares Fro[u]vo (II, 103), and Antonio Carlos de Seixas (III, 359) to such a contemporary native of the Azores as the emigrant to Brazil who published twelve didactic works at Rio de Janeiro and about fifty songs, Rafael Coelho Machado (1814–1887). Even concerning such native-born Latin Americans as Teresa Carreño, António Carlos Gomes, and Nicolás Ruiz Espadero, Champlin provided tidbits not carried into recent European or American lexicons.

Concerning the founder of a dynasty of singers (father of María Malibran, Pauline Viardot, Manuel Patricio Rodríguez García) who was the widest



travelled Spaniard of his generation—Manuel del Popolo Vicente García (*b* Seville, January 21, 1775; *d* Paris, June 9, 1832)—how many current lexicons mention his having been the original Almaviva at the Roman world première of Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* in the Teatro Argentina (given under the title of *Almaviva, ossia l'Inutile precauzione*) February 20, 1816; Almaviva at the Parisian first performance in the Salle Louvois, October 26, 1819; and again Almaviva at the first United States performance, New York City, in Niblo's Garden November 29, 1825? Champlin, I, 120, gives this data. In the main García entry, he gives the titles of sixteen of García's Spanish operas, only one of which (*El poeta calculista*, Madrid, Teatro de los Caños del Peral, April 28, 1805) enters Loewenberg's *Annals of Opera* (I, 587). Loewenberg also lists only one of García's Italian Operas, the two-act *Il Califfo di Bagdad* (September 30, 1813, Naples, Fondo). The unsatisfactory García article in *The New Grove* (VII, 151–152) mentions no Italian operas, and for that matter gives no list of works whatsoever. In contrast, Champlin correctly itemizes García's two Italian text single-act operas, *L'amante astuto* and *La figlia dell'aria* premiered at New York, and provides a wealth of other detail.

SPANISH MUSIC IN DWIGHT'S JOURNAL, 1855–1871

Before the outbreak of the American Civil War lasting from 1861 to 1865, no less than 42 music periodicals were founded in the United States—18 of these at New York City, 14 at Boston. Three of the 42 were published in German, the rest in English. Most of the 42 were short-lived, lasting less than three years.⁵⁵ Only *Dwight's Journal of Music*, founded at Boston April 10, 1852, and continuing through 1051 numbers to September 3, 1881, broke the rule.

Throughout its exceptionally long life, the sole editor was the Harvard College and Divinity School graduate, John Sullivan Dwight (1813–1893). In his effort to cover activities in the Spanish-speaking world he usually fell back on reports of Italian opera performances and performers at the capitals of

Argentina, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, and Spain.⁵⁶ In Dwight's defense must, however, be mentioned the emphasis that he accorded opera and its exponents everywhere else throughout the nineteenth-century musical world, except when German-speaking territories were involved.

Appropriately, his first long article devoted to a Spaniard is therefore the three-column biography, "The Elder Garcia," in the September 29, 1855, issue, pages 204–205.⁵⁷ Although much too long to quote *in extenso*, the following torso gives an idea of its importance.

At six years old he was received into the choir of the cathedral, and commenced his musical studies under the instruction of Don Antonio Ripa⁵⁸ and Juan Almarcha. At this time there was no theatre in Seville, and sacred music was in high estimation; the vocal corps belonging to the cathedral was not only strong in number, but contained, also, some distinguished performers, particularly

"The following examples will show what kind of news Dwight's reported from Mexico City, Lima, Havana, and Madrid:

In the issue of August 28, 1852, p. 167, *Dwight's* announced that impresario Max Maretzek [1821–1897] was averaging no less than \$6000 per evening in Mexico City, where, however, the Mexican public asked him to perform *Leonora* by their compatriot Luis Baca instead of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*. In the August 13, 1853, number, p. 151, prima donna Eliza Biscaccianti (who had on March 22, 1852, inaugurated grand opera at San Francisco) was reported so successful at Lima that her rival Catharine Hayes—having heard her—immediately took ship for Valparaiso, rather than staying to compete for Peruvian affections.

In the August 4, 1860, number, p. 149, *Dwight's* announces that Gottschalk, after touring Central America and Venezuela, will next season take charge of the orchestra of the Italian opera at Havana's Tacón Theatre. The January 5, 1861, issue, p. 328, documents Gottschalk's having directed the orchestra with his usual ability at the opening night of the opera season in Havana, December 2, 1860. In the January 19, 1861, issue, the success of contralto Mérie Lablache at her Madrid operatic début is recounted in glowing terms.

⁵⁵Dwight credits an 1833 issue of *La Revue Musicale* for the original of "The Elder Garcia." Based on the same *La Revue Musicale* article, the Manuel-del-Popolo-Vicente García entry in F.-J. Fétis's *Biographie universelle des musiciens* (1874), III, 403–405, adds little more than a valuable dated list of García's forty stage works premiered at Madrid, Mexico City, Milan, Naples, New York City, and Paris (17 *opéras espagnols*, 15 *opéras italiens*, 8 *opéras français*).

⁵⁶Born at Tarazona ca. 1720, Ripa died at Seville November 3, 1795. He became *maestro de capilla* at Seville Cathedral June 22, 1768. See Robert Stevenson's article on him in *The New Grove*, XVI, 49–50.

⁵⁵See Imogen Fellinger and John Shepard, "Periodicals," *New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (1986), III, 510–511, for chronological list.



a tenor and a male soprano. García, having a very agreeable voice and extraordinary talents for music, was soon distinguished among his compeers, and by the time he was seventeen, his fame not only as a singer, but also as a composer and *chef d'orchestre*, had spread far beyond the limits of his native city. The manager of the Cadiz Theatre engaged him, and brought him forward in a *tonadilla*, in which the young debutant sang several pieces of his own composition. Here he obtained considerable reputation as a singer. His voice—a fine tenor—very flexible, and very extensive, particularly in the upper part, was much admired. From Cadiz, García proceeded to Madrid, where, arriving during Lent, he appeared in an oratorio, the only species of music allowed to be performed in that season in Spain. His residence in Madrid was of considerable duration; and he there composed several *tonadillas*.

When García at length quitted Madrid, he proceeded to Malaga, in which city he composed his first opera, entitled *El Preso*, the libretto of which was borrowed from a French piece, called *le Prisonnier ou la Ressemblance*. While he was at Malaga an epidemic fever raged there with such virulence as nearly to depopulate whole districts, but García was fortunate enough to escape its ravages and get back safe to Madrid. On his return to the capital, he brought into fashion a species of operettas, in one or two acts, similar to those which were then in vogue in France; the plots, indeed, were chiefly taken from French pieces. These operas made the rounds of the Spanish theatres, and were almost all received with great applause. García is one of the few Spanish composers who have written in the style of the national music of the country, which, as is well known, possesses a character entirely distinct from that of either Italy, Germany, or France. Several of his airs became highly popular; one in particular called *Lo Cavallo*, sung by him in the character of a smuggler, is as well known throughout Spain as *Charmante Gabrielle* in France, or *God save the King* in England. Some persons have denied García's claim to be considered the composer of his most original melody; it is true the names of these who write popular airs are quickly forgotten, but in this case the fact is of easy proof, for there are many amateurs still living in Madrid who well remember the effect made by the air *Yo que soy contrabandista*, when García sang it for the first time not thirty years ago.

On the 11th of February, 1808, García made his appearance in Paris, selecting for his début the *Griselda* of Paer, being the first time he had ever performed in an Italian opera. A journalist, whose criticisms carried much weight with them at that time, says of him, "Don Manuel García is a young artist of distinguished talent; his countenance is agreeable and expressive—his delivery correct—his action natural and animated; his voice is

Recivi del tesorero de las Compañias comicas de esta Corte, quinientos r.^s v.ⁿ por la composicion de la musica del unipersonal titulado El Preso. Madrid 10 de Enero de 1806. Manuel Garcia

R. 500^{rs} Manuel Garcia

Rafael ... Eug. ...

García's autographed receipt (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional) for the 500 *reales vellon* paid him for the composition of his one-person opera, *El Preso*: Recivi del tesorero de las Compañias comicas de esta Corte, quinientos r.^s v.ⁿ por la composicion de la musica del unipersonal titulado El Preso. Madrid 10 de Enero de 1806. Manuel Garcia. R.^s v.ⁿ 500^{rs}

sweet-toned, graceful, of very extensive compass and extreme flexibility. It is evident that he is a man of great ability and experience in his art; his singing is rich in ornament, but frequently too much embroidered." On the 15th March, 1809, he gave for his benefit a Spanish monologue operetta, called *El Poeta Calculista* (the first and only Spanish opera that has ever been performed in Paris) with such decided success, that it was repeated several times running, until the excessive fatigue of supporting alone a piece in which four compositions out of the seven were constantly encoered, obliged him to suspend the representations.

García continued in Paris until the commencement of 1811, when he went to Italy, and appeared successively on the theatres of Turin, Naples, and Rome. He was elected an academician of the Philharmonic Society at Bologna, and appointed by Murat principal tenor of his chamber and chapel. It was at this period that he became acquainted with Anzani, one of the most celebrated tenors in Italy, from whose instructions and example he acquired those secrets in the art of singing which were long monopolized by the old Italian masters for their own profit, or that of a few privileged scholars. In 1812, he brought out with great success at the San Carlo an opera in two acts, *Il Califo di Bagdad*. In 1816 Rossini wrote for him the parts of *Almaviva* (in the *Barber of Seville*) and of *Otello*. The air with variations now sung as a finale to the Cenerentola, was composed originally for García in *Almaviva*, and placed at the end of the second act of *Il Barbieri*, but only sung by him at Rome. In the autumn of the same year he returned to Paris, being engaged by Madame Catalani, at that time directress of the Théâtre Italien, and made his début on the 17th October in *Il Matrimonio Segreto*. He afterwards performed in his own opera, *Il Califo di Bagdad*, in *Griselda*, *Così fan tutte*, *Le Nozze di Figaro*, Portogallo's *Semiramide*, and several others, with equal distinction as an actor and a singer.



Garcia in the title role of *Otello* premiered at Naples December 4, 1816.

At length Garcia, tired and ashamed of eternally haggling for sixpences, left Paris and went to London, where he made his *début* on the 10th March, 1818, in the favorite part of *Almaviva*, and remained until the end of the ensuing season, 1819, when he returned to Paris.

It is to Garcia that the Parisian audiences owe their first acquaintance with the music of Rossini; and if the public knew what green-room intrigues were resorted to, and all the obstacles Garcia had to encounter before he succeeded in having that great composer's operas performed, its sense of obligation for the eminent services he at length succeeded in rendering them would not be small. In 1817 he had played Lindoro in the *Italiana in Algeri*, the first opera of Rossini's ever performed in Paris; but when he wished to bring out the *Barber of Seville* for his own benefit, the opera was judged unworthy of the capital of France, and the singer forced to select another piece. Better instructed this time, he made the bringing out of *Il Barbiere* the *sine qua non* of his engagement, and thus to his perseverance Paris owes the hearing of this masterpiece of the comic opera within three years of its being composed.

The period between the autumn of 1819 and the beginning of 1824, which Garcia spent in Paris, formed the most brilliant portion of his musical career. As an actor and singer he enjoyed the highest popularity, especially in the parts of *Almaviva*, *Otello*, and *Don Juan*. As a composer, he wrote *La Mort du Tasse* and *Florestan* for the French opera; *Il Fazzolletto* for the Théâtre Italien and for the Gymnasium *La Meunière*; finally, as a professor of singing, he numbered among his pupils Adolphe Nourrit, the Countess Merlin, Mad. Favelli, and

Mad. Mérie Lalande. About this time he was also appointed first tenor of the chamber and chapel by the King. In 1824, Garcia was again engaged for the London opera, and returned to England. It was in London that Garcia completed the education of his gifted daughter, the present Mad. Malibran. In London he also opened an academy for singing. In the autumn of 1825, the Garcias left London; made a tour of the midland and northern parts of England; sang at some concerts and music-meetings at Manchester, Derby, and York, and finally embarked at Liverpool, on an excursion to the western continent.

To recount the whole of Garcia's adventures in the New World; to lay before the reader the state of music in New York and Mexico at the moment he arrived in those cities; to paint all the difficulties he had to surmount, or speculate on the effect his residence amongst them had upon a population to whom the arts were quite new, would require too much space; a few of the principal events in his active and brilliant career is all we can afford room for. The company with which he crossed the Atlantic consisted of himself and the younger Crivelli, *tenors*; his son Manuel Garcia, and Angrisani, *bassi cantanti*; Rosich, *buffo caricato*; with Mad. Barbieri, Mad. Garcia, and her daughter Marietta, *soprani*. *Il Barbiere*, the opera which they chose as their introduction to an American audience, was almost entirely performed by the family party; Garcia playing *Almaviva*, his daughter Rosina, his son Figaro, and his wife Berta. In the course of the season they successively brought forward *Otello*, *Romeo*, *Il Turco in Italia*, *Don Giovanni*, *Tancredi*, *La Cenerentola*, and two operas of Garcia's composition, *L'Amante Astuto*, and *La Figlia dell'Aria*,—the latter written expressly for his daughter and Angrisani.

The air of New York did not agree with an Andalusian constitution, and Garcia removed in search of a more congenial climate, from the United States to Mexico. Instead of finding in the capital of New Spain the repose which he had promised himself, he was soon compelled to sing and compose more than ever. Three Italian operas had been got up with the original words; but the Mexicans, though they had taste enough to relish the music, were not satisfied with performances of which they did not understand a single syllable. Garcia had no resource but to compose Spanish operas, or adapt Spanish words to the Italian; he did both. Amongst the operas written by him for the Mexican theatre, *Semiramide* and *Abuarez* may be particularly mentioned; and he adapted Spanish words to his own *Amante Astuto*, which was performed several nights running. The Mexican company, half native and half foreign, was nothing remarkable before Garcia arrived amongst them; he soon found that the duties of composer, director, chief of the orchestra, singing-master, chorus leader, and even machinist



and decorator, must all centre in himself. His indefatigable activity was rewarded with such success, that he often said, "I would exhibit my Mexican performers now before a Parisian audience, and they would not be unworthy the honor."

Notwithstanding the favorable reception he had met with in Mexico, Garcia could not avoid being uneasy at the daily increasing symptoms of animosity between the natives and the Spaniards. Foreseeing a speedy rupture between them, he resolved to return to Europe; he had great difficulty in obtaining passports, but at length succeeded, and set off for Vera Cruz, provided with a guard of soldiers, which however, proved too weak, or too faithless, to protect him and his goods. At a place called Tepeyualco, his convoy was attacked by brigands, and himself obliged to lie flat on his face, while his baggage was plundered of 1000 ounces of gold—the savings of his industry and economy. He came off with his life, however, and succeeded in getting once more to Paris, where he determined to dedicate the rest of his days to teaching. He appeared again at the Théâtre Italien, but declined very advantageous offers of an engagement at the Scala, and applied himself with new ardor to the instruction of his pupils. The last, whose education he completed were Madame Raimbeaux, Mademoiselle Edwige, and Madame Ruiz Garcia. Garcia died on the 9th of June, 1832, after a short illness, which was not at first considered at all dangerous.

To the last moment of his life Garcia was incessantly occupied with the Art to which the whole of that life had been dedicated, enjoying a wonderful facility and an activity of mind not less astonishing. He has left behind him an immense number of manuscripts. Besides the operas already mentioned in the course of this narrative, he was the author of numerous others, most of which have not been brought out.

More as a *jeu d'esprit* than because he took seriously a letter from the United States secretary of legation at Madrid tracing the origin of *Yankee Doodle* to a Biscayan tune, Dwight published the following letter in the issue of Saturday, July 24, 1858 (xiii/17), page 133:

Madrid, June 3, 1858

My Dear Sir,—The tune *Yankee Doodle*, from the first of my showing it here, has been acknowledged by persons acquainted with music to bear a strong resemblance to the popular airs of Biscay; and yesterday a professor from the north recognized it as being much like the ancient sword dance played on solemn occasions by the people of San Sebastian. He says the tune varies in those provinces, and proposes in a couple of months to give me the changes as they are to be found in their different

towns, that the matter may be judged of and fairly understood. Our national air certainly has its origin in the music of the free Pyrenees; the first strains are identically those of the heroic *Danza de Espadas*, as it was played to me, of brave old Biscay.

Very truly yours,

BUCKINGHAM SMITH

The next long article, appearing in the October 26, 1861, issue with the title "Music in Madrid," pages 239-240, reported the impressions of an English musician travelling from Pamplona to Madrid. During the 24-hour trip by diligence that stopped only at Agreda and Soria, he had no time to gather musical data. But at Madrid he heard everything from street players of accordion, barrel organ and harp, a male chorus at San José accompanied by orchestra, and a guitar player at nightfall, to the opening night of the zarzuela season.

Ere we left Madrid, the Comic Opera, or Zarzuela Theatre, opened for its season. The company is made up of Spanish artists; and though one may (as one might in Germany) fall on versions of known operas by Hérold, Flotow, and Auber, and other light foreign composers, the repertory is also fed by native writers unknown on our side of the Pyrenees, such as—to name only those who are promised for the season just begun—Señores Gaztambide,¹⁹ Barbieri, Arrieta, Vasquez, Oudrid, and Fernandez Caballero.

The theatre is a spacious, gaily decorated, comfortable building, agreeable to inhabit, easy to see and hear in; one of those available places of amusement which, it seems, we are never to have in London. The stage appointments and dresses are neat, picturesque and liberal, as was to be seen in a concert where every piece was sung with a change of scene and in costume. The solo singers were more than agreeable. A *seconda donna*, Señora Rivas, (with a charming *soprano* voice), an amateur *soubrette* (who manoeuvred her fan and her many skirts to admiration), a tenor whose voice is sympathetic, and whose method is good, and a baritone full of animation and spirit, must have surprised those who have been little used to hear of, or to hear, the singers of Spain. If these artists be of average quality, the country has materials for comic opera superior to those commanded at the present

¹⁹See Tomás Marco's article on Joaquín Gaztambide (1822-1870) in *The New Grove*, vii, 205; three-act *Catalina*, libretto by Luis Olona (based on Scribe's *L'étoile du nord*), premiered at the Circo October 23, 1854. The piano-vocal score was published at Madrid in about 1860. One-act *Una vieja* was premiered in 1860, according to *Diccionario de la musica Labor* (1954), i, 1044.



by Germany and Italy. Four artists better trained for their parts are rarely to be met with. A duet from *Gil Blas* was sung by Señor Sanz (the tenor) and Señor Obregón (the baritone mentioned), with so much spirit, that being itself very piquant and natural, an *encore* was resistless. I have not heard anything so genial, or better executed, for many a day.

A glance at the score of two comic operas, *Catalina*, in three acts, and *Una Vieja*, in one, by Señor Gaztambide, has revealed that both contain pretty music, both are as welcome (after their Spanish kind) as the better known *Czar und Zimmermann* of Lortzing, or the *Stradella*, of Flotow.

The public appears to enjoy this theatre, since on the first night of the regular opera season not a seat was to be obtained save at a premium. It is a public, too, whose courteous manners, self-respect in point of appearance, and quick pleasure in all that passes, add no little to the satisfaction and cheerfulness of the solitary stranger.

Two issues a decade later contained reports by a traveller named A. V. Czeke. In the April 8, 1871, issue (xxx1/1) his letter, first published in the *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung*, begins with an announcement of Jesús Monasterio's Classical Orchestral Concerts, which were given "in the Circo de Madrid, at the beginning of March." Composers in Monasterio's series included among "moderns" Rubinstein, Raff, Brahms, and Wagner. However, Czeke lamented the slim attendance.

At a Madrid Grand Opera performance of Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*, Tamberlik, Aldighieri, and others in the cast sang too bombastically and the orchestra was too large. The most applauded number turned out to be an *Habanera* interpolated by Madame Ortolani-Tiberini in the Lesson Scene.

In the issue of December 2, 1871 (xxx1/18), pages 138-139, Czeke commented on the astonishing number of amateurs: "nearly every mechanic knows some instrument or other, and turns his proficiency to account by playing in the theatres, circuses, and military bands."

For this reason the number of professional musicians, properly so-called is exceedingly limited, because there are so many amateurs, who perform at a very low price. The larger art-institutions at Madrid, such as the Opera Real, the Sociedad de Conciertos, the Summer-Concert Society in the Buen Retiro Gardens, establishments which, on account of the privileges they enjoy, shirk no expense, are the only ones that can pay the professional musician more remunerative terms. Thus, the lowest salary of violinists at the Opera-house, Madrid, is 150

francs a month; first-class players receive 300 pesetas, while the Grand Paris Opera pays scarcely 120 francs. The active members of the Madrid Sociedad de Conciertos for Classical Music receive from each concert an average price of sixty francs, while Padeloup, in Paris, thinks that sixteen francs is plenty for each "concert and three rehearsals." During the Carnival Season, a small band of seven or eight musicians obtain some 200 to 300 pesetas an evening, while the Parisian purveyors of hall-music, Waldteufel, Strauss, etc., settled the "prix de Paris" for "the whole night" at from ten to twelve francs a head. To gain such wretched remuneration, there is no need of going to Paris; one may as well stop quietly in Germany. The reason that the professional musicians of Madrid are not victimized by managers is because they form associations among themselves, and conduct their own financial and artistic concerns. Thus the Madrid Sociedad de Conciertos gives its present conductor, Monasterio, only twice as much as a simple member of the band, having discharged its founder and former conductor, the composer, Barbieri, for the purely material reason that he claimed a fifth share. A large place in the Calle Mayor serves the Madrid musicians as a rendezvous every day between one and three in the afternoon. They there form a sort of Musical Exchange, where every one in need of their assistance can find and engage them. If musicians in other capitals were equally practical, and would club together a little more, instead of splitting up into factions, and if, in their enthusiasm for the Ideal, they would not forget quite so much the Material, in art—their state would be the more gracious. The following are the principal associations of this kind in Madrid: the Musical-Artistic Association for Mutual Assistance, with a present annual income of 60,000 reals; and El Fomento de las Artes, founded in the year 1859. The latter called into life the various Madrid choral societies, headed by the Orfeon Artístico-Madrilense, which gets up sacred concerts every year, and the Society of Pianoforte Tuners (!), Pianists, and Musical Professors of both sexes, called La Sin-Par, which tunes pianos for 10 reals (2½ francs), and gives music lessons at proportionately moderate prices. Every musician who takes an active part at concerts or theatrical performances, enjoys in Spain the title of Professor; and Monasterio's grand concert band consists of 95 professors—probably because many among them exercise at the same time some other "profession." This reminds one of the abuse of the doctor's title in other countries.

Since the year 1831, Madrid has possessed a "Royal Conservatory of Music and Declamation." The first director was Francesco Piermarini, an Italian singing master: Carnicer conducted the classes of composition, and Albeniz those of the piano. Subsequent teachers of composition were the well known Spanish composers,



Hilarion Eslava, and Emilio Arrieta, the latter having, for the last three years, been director of the institution. Instruction in the violin is entrusted to the skilful hands of Monasterio, founder of the Quartet Society for Classical Chamber Music—which has existed ever since 1862—and the present conductor of the Grand Orchestral Concerts. The vocal department, which formerly turned out some thorough female singers, now constitutes the *partie faible* of the whole. The magnificent large hall of the Conservatory, where the examinations and the concerts were held, was situated at the back of the Royal Operahouse. On the 20th April, 1867, it fell a prey to the flames, and is still a mass of ruins at the present day. Thanks, however, to the impulse given by the new king, Amadeo, who is fond of music, the hall is shortly to be restored to its former splendor; the preparations have already commenced. The Quartet Concerts take place during the autumn season, in the small hall of the Conservatory, and the grand Spring Orchestral Concerts in the large and elegant Teatro y Circo de Madrid, belonging to Count Rivas, and situate in the promenade of the Prado, always thronged and sparkling with light. The Summer Concerts, conducted this year with the most extraordinary success by the celebrated double-bass player and composer, Bottesini, are like the concerts in the

Champs Elysées, Paris, and attract the most fashionable audiences.

The most distinguished art-institution in Spain is the National Operahouse, with a season from October to Easter. It is devoted more especially to the cultivation of Italian music, all the singers being Italians, so that, so far as regards its Italian *Stagione*, Madrid can enter the lists against the great capitals of Paris, London, and St. Petersburg. The Teatro Nacional de la Opera is one of the largest and most magnificent in Europe: it can accommodate about 3000 persons, and the stage is as large as that of the Grand Opera, Paris, if, indeed, it is not wider and higher. The artistic ensemble frequently suffers from the immense proportions of the building. The latter was inaugurated on the 19th November, 1850, with Donizetti's *Favorita*, the principal artists being Alboni, the celebrated contralto; the tenor, Gardoni; the barytone, Barroilhet; and the bassist, Formes.

We may state that the three principal music-sellers in Madrid are Messrs. Romero, Eslava, and Martin. The more eminent Spanish composers of the present day are Messrs. Eslava, Arrieta, and Barbieri. Eslava, as director of the old Chapel Royal, wrote many sacred works considered in Spain masterpieces of their kind.





Mexican Baroque Polyphony in Foreign Libraries

I

BY FAR THE MOST SUMPTUOUS of Mexican colonial music manuscripts in a foreign library is the 226-folio choirbook catalogued M. 2428 in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Entirely devoted to the eight Masses (*Super Scalam Aretinam a 5*, *Super Alleluia a 5*, *Pange lingua a 6*, *de Batalla a 6*, *Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas a 4*, *Quam pulchri sunt gressus tui a 4*, *Re sol a 4*, *Aufer nobis a 4*), and to the Magnificats in the eight tones by Francisco López [Capillas]—who after several years as Puebla Cathedral organist spent his last twenty years (1654–1674) as Mexico City Cathedral organist and chapelmaster—this luxurious Madrid volume contains works that are duplicated in Mexico City Cathedral and Tepotzotlán Viceroyal Museum manuscripts.¹

When first catalogued by Higinio Anglés and José Subirá, M. 2428 was not recognized as a manuscript of Mexican origin. Instead, they credited it to the Benedictine monk named [Francisco] Miguel López (*b* Villaroya, Aragón, March 1, 1669; took the habit at Montserrat October 15, 1684; *d* Saragossa, 1723), who flourished a half-century later.² Nor did they

¹Details concerning Mexican sources of López Capillas's works in *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1970), pp. 136–138, 141.

²*Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, 1 (Barcelona, 1946), pp. 228–230. The “Notes biografiques” in *Miguel López (1669–1723) Obres completes*, 1 (Monestir de Montserrat, 1970), 11–18, certify “Miguel Pablo López” as having been this monk's name; his father was named “Francisco López,” not he.

recognize the parody sources of the eight Masses—the fifth and sixth of which are based on likenamed Palestrina motets, second and eighth on original motets by the Mexico City chapelmaster himself, seventh on a *canción* by the chapelmaster at Jaén Cathedral 1598–1637, Juan [Martín] de Riscos,³ and fourth on the Janequin chanson *La bataille de Marignan* (1529). Subirá published a facsimile of folio 2^v of the Madrid manuscript in *Historia de la música española e hispanoamericana* (Barcelona: Salvat, 1953), page 555. One facsimile, however, gives insufficient idea of the exquisite calligraphy throughout M. 2428. Beautiful initials abound. Thousands of pen strokes are used to draw backgrounds that are sometimes ships, trees, various animals; and at other times knights jousting (folio 63^v), fishermen busy on Lake Texcoco (16^v), a peacock in the viceroyal aviary (64), and a porcupine.

Lester D. Brothers, presently head of musicology at North Texas State University (Denton), included an exhaustive study of Madrid M. 2428 in his defini-

³Concerning Juan [Martín] de Riscos, see José López-Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada: Fundación Rodríguez Acosta, 1963), I, 171, 198; II, 144–150 (transcription of Riscos's opposition motet *a 5*, *Venite, ascendamus*); Robert Stevenson, “Francisco Correa de Arauxo, New Light on his Career,” *Revista Musical Chilena*, XXII/103 (January–March 1968), 22–23 (Riscos became Jaén chapelmaster September 11, 1598; by December 1, 1637, he had grown so senile that Jaén Cathedral was forced to appoint another chapelmaster [José de Escobedo] to fulfill his duties); and Andrés Llordén, “Notas históricas de los maestros de capilla en la Colegiata de Antequera,” *Anuario Musical*, XXXI–XXXII, 1976–1977 (1979), 122 (Riscos, born at Cabeza de Buey and in 1587 resident at Córdoba, was elected *maestro de capilla* at Antequera October 25, 1587, but by December 11, 1593, was gone from there).



tive article, "A New-World Hexachord Mass by Francisco López Capillas," *Yearbook for Inter-American Musical Research*, ix (1973), 5-44. Reduced facsimiles of folios 63^v-64, 89^v-90, 132^v-133, 175^v-176 appeared in his article as figures 1 through 4. His chart II counted the objects illuminated in the initials—among them 52 birds, 18 fish, 6 dogs, and lesser numbers of frogs, snakes, deer, rabbits, squirrels, anteaters, turtles, cats, boars, and monkeys. After learnedly discussing seventeenth-century penstroke illumination throughout Spanish dominions, and more specifically the influence everywhere in Madrid M. 2428 of José de Casanova's *Primera parte del Arte de Escribir Todas Formas de Letras* (Madrid: Diego Díaz de la Carrera, 1650), Brothers summarized thus (page 17):

All three copyists showed strong predilection for animals and especially birds. Indeed, the manuscript is a virtual compendium of species found in Nueva España. Birds outnumber nearly all the other animals represented in the work put together. Moreover, the birds are sufficiently varied to intrigue the avid ornithologist. The peacock on folio 64 felicitously exemplifies the calligrapher's virtuosity. Does the large number of animals reflect specifically New-World cultural influences? The importance of animal representation in the art of preconquest Mexico has been stressed by Leonhard Adam ["L'Animal dans l'Art de l'Ancienne Amérique," *Cahiers d'Art*, v/1, 1930, pp. 11-16], and this interest continued prevailing among the indigenes throughout the seventeenth century.

Brothers himself transcribed the Mass given pride of place in López Capillas's showcase collection sent to Madrid—the *Missa Super Scalam Aretinam a 5*, and discusses it at length, not only in his landmark article but in Chapter VI of his Ph.D. dissertation, "The Hexachord Mass: 1600-1720," University of California at Los Angeles, 1973.

In comparison with the atlas-size presentation copy of López Capillas's Masses and Magnificats catalogued as M. 2428 at the Spanish National Library, the six less sumptuous manuscript miscellanies now catalogued under call-number Case VM 2147 C 36, Volumes I-VI, at the Newberry Library in Chicago, may at first glance disappoint the viewer. Donated to the Library March 30, 1899, by one of the wealthiest industrial and banking magnates in Chicago during the golden era of that city, Charles Lawrence Hutchinson (1854-1924), these six volumes containing 92 liturgical works for one, two, or three choirs were probably acquired by him during a trip to Mexico from which he had returned

March 22, 1899. His travelling companion had been the bibliophile and Mexicanist Edward E. Ayer—another of Newberry Library's most generous benefactors. Hutchinson, who from 1882 until his death was president of the Art Institute of Chicago, had headed the Fine Arts Commission for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition—to which were invited such leading Latin American musical lights as Antônio Carlos Gomes.

Not, however, until 1968 did Donald Krummel, then Associate Librarian at the Newberry, awake these six volumes from their long Brünnhilde slumbers and in that year invite their inspection by the Israeli musicologist born June 6, 1939, Elyahu Schleifer.

Then residing at International House, University of Chicago (home address: 10 Shikun Kirvat Moshe, Jerusalem), Schleifer summarized his preliminary study of these six emigrant Mexican choirbooks in a Bibliography term paper for the 301 course taught the 1968 Winter Quarter by Hans H. Lenneberg. After revisiting Israel, Schleifer in January of 1972 returned to 5482 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 60615, with the intention of finishing a doctoral dissertation devoted to these choirbooks. His pencil numbering of the Newberry folios was completed February 23, 1968. In his article "New Light on the Mexican Choirbooks at the Newberry Library," *Notes of the Music Library Association*, xxx/2 (December 1973), 231-241, he argued that the same scribe who copied the so-called Carmen Codex, page 56, also copied Newberry Library Case Ms V 2147 C 36, Vol. III, fol. 97^v. His two-volume University of Chicago dissertation, chaired by Howard Mayer Brown, "The Mexican Choirbooks at the Newberry Library," filed March 27, 1979, is in the Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago (Thesis No. T27375).

The first scholar to mention in print these six hitherto neglected Newberry volumes was Professor Steven Barwick of Southern Illinois University. Author of the Harvard University 1949 doctoral dissertation *Sacred Vocal Polyphony in Early Colonial Mexico* and editor of the fourteen surviving Magnificats by the Mexico City Cathedral chapelmaster from 1575 to 1585, Hernando Franco,⁴ Barwick

⁴Concerning Fernando = Hernando Franco, see "Mexico City Cathedral: The Founding Century," *Inter-American Music Review*, 1/2 (Spring-Summer 1979), 148-167, and "Guatemala Cathedral to 1803," *Inter-American Music Review*, 11/2 (Spring-Summer 1980), 33; also "Hernando Franco, el más notable compositor renacentista en México," *Heterofonía* (Mexico City), año II, número 11 (March-April 1970), 4-11.



Supervius: Hiffatmuj. Re Sol Fran Lopez

K Kyrie eleison Kyrie eleison
Kyrie eleison Kyrie eleison

Almus: Hiffa. auj. Re Sol Fran Lopez

K Kyrie eleison Kyrie eleison
Kyrie eleison Kyrie eleison

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 2428, fols. 132^v-133.

Suplivos: Fran. Tomi. Fran. Lopez

A Agnus Dei Agnus Dei
Agnus Dei Agnus Dei

Alto: Fran. Tomi. Fran. Lopez

A Agnus Dei Agnus Dei
Agnus Dei Agnus Dei

TENOR.

A Agnus Dei Agnus Dei
Agnus Dei Agnus Dei

BASSIS.

A Agnus Dei Agnus Dei
Agnus Dei Agnus Dei

Fols. 175^v-176.



made many valuable comments on the Newberry volumes in his article (accompanied with facsimiles and transcription), "A Recently Discovered *Miserere* of Fernando Franco," *Yearbook for Inter-American Musical Research*, vi (1970), pages 77-89.

As Barwick correctly observed, the sole work ascribed to Franco in any of the six Newberry volumes is the *Miserere mei Deus* at folios 110^v-113 of Case MS VM 2147, C 36, Vol. I.⁵ Nonetheless, Franco also wrote the burial response copied at folios 82^v-83 of this same first volume. Two decades earlier Barwick had found this same response, *Qui Lazarum resuscitasti*, in Puebla Libro de Coro III, folios 90^v-91, which source had served for his transcription at pages 166-168 of the Musical Supplement to his doctoral dissertation. In his 1970 *Yearbook* article Barwick also called attention to still other music at folios 78^v-82 and at 94^v-99 of Newberry I that, despite lacking composer ascriptions, can be assigned a Mexican maestro on the strength of concordances giving the works to Juan de Lianas in the so-called Convento del Carmen Codex.⁶ The two items thus identifiable as Lianas's are a *Salve Regina a 4* copied in the Carmen Codex at pages 36-43 and a *Magnificat Tertii toni a 5* copied at pages 46-57.⁷ In Newberry VI, the apparently anonymous *Incipit lamentatio-Aleph Quomodo-Beth Plorans-Hyerusalem* at folios 105^v-108 is Lianas's also—on the strength of two concordances naming him as composer, the first in Newberry III, folios 126^v-129 ("in cena domini don ju^o de llienas"), the second in Carmen, pages 200-207.

Who was this Don Juan de Lianas, who dominates the Carmen Codex with a total of sixty pages, thus overshadowing Victoria and Guerrero, who rank second and third with only thirty and twenty-eight pages respectively? In addition to his *Salve* and *Magnificat* in Newberry I at folios 78^v-82 and 94^v-99, the *Domine ad adiuvandum a 8* at 93^v-94 is ascribed to him. Newberry II at folios 77^v-79, 79^v-82, 82^v-85, credits him with three vespers psalms for double choir: *Dixit Dominus*, *Laudate pueri*, and *Credidi*; 98^v-102 with a ten-

verse double choir *Magnificat Primi Toni*; 126^v-127 with a *Miserere a 3* (the top pair of running voices counterpoint a slow-motion plainsong copied in the tenor clef). The title page of Newberry III carries the legend: "I Coro delá Salbe y Salmos de ocho de don Ju.^o lienas." Although he is by no means the only, nor even the principal composer in Newberry III, the heavily mended *Salve a 8* at folios 1^v-3, and 132^v-135 (second choir) is certainly his, as well as the *Nunc dimittis a 8* at 3^v-4 (second choir at 132^v-133 with the ascription "don Ju^o de lienas"). Also Lianas's in Newberry III are the Nativity hymn at 4^v-5, *Tu lumen tu splendor a 6*, and the already mentioned Maundy Thursday lamentation at 126^v-129 that concords with Newberry VI, folios 105^v-108 and with Carmen, pages 200-207. As if Newberry II were an insufficient record, Newberry V repeats at 83^v-85, 85^v-88, and 88^v-91 precisely the same four voice parts of the double-choir psalms *Dixit Dominus*, *Laudate pueri*, and *Credidi*. The complementing voice parts for each of these three psalms turn up in Newberry VI at 68^v-70, 70^v-73, 73^v-77. Those for the third choir of *Magnificat a 10* in Newberry II, 98^v-102 are found in Newberry VI at 91^v-96 (second choir; first choir parts are missing).

In *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* when discussing at page 134 Lianas's contribution to the Convento del Carmen Codex, Robert Stevenson proposed identifying Lianas as "at least an hidalgo if not a cacique" because of "the use of 'don' or its abbreviation before 'Juan de Lianas' at pages 36, 37, and 46" of the Carmen Codex. The reasons for considering him an Indian cacique rather than a Spanish hidalgo are canvassed in Stevenson's *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968; 1976), pages 205-206. At Newberry, he is called "Don Juan Lianas," "Don Ju^on de llienas," or "don Ju^o de llienas" at folios 77^v and 82^v of Volume II; 1^v, 78^v, 83^v, 84, 126^v, and 132^v of Volume III. Whatever significance is attached to his having been the unique "don" in the Newberry series, Lianas obviously infuriated one of the many scribes (over twenty) who copied the music in the Newberry choirbooks. How otherwise account for the invectives that "Scribe L" (Schleifer's dissertation, I, 34-35) strewed over the tops of superius and alto parts in Newberry Volumes I through III? Was Lianas indeed a "stuck up, heavy set ladies' man" (*galan tiesso rrolizo*, Newberry I, 78^v) with a beard, who was at the same time a cuckold, as Scribe L would have him? Newberry III, folios 3^v and 4 label

⁵Bound in yellow crinkled parchment, this volume like the rest contains music copied in many different hands. Inside the spine appears a legend in cramped hand: "hermanita de mis ojos i todo mi consuelo J.M.J." [Jesús María José].

⁶Transcribed from microfilm MUSIC 46 at the Library of Congress by Jesús Bal y Gay, *Tesoro de la música polifónica en México*, I (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1952 [1953]).

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 10-16; 19-29.



him a "cornudillo"; in the upper right hand corner of 134^v appears the ascription "del cornudo lienas." He is again called "el cornudo" at the top of folio 125 and "de chibato Lienas" at 126^v in Newberry II. As for his dates, he can no longer be assigned to Franco's century. Instead, his polychoral repertory and the intimate company shared by him throughout the Newberry books with Fabián [Pérez] Ximeno (born around 1595, died in April of 1654 at Mexico City) now forces us to assign him to the first half of the seventeenth century. Whoever he was, his pieces are always the most soiled and the most mended throughout the Newberry series. His *Salve a 4*, found in both Newberry I and Carmen, was in 1966 recorded (Angel S36008) by Roger Wagner, who still continues regarding it, after numerous performances on transcontinental tour, as a nonpareil New World polyphonic masterpiece.

II

The first chorus parts of Ximeno's *Missa De la Batalla a 8 (Sexti Toni)* occupy Newberry III, folios 36^v-47; the second chorus parts are in II, 31^v-42 and repeated in V, 50^v-60. His *Missa super Beatus vir a 11* is divided between III, 49^v-57, and II, 44^v-51 = V, 62^v-69. His "G minor" *Dixit Dominus a 8* occupies Newberry III, 93^v-98, and II, 90^v-95. His "F Major" *Laudate a 11* occupies III, 98^v-101, and II, 95^v-97. His throughcomposed *Magnificat Septimi toni a 8* divides between III, 106^v-111 and II, 100^v-105. His "G minor" *Magnificat a 11* divides between Newberry III, 59^v-62, and II, 54^v-56. Another Mass, identifiable as his from a concordance, crops up at II, 13^v-20 = V, 32^v-39. Ximeno's Newberry repertory, doubly precious because every work is polychoral, contrasts with his surviving works for single chorus in Mexico City Cathedral Choirbook III—folios 73^v-78 and 79^v-84 of which contain his two psalms *a 5*, *Qui inclinavit* and *Confitebor tibi Domine in toto corde*. Only Puebla Cathedral so late as 1966 owned any polychoral works concordant with Ximeno's Newberry Masses.⁸

Lienas still remains a shadowy figure. Not so Ximeno. Elsewhere in this issue (pages 87-97) his biography is documented from Mexico City Cathedral capitular acts. So likewise is the New World trajectory of Antonio Rodríguez Mata (pages 80-

81) who had begun with a half prebend (*media ración*) September 23, 1614, who had composed the villancicos and chanzonetas needed at Christmas and other high feasts from 1618 onward, and who from no later than 1632 had borne the title of *maestro de capilla*. Rodríguez Mata's St. Luke Passion occupies Newberry II, folios 115^v-118, his name appearing thus at the top of 116: "antonio ruis de mata." His name is abbreviated "R^o mata" at the top of the opening of an *Asperges me a 8* (second choir) in the same Newberry volume, folios 42^v-44. The *Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Lucam, a 4*, in Newberry II—like the Matthew and John Passions *a 4* in Mexico City Cathedral Choirbook II, folios 1^v-14, 72^v-80, and like his two lamentations in the same choirbook at 106^v-114 and 114^v-119—eschews all artifice, and instead consists of dark-hued chords throughout. Just as Victoria and Guerrero limited the polyphony in their passions to crowd utterances and a few other sentences, so also did Rodríguez Mata.

III

After chapelmasters Franco, Rodríguez Mata, and Ximeno, the next Mexico City Cathedral *maestro de capilla* to whom anything is attributed in the Newberry manuscripts happens to be also the first (among thus far identified Newberry composers) who was assuredly born in Mexico—Manuel de Zumaya (ca. 1678-1755). "M^o Sumaya" is the spelling that heads the *Benedictus qui venit a 4* in Newberry V, 163^v-164. An anonymous *Christus factus est pro nobis a 4* in Newberry II, 122^v-123 and V, 127^v-128, is Zumaya's on the strength of the ascribed concordance published in Steven Barwick's *Two Mexico City Choirbooks of 1717*, pages 67-71. On the chance that other presently unscribed items in Newberry may later prove to have been his also, his biography traceable in Mexico City Cathedral capitular acts properly belongs in this brief introduction to the contents of the Newberry choirbooks. Slight as may later prove to be the total amount of his music—attributed and unattributed—in Newberry choirbooks, his importance in Mexican music history ranks in inverse proportion to its presently known Newberry quantity.

So far as other known sources go: Zumaya's 1714 *Missa Te Joseph celebrent a 6*, survives in exquisite copy at Oaxaca Cathedral. His remaining twenty-

⁸*Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas*, p. 220.



two works inventoried at Oaxaca, where he died, are all villancicos in Spanish⁹—as are also all twelve inventoried at Guatemala Cathedral.¹⁰ At Mexico City Cathedral, the second foliation of Choirbook v contains Latin hymns by Zumaya, at least four of which he wrote cooperatively with his teacher who was his predecessor as Mexico City Cathedral chapelmaster, Antonio de Salazar.¹¹ Mexico City Cathedral Choirbook iv = *Departamento XXIX, Oficina 71, Obra 14*, a companion manuscript to one dated 1717 at the Viceroyal Museum in Tepotzotlán = *Departamento XXIX, Oficina 71, Obra 24* (both were copied by Simón Rodríguez de Guzmán), opens with 21 folios of vespers music by Zumaya followed by a lamentation set (fols. 22^v–33) and other Holy Week music. Barwick included a facsimile of Mexico City Cathedral Choirbook iv = *Obra 14*, fols. 22^v–23 (Zumaya's *De lamentatione Jeremie-Heth*) in his *Two Mexico City Choirbooks of 1717*, page xxvi, and also facsimiles (in his frontispiece) of Tepotzotlán choirbook = *Obra 24*, fols. 0^v–1 and 21^v–22 (Zumaya's *Christum Regem* and three-in-one canonic Gloria Patri that closes his *Magnificat tertii toni*).

Best known nowadays for having composed the earliest North American opera, *La Partenope* (May 1, 1711, viceroyal palace), Zumaya first wins mention in the Mexico City Cathedral act of May 25, 1694, on which date he was a graduating choirboy. His already demonstrated musical flair caused the dean to recommend his being then given 30 pesos for a clothing allowance and placed on a yearly salary of 50 or 60 pesos while taking daily lessons with the chief cathedral organist since 1673, José de Ydiáquez.¹² As reasons for such generosity, the dean voiced his desire to restrain so musically adept a youth from becoming a friar (*y que para detenello y que no se vaya a meter frayle*) and the obligation of the cathedral authorities to train candidates for their own offices (*criando en cada officio personas para qualquier frangente*). Zumaya's age can be conjectured as then 16.¹³ One day earlier (May 24) he

had petitioned for the terminal pay granted *seises* and had at the same time asked for leave to go learn organ (*licencia para salir a aprender organo*).

During the next few years Zumaya not only mastered organ but completely won the confidence of the prematurely aging chapelmaster whom he succeeded in 1715, Antonio de Salazar. On January 11, 1710, Salazar petitioned the chapter to excuse him henceforth from teaching the boy choristers in the cathedral *escoleta*. "Not all the choristers need to know counterpoint," he averred, adding however that "he would be glad to continue teaching counterpoint to any prospective succentors who would come to his house for lessons." Now sixty, he claimed to be almost blind and in bad health.¹⁴ The chapter agreed to free him from his *escoleta* duties but not to exclude counterpoint henceforth from the choristers' curriculum. In his stead, Zumaya was deputed to teach *contrapunto* in the *escoleta* every Monday and Thursday, "as the statute requires." Now himself a priest, Zumaya had shown such aptitude that by an act of February 12, 1700, he had been dispensed from the normal time interval between *grados y corona*.¹⁵ When in 1710 he was selected to substitute for Salazar, another aspirant who was a *bachiller*, Francisco de Atienza, had filed a counterpetition February 11 of that year, claiming that seven years previously it had been he who had frequently substituted for Salazar, and that moreover he was much senior to Zumaya. Some chapter members agreed in the meeting of June 27 that no organist could properly conduct from the bench. They also agreed that Atienza had stood third in the list of cathedral *músicos* as early as 1695. Still, the majority preferred Zumaya's genius to Atienza's talent, and therefore brushed aside the suggestion that the celebrant decide at each Mass who should

Ray Catalyne's article in *The New Grove* (1980), xx, 714–715, copies MGG and offers no new information.

⁹A.C., xxvi, fols. 336^v–337: "Leido un escrito de Antonio de Salazar M^o de Capilla de esta S^{ta} Ig^a representando el que se le dispense en lo mandado sobre que asiste ala escoleta a la enseñanza el Canto figurado, y contrapunto a todos los Musicos, y a los Niños Ynfantes, y aun a dos Sujetos, para el ministerio de Sochantre, por las razones que espresa en dicho escrito: su corta salud, Y no ser nesario que a todos los Cantores ayan de saber contrapunto para ser diestros. Hallarse con sesenta años de edad y casi siego, y que los sujetos que sele señalasen para que los enseñase para sochantres, seles mande vayan a su Cassa, para con mas continuacion, enseñarlo, como lo aria tambien a el que se aplicase a aprender el Contrapunto."

¹⁵A.C., xxv, fol. 157.^v

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 206–207.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 105–106.

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 140–141.

¹²Mexico City Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares* [A.C.], xxiii, fol. 297^v.

¹³His birthyear was conjectured as "1680" in the first international dictionary including an article on Manuel de Zumaya—*Grove's*, 5th ed. (1954), ix, 428. Next came an improved article in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, xiv (1968), 423–424, with his birthyear guessed as "1678." Alice



conduct.¹⁶ Piqued at not having his way, Atienza departed for Puebla shortly thereafter.

Zumaya's last quarter-century can be compressed into this short summary: 1731: July 6 and 20. Five recently named choirboys prove so sickly and inept that they have to be dismissed. 1732: July 29. *Bachiller* Juan Peres, master of the boys, neglects teaching plainsong. 1734: January 12. Zumaya vigorously protests suspension of the choirboy school (*escoleta*). May 11. Having complied with the requests of the two cathedral organists—Juan Téllez Xirón and Joseph Xuárez—to fix one organ, Joseph Nazarre agrees to fix the *cadereta* of the other.¹⁷ May 18. Archbishop Vizarrón y Eguiarreta (ruled the see 1730–1749) endorses Nazarre's plans for two matching grand organs on opposite sides of the *coro*. May 22. Zumaya and the three organists, Téllez Xirón, Xuárez, and Juan Pérez Zamora, swear that Nazarre's price of 48,000 pesos is not excessive. July 20. Violinists are now more sought after than wind-players as cathedral *músicos*. August 14. The old small organ must be transferred to a side-chapel so that Nazarre's second grand organ can occupy its tribune. 1735: January 7, October 31, December 10, December 13. Placement of the new organ stirs such acrimony that the *chanfre* urges the dismissal of two belligerent cathedral organists.¹⁸ 1736: April 24. New *ministriles* are hired who play violin, viola, violoncello, bass-viol, trumpet, clarion, and other instruments. September 18, October 23. The chief organist from Puebla plus the organists at San Francisco and San Agustín *conventos* in the capital are invited to come inspect and play the now-ready Nazarre organs. November 22. The archbishop-vice-roy professes extravagant delight with the new organs. Nazarre had certified Joseph Casela as an adequate tuner, but the chapter insists that he post bond not to damage the organs. 1737: Decimated by plague, the choir sings short, easy Masses especially composed by the *acólito* Joseph Lázaro de Peñalosa. 1738: September 5. Tomás Montaña, long-time dean

and Zumaya's fast friend, departs for Oaxaca to take up his new duties as bishop.

1739: August 29. Zumaya having accepted Montaña's invitation to settle at Oaxaca, the Mexico City Cathedral canons commission the writing of three formal letters adjuring his return. 1740: January 8. Zumaya's failure to answer any of the three formal letters induces the chapter to dispatch a fourth and final admonition, to be carried by the courier Ximénez. The cathedral choir is in utter confusion because Zumaya carried off the book of *obenciones* (showing the amounts due each singer for extra ceremonies). September 16. *Edictos* (invitations to try out) for the chapelmastership deserted by Zumaya are broadcast with a 90-day limit for submitting applications. November 15. Puebla and Valladolid (= Morelia) assure Mexico City that the *edictos* have been posted. 1741: March 28. Joseph Gavino Leal, Valladolid chapelmaster, has tried for the post, but neither he nor any other candidate has proved *suficiente para la deuda decencia*. 1742: October 24. Bishop Montaña dies, leaving Zumaya without his protector. November 16. Zumaya, whose title up to now has been that of *cura interino del Sagrario*, is called on to examine a candidate from Málaga, Spain, trying out for assistant succentor = *ayudante de Sochantre*.¹⁹ From now on, the chapter at Oaxaca uses him more and more as a musical consultant. 1743: May 2. The chapter secretary, Juan Joseph Ortis de Velasco, covets the post of *cura del Sagrario*. 1745: January 11. Having been relieved of the Sagrario curacy, Zumaya is this day offered the post of Oaxaca Cathedral chapelmaster, with attendant obligation to teach the choirboys. Not only his surpassing musicianship but also his consistently excellent behavior wins chapter praise.²⁰ In order to pay him 400 pesos, the predecessor chapelmaster Tomás Salgado is reduced from 300 to 200, 70 are taken from an excluded singer's salary, 40 are transferred from that of a singer who heretofore taught

¹⁶A.C., xxvi, fol. 376.

¹⁷Nazarre was the master organ-builder who, before coming to Mexico City, had built a 2226-pipe organ for Guadalajara [Nicolás León, *Bibliografía Mexicana del siglo xviii*, 1/2, 223, 557, quoting *Gazeta de México*, núm. 370] and whose eighty-six *mixturas* in his *nuevo famoso órgano* for Mexico City were to be inaugurated August 15, 1735, amid splendor rarely equaled in colonial annals.

¹⁸Three days later they made their peace with him. (A.C., xxxiii, fol. 144).

¹⁹Oaxaca Cathedral, A.C., v (1736–1753), fol. 129^v.

²⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 181: "Y aviendo conferido sobre la quedada en esta Ciudad de el Maestro B.^f Don Manuel Sumaia para la enseñanza de los Niños seises, composicion de Musica y Cuidado de los musicos para el maior divino culto y reconoser ser mui util para dichos efectos assi por la destreza en la Musica como por la virtud, y prendes de un buen eclesiastico que le asisten y se tiene experimentado en todo el tiempo en esta Ciudad ha estado unanimes y conformes en el voto y pareser determinaban y determinaron se quedasse dicho B.^f Don Manuel Sumaia. . . ."



the choirboys, 100 are subtracted from the retirement pay of a cornettist, and the rest is made up from miscellaneous sources. 1748: April 1. Manuel de Velasco y Águilar, cathedral organist, offers to keep both organs in tune and to make minor repairs for an annual 150 pesos. 1750: Juan Mathías de los Reyes is named Oaxaca Cathedral harpist and Antonio de Robles, *bajonero*, is given a raise. (A decade later the harpist becomes cathedral chapelmaster.) 1755: December 21. Zumaya dies at Oaxaca after having the day previous made his last will notarized by Leandro Antonio Amador. He leaves as executors of his will Oaxaca Cathedral doctoral canon José Alejandro Miranda and choir chaplain Joachin de Montúfar.²¹ 1756: May 6. The chapter meets to decide whether or not a public contest shall be held to find a suitable successor to the deceased Zumaya.²² 1756: May 29. Oaxaca Cathedral chapter buys the musical manuscript remains of Zumaya from the executor of his will, doctoral canon Miranda.

Jesús Estrada, a competent judge, rated Manuel de Zumaya as the supreme viceregal composer sampled in the seven concerts of colonial music programmed April 4, 5, 11, and 12, 1970, at the

²¹Oaxaca, *Libro de Difuntos del Sagrario de la Sta. Yglesia Cathedral de Anteq^a Valle de Oaxaca: Comenzando en Veinte y nueve de julio de mil setecientos quarenta y siete* [Defunciones, Vol. 11 (July 29, 1747–December 29, 1756)], fol. 169 (*Tesoro de la música polifónica en México*, III [1983], 7):

En la ciudad de Anteq^a. Valle de Oax^a. en veinte y uno de Diciem^o. de mill setecientos sinqta y sinco a. fallecio en obediencia de N.S.M. Yga. el Br. Dn. Man. Sumaia Clerigo Presbitero, Mro. de Capilla de esta Sa. Yga. Cathedral, otorgó testam^o. por ante don Joachin Amador (. . .), su fha de veinte de Diciem^o. de mill setecientos sinqta. y sinco a. dejando por Albacea A el Sr. Licdo. Dn Jphe Alejandro Miranda, Doctoral de dha S. Yga. y a el Br Dn Joachin de Montufar, clerigo Presbitero Cappⁿ. de Choro de dha S^a Iga. declarando algunas mandas, q̄ en otro testam^o. constan para q̄ dhos SSres. las executen, y cumplidas estas deja por heredara en el testam^o. de sus bienes a N.S. de la Defensa de esta ciudad. Recivio los Stos. Sacram^{tos}. de Peniten^a. Eucharistia, y Sag^a. Uncion q̄ administro el Then^o. y se sepulto en la Capilla de Sr. Sa. Ant^o. de dha. S^a. Iga. Cathedral y porq̄ conste lo firme yo el Theniente.

(signed) Leandro Ant^o. Amador

²²Oaxaca Cathedral, A.C., VI (1753–1770), fol. 40^v; "sobre el magisterio de capilla de esta dha S^a. Iga. vacante por muerte de dho B^e. Zumaya si por ella se han de poner edictos, o lo que se ha de practicar. . . ."

Viceregal Museum in Tepetzotlán.²³ In homage, Estrada not only scheduled more works by him than by any other, but also included a cantata by Juan Mathías de los Reyes, the Oaxaca harpist trained by Zumaya who became his successor in 1760.²⁴ With surviving Zumaya manuscripts awaiting transcription in Mexico City, Morelia, Oaxaca, Puebla, and Guatemala archives, this Mexican-born composer of the first North American opera calls more insistently for doctoral dissertations inspecting his output than any other figure of the late Baroque.

IV

For the Americanist, the Newberry choirbooks open new vistas because of the music therein contained by Franco, Lienas, Rodríguez Mata, Ximeno, and Zumaya. The "frai Jasinto" whose *Beatus vir a 11* is in Newberry II, 52^v–54, III, 57^v–59, V, 69^v–71, and VI, 53^v–55 (the model for Ximeno's parody) should also be included in the "American" list.

For the Peninsular specialist, these choirbooks serve also as prime documents, because they remind us that Cristóbal de Morales, Francisco Guerrero, and Tomás Luis de Victoria remained pillars of the repertory in Mexican *conventos* and cathedrals until at least 1700. Newberry I, 9^v–27, contains a *Missa Simile est regnum coelorum a 5* parodied on Morales's likenamed Tone VIII motet extant at Toledo and Granada cathedrals.²⁵ Morales's Magnificats in Tones IV and VI occupy Newberry IV, 24^v–30 and 37^v–42. Guerrero's *Missa Saeculorum Amen a 4*, first published at Venice in 1597, turns up twice, in I, 55^v–78, and in IV, 48^v–61. Newberry IV, 17^v–24 adds six Guerrero hymns taken from his 1584 *Liber Vesperarum*. Except for the *Ave maris stella* found in the 1584 imprint at folios 63^v–66, all these Guerrero hymns turn up in Mexico City Cathedral

²³"Rescate de 300 Años de Música Virreinal," *Excelsior* [Mexico City], March 23, 1970, (pp. 1, 11): "Los mayores elogios del maestro Estrada son para quien llama 'el gran músico de México', Manuel de Sumaya."

²⁴The Juan Matías = Mathías *indio* from the Zapotec village of Zaapeche lauded by Francisco de Burgoa, *Geográfica Descripción* [1934 edition], I, 416, was another Juan Matías. Burgoa published his eulogy of the *indio* in 1674.

²⁵This is the same motet parodied by both Guerrero and Rodrigo de Ceballos in their *Simile est regnum coelorum* Masses.

Choirbook v, folios 80^v-90. The *Salve Regina a 4* in Newberry iv, 61^v-65, is also Guerrero's (A.T. Davison and Willi Apel, *Historical Anthology of Music*, pp. 150-151).

Victoria deserves special mention, because only in these Newberry books have any of his polychoral Masses thus far been found in New World manuscripts. His *Missa Ave Regina coelorum a 8* recurs in Newberry ii, 65^v-74, and v, 23^v-32, with complementing voice parts in iii, 112^v-121, and vi, 6^v-15. Newberry i, 101^v-109; vi, 132^v-141; and v, 139^v-147, give us his *Missa Alma Redemptoris a 8*. His *Incipit oratio Jeremiae* (in Felipe Pedrell's *Opera Omnia*, v, 181-184) comes at the beginning of Newberry ii and v; the *Aliud Jerusalem a 6* in v, 3^v-4, concords with the *Opera Omnia*, v, 187. His *Vere languores a 4* is copied in ii, 7^v-8 = vi, 7^v-8. In this motet, as in all Victoria's other works—and for that matter generally throughout the Newberry series—the lower voices corresponding to male ranges are not texted. That women sang the texted parts can be further adduced from the note at the bottom of Newberry v, 33: *Esta es la Missa de Bone Voluntatis que canta Rosa* ("this is the Bona Voluntatis Mass that Rosa sings"). The legend inside the spine of Newberry i (see above, note 5) additionally confirms use of these books by women—in all likelihood women in a rich Mexico City convent.

Which one? When in 1970 and 1971 through the kindness of Diana C. Haskell, Music Curator of the Newberry Library, I first examined these six choirbooks, I suggested Jesús María convent founded at Mexico City in 1580 and the most socially elite in the capital throughout the next century.²⁶ However, after publishing the conjecture in *Notes of the Music Library Association*, xxix/2 (December 1972), 214, I learned from Eliyahu A. Schleifer's article in *Notes*, xxx/2 (December 1973), 233, that "the wrinkled parchment binding of choirbook i under ultraviolet light yielded an old inscription in fading brownish ink reading: *este libro de misas es de este convento de nuestra señora de la encarnacion*."

Information on the history of Incarnation Convent collected by Schleifer and published by him in

²⁶For the history of this *convento*, see Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, *Parayso occidental* (Mexico City: Juan de Ribera, 1684).

his December 1973 *Notes* article can be thus summarized: Founded in 1595 by Conceptionist nuns, Encarnación enjoyed sufficient bounty from benefactors to hire Luis Benítez as architect of a church dedicated March 7, 1648. Further building during the next two centuries brought the convent into the lavish state described by Fanny Calderón de la Barca, who visited it in 1840.

"The convent," she tells us, "is in fact a palace." Indeed it was a dwelling place for religious ladies of the Mexican aristocracy where, according to Fanny Calderón de la Barca, "each nun has a servant and some have two, for this is not one of the strictest orders." The nuns of the *Encarnación* convent were known for their good taste in arts and belles-lettres. The convent collected religious art objects of great value, among them paintings by famous Mexican artists such as Clemente López; and a poetess, Madre Sor María de San Miguel, flourished there towards the end of the seventeenth century. But above all, the nuns of the *Encarnación* cultivated music, both sacred and secular. Fanny Calderón de la Barca relates that at "a very elegant supper" she attended in the convent, "a young girl . . . brought in a little harp without pedals and sang different ballads with a good deal of taste." During public services in the church of the *Encarnación*, nuns sang from the choirloft accompanied by the organ; in some ceremonies a band of musicians would participate. Young novices with singing talent were treated with special favor. According to Fanny Calderón de la Barca "each novice at her entrance" paid the equivalent of "five thousand dollars into the common stock." However, a novice of poor descent, could be accepted "without a dowry" if she had a good voice.

In conclusion: much work still remains for investigators of the six Newberry choirbooks catalogued Case MS VM 2147 C 36—despite Barwick, Stevenson, and Schleifer. The number of anonymous works whose authors have not been tracked down still continues uncomfortably large. In searching for composers of unattributed works in the Newberry Mexican choirbooks, seventeenth-century Spanish composers may in future prove the happiest hunting ground. Not enough of Spain's early baroque masters are as yet in print to make such a search a convenient exercise. However, Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia's *Magnificat* published at Saragossa in 1618 have fortunately been reprinted, and the un-ascribed *Magnificat* (*Sexti toni a 8*) in iii, 89^v-93; vi,



79^v-83 (first choir) and II, 87^v-90; v, 93^v-96 (second choir) proves to be his.

One European composer who may have emigrated to Mexico requires mention—Luis = Lluís Mendes, whose *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur* in Newberry I, 83^v-85 is headed *my s^r y maestro* (“my master and teacher”). Organist of the cathedral at La Seo de Urgel 1631-1641, he spent a decade there, overlapping with that of Juan Arañés, chapelmaster 1624-1634. Arañés, famous for a guitar book published at

Rome,²⁷ returned to Urgel apparently in 1649. Not so Mendes, whom fancy would like to picture as an emigrant to Mexico around 1641.²⁸

²⁷*Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos a vna dos tres y quatro voces. Con la Zifra de la Guitarra Espannola a la vsanza Romana* (Rome: Robletti, 1624).

²⁸Further data on Lluís Mendes in Felipe Pedrell and Higinio Anglés, *Els Madrigals i la Missa de Difunts d'En Brudieu* (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1921), pp. 144-146.



Catalogue of Newberry Library Mexican Choirbooks (Case MS VM 2147 C36)

ANONYMOUS.

Alleluia quarto tono, a 5. iv, 91^v-92. Black breves in top voice equal the plainsong for the Alleluia in LU, 1961 ed., p. 776^{ll} (Mass of the Paschal Vigil). Lower voices begin with an imitative point paraphrasing the plainsong.

Alleluia quinto tono, a 5. iv, 90^v-91. Breves in bass begin with same ten notes as the antiphon in LU, 1961 ed., p. 261 ("Crucifixus surrexit a mortuis").

Asperges me, a 4. iv, 42^v-45.

Benedicamus Domino, a 4. iv, 99^v-100. Notated in Φ (3/4); reminiscent of Puebla Cathedral Choirbook I, 46^v-47.

Benedictus, a 5. iv, 92^v-93.

Cibavit eos [ex adipe frumenti], a 4. iii, 71^v-73. Three faster voices over plodding bassus. Schleifer, p. 222, noted a resemblance of the opening to the Sicut erat of Luis Mendes's *Vultum tuum* (Newberry I, 84^v-85).

De Lamentatione-Heth-Cogitavit-Jerusalem, a 4 (Lamentations 2:8; Good Friday, Lesson I). ii, 4^v-7, v, 4^v-7. At the opening for Heth (= Beth), and at the start of Cogitavit (a 3, minus top voice), the composer paraphrases the Spanish Tone II lamentation formula found in peninsular liturgical manuscripts to 1500 (Günther Massenkeil, "Eine spanische Choralmelodie in mehrstimmigen Lamentationskompositionen des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, xix/xx [1962/1963], 230-237). As early as the thirteenth century Joannes Aegidius Zamorensis = Juan Gil of Zamora had cited the second tone as "low and weeping, suitable for sorrowful and mourning texts such as Threni, that is, Lamentations of Jeremiah" ("Et notandum, quod secundus tonus est grauis & flebilis, quia conuenientior tristibus & miseris, ut in threnis,

hoc est lamentationibus Ieremiae," *Ars musica*, ed. Michel Robert-Tissot [American Institute of Musicology, 1974, CSM, 20], p. 100 = ch. 15, line 6). Among others, Andrés de Torrentes and Cristóbal de Morales in Toledo Choirbooks XVIII and XXI still used the Spanish tone.

Dixit Dominus, a 4 (verses 1, 4, 6, 8). Tone I. iv, 12^v-17. Concordance: anonymous setting in the Carmen Codex, pp. 64-69 (Jesús Bal y Gay, *Tesoro de la música polifónica en México*, I, 35-40). However, music for verse 1 in Newberry equals music for verse 2 in Carmen.

Domine ad adjuvandum, a 4. iv, 2^v-3. Harmonization of Festal Tone (LU, 1961 ed., p. 250), ending with Alleluia.

Domine ad adjuvandum, a 5. iii, 74^v-75; iv, iii^v-2; vi, 65^v-66. More elaborate than the setting a 4, this response begins placidly but erupts into syncopations and dotted rhythms. Concludes with Alleluia.

Ecce nunc benedicite Dominum, a 8 (Ps. 133; Fourth compline psalm). Tone III. First choir: iii, 5^v-6; vi, 5^v-6; Second choir: iii, 130^v-131; v, 18^v-19. Homophonic throughout; many calls and responses. Gloria Patri in triple, Sicut erat in common mensuration.

Jod-Caph-Lamed-Mem-Jerusalem, a 4 (Maundy Thursday, Lesson III). Tone VI. ii, 124 (alto and bass), 125^v (tiple and tenor); iii, 127^v-129 (all voices, faulty copy); v, 129^v-130; vi, 108^v-110 (repeating faulty iii, 127^v-129). This late colonial Lamentation is based not on the Spanish but on Roman lamentation tone, and includes music for only the Hebrew letters and Jerusalem convertere.

Lauda Jerusalem, a 4 (Ps. 147). iv, 8^v-12. Setting of verses 1, 4, and 6.



- Laudate Dominum omnes gentes ("Laudate del maestro de capilla"), a 8. Tone II. First choir: III, 122^v-124^v; VI, 101^v-103; 3 Second choir: II, 119^v-120; V, 125^v-127. The words "laudate eum" or the single word "laudate" recur frequently as a refrain. As Schleifer puts it (p. 167), these interjected refrains "grow louder and wilder until they overshadow the Gloria Patri in their ecstasy."
- Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, 6^o tono, a 8. First choir: III, 111^v-112; Second choir, II, 118^v-119.
- Lumen ad revelationem, a 4. IV, 89^v-90.
- Missa, a 4. VI, 149^v-154^v (Altus and Bassus of Sanctus and Agnus Dei lacking).
- Missa a 4 (Benedictus qui venit missing). V, 147^v-154; V, 155^v-163; VI, 122^v-130. The Benedictus qui venit appended at V, 163^v-164, is attributed to "M^o Sumaya" (= Zumaya), but its harmonies "are much bolder than those of the Mass." According to Schleifer, p. 122, Zumaya probably added his Benedictus to a pre-existing Mass.
- Missa Secundi toni, a 8. First choir: III, 25^v-35; VI, 22^v-32; Second choir: II, 21^v-31; V, 39^v-49. According to Schleifer, p. 119: "The music alternates gracefully between homophony and polyphony, and between duple and triple meter. The polyphonic passages are usually conservative in style and remind one of the music of Victoria's generation; the homophonic passages, on the other hand, are in seventeenth-century baroque style. A most conspicuous trait of the baroque passages is the excessive repetition of words such as *descendit* [in the Credo]."
- Missa Quarti toni ("4^o tono"), a 8. First choir: III, 63^v-70; VI, 58^v-65. Second choir: II, 57^v-64; V, 74^v-81. According to Schleifer, pp. 119-121: "This Mass contains many passages in a complex contrapuntal scheme of eight-part short imitative passages, independent voices, and rhythmic sophistries such as unexpected syncopations and surprising entrances of single voices. The complexity of the music and its various surprises demand virtuosity and alertness from each singer. The style is similar to that of Ximeno, but it lacks the consistency, finesse, and good taste of Ximeno's music."
- Missa (Octavi toni), a 8. First choir: VI, 111^v-121. Second choir: V, 131^v-138.
- Missa, a 8? Second choir? VI, 141^v-148.
- Missa ferialis (Kyrie, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei), a 4. IV, 66^v-69. In this short work, the composer does little more than harmonize plainsong Mass XVIII for penitential season week days (LU, 1961 ed., pp. 62-63).
- Missa Simile est regnum coelorum, a 5 (Agnus Dei, a 6). I, 9^v-27. Parody source: Cristóbal de Morales's motet a 4, of the same name. Both Francisco Guerrero in his *Missarum liber secundus* (Rome: Francesco Zanetto, 1582), fols. 91^v-107, and Rodrigo de Ceballos in Toledo Choirbook VII, 168^v-192, and Guatemala Cathedral Choirbook, 137^v-152, wrote Masses a 4 parodying the same Morales motet. According to Schleifer, p. 88, the present parody a 5 is probably "of Spanish origin." He continues: "The Newberry Mass is an elaborate and virtuosic parody." Only the Kyrie exactly quotes the beginning of the motet. At the outset of the Gloria the top voice quotes Morales's head theme in augmentation while beneath it the other four voices "indulge in an imitation on a new countersubject," In the Agnus a 6 (Agnus I and II are missing), Morales's head theme becomes part of a highly complicated scheme of paired imitation "while cantus I and II proceed in strict canon at the unison." Schleifer concludes: "The contrapuntal virtuosity of this Mass borders on manneristic extravagance. In addition, the music requires virtuosity in performance, as it provides many runs and scale passages, sometimes for two or more voices at the same time."
- [Missa Susanne un jour, a 5.] I, 28^v-55. Despite close relation to Orlando Lassus's chanson first published in Le Roy and Ballard's *Livre de Meslanges* of 1560, Schleifer discovered that the anonymous composer nowhere quotes Lassus's chanson note for note. Nor is the Newberry Mass a Mexican revision of Lassus's own *Missa ad imitationem moduli susanne un iour* (1563). The Newberry setting "is highly contrapuntal," contains virtuosic scale runs (in the Credo extending over an eleventh), and was almost certainly composed around or after 1600 (Schleifer, pp. 92-94).
- Parce mihi Domine, a 4. IV, 73^v-77.
- Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Marcum, a 4. (Mark 14:2, 4-5, 12, 19, 58, 65, 70, 72; 15:13, 18, 29-30, 31-32, 41). II, 134, 136^v-138^v; V, 12^v-15. Newberry II scribe copied first five sections (through Mark 14:19, "Numquid ego") with two flats in the signature of all voices except tenor (one flat). Text of Mark 14:58 "et post triduum" became "et per triduum" in 1592 Vulgate—thus adding evidence that the present Passion is of early date. All portions set polyphonically are crowd utterances, except the exordium and verses 14:72 ("And he [Peter] began to weep") and 15:41 ("to Jerusalem"). This passion belongs to the type called "dramatic" by Otto Kade (1893) and "responsorial" by Kurt von Fischer (*Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XI/3 [1954], 202-203).
- Sacris solemnibus, a 4. IV, 65^v-66. Homophony, plainsong in top voice. Φ_2^3 mensuration.
- Salve Regina, a 5. I, 86^v-90.
- Venite adoremus Regem regum, a 4. Invitatory antiphon. VI, 131^v-132.



AGUILERA DE HEREDIA, SEBASTIÁN.

[Magnificat Sexti toni], a 8. First choir: iii, 89^v-93; vi, 79^v-83; Second choir: ii, 87^v-90; v, 93^v-96. Transcribed from *Canticum Beatissimae Virginis Deiparae Mariae octo modis, sev tonis* (Saragossa: Pedro Cabarte, 1618) in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 71 (American Institute of Musicology, 1975), pars 2, pp. 86-103. The only presently extant copy of Aguilera de Heredia's 1618 publication in New World colonial archives belongs to Bogotá Cathedral.

FRANCO, HERNANDO.

The opening at folios 110^v-111 in Case MS VM 2147 C36, volume I, is reproduced overleaf, courtesy Newberry Library.

Domine, ne in furore, a 4 (Ps. 6; First penitential psalm). Tone VIII. iv, 70^v-73. Concorde with Puebla Cathedral Choirbook iii, 76^v-79. Published (except for final *Requiem*, a 5 verse) in Robert Stevenson, *Music in Mexico* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1952), pp. 108-110. Odd verses are polyphonic variations of the psalm tone, even verses are plainchant. Some tone painting (vigorous melisma—distributed among all voices—on *furore oculus*, "My eye is troubled through indignation," in verse 7). Unadorned psalm tone in Tenor, verse 9 (*Requiem*).

Miserere, [a 4]. (Ps. 50, Verses 1, 5, 9, 13, and 17 set polyphonically). Tone VI. i, 110^v-113. Steven Barwick published a transcription in "A Recently Discovered *Miserere* of Fernando Franco." *Yearbook for Inter-American Musical Research*, vi (1970), 83-89. Facsimiles of Newberry i, 110^v-111, shown at pp. 78-79 of Barwick's article. Schleifer (p. 172) hypothesizes a second polyphonic choir singing verses 3, 7, 11, 15, 19. Worthy of note: Franco's word painting at "secundum magnam" in verse 1 (ascending octave leap in bottom and top voices, Barwick, p. 83, mm. 5-6) and at "Et exultabunt" (paired ascending sixths followed by cascading descending scales in paired imitation, Barwick, p. 86, mm. 4-5).

Qui Lazarum, a 4. i, 82^v-83. Tone I. With top voice based on chant, this responsory for the dead lacks composer ascription in Newberry i. Steven Barwick in his 1949 Harvard University Ph.D. dissertation, "Sacred Vocal Polyphony in Colonial Mexico," ii, 166-168, transcribed it from Puebla Cathedral Choirbook iii, 90^v-91, where it is attributed to Fernando Franco.

Regem cui omnia vivunt, a 4. iv, 69A^v-70. Barwick's Ph.D. dissertation, p. 165, contains his transcription from Puebla Cathedral partbooks of the three lower

voices of this nine-breve burial office invitatory. The top voice, found only in the Newberry unattributed copy, somewhat simplifies the chant found in LU, 1961 ed., p. 1779.

GUERRERO, FRANCISCO.

Ave maris stella, a 4. iv, 18^v-19. Music of Guerrero's second strophe sets Urban VIII's revised text (1632) for strophe 1 in this, and all other Guerrero hymns copied in Newberry iv. Entire hymn in *Liber vesperarum* (1584), fols. 63^v-66. New World concordances: Mexico City Cathedral Choirbooks v, 102^v-104, and ix (copied 1774), 62^v-63; Puebla Cathedral Choirbooks v, 145^v-151; xii, 212^v-219.

Deus tuorum militum, a 4. iv, 19^v-20 (textless); 20^v-21 (with text). In *Liber vesperarum*, 71^v-73. Concordances: Guatemala Cathedral Choirbook iia, 62^v-65; Mexico City Cathedral Choirbooks v, 82^v-83; ix, 53^v-54; Puebla Cathedral Choirbook v, 156^v-157.

Dixit Dominus, a 4. iv, 3^v-6. Source: *Liber vesperarum*, fols. 1^v-4. Guerrero set even verses and both parts of the doxology. Newberry altered music of verse 2 to fit text of verse 1 and omitted Guerrero's *Sicut erat a 6*.

Exsultet orbis gaudiis (= *Exsultet caelum laudibus*), a 4. iv, 17^v-18. In *Liber vesperarum*, 66^v-69; Guatemala Cathedral Choirbook iia, 56^v-60; Mexico City Cathedral Choirbooks v, 80^v-82; ix (1774), 52^v-53; Puebla Cathedral Choirbooks v, 151^v-152; xii, 238^v-244.

Iste confessor, a 4. iv, 22^v-23. In *Liber vesperarum*, 75^v-77; Mexico City Cathedral Choirbooks v, 86^v-88; ix, 55^v-56; Puebla Cathedral Choirbooks v, 160^v-161, xii, 271^v-279.

Jesu corona virginum, a 4. iv, 23^v-24. In *Liber vesperarum*, 77^v-79; Guatemala Cathedral Choirbook iia, 72^v-74; 79; Mexico City Cathedral Choirbooks v, 88^v-90; ix, 56^v-57; Puebla Cathedral Choirbooks v, 162^v-163; xii, 279^v-281.

Laudate Dominum [omnes gentes], a 4 (Ps. 116). Tone VIII. iv, 6^v-8. Published in *Liber vesperarum*, 19^v-21. Concordant with Puebla Cathedral Choirbook xi, 43^v-46. Gloria Patri in Φ_3^2 mensuration (3/4).

Magnificat Secundi toni, a 4. Odd verses. iv, 30^v-37. Printed source: *Liber vesperarum*, fols. 95^v-101. Mexican concordance: Puebla Cathedral Choirbook xvi (copied in 1789), fols. 55^v-87. The same Guerrero Magnificat, verses 2 and 4 (Gloria repeats music of verse 2), enters Lima (Peru) Archivo Arzobispal (voice parts). Arndt von Gavel published the Lima verses in *Investigaciones musicales de los archivos coloniales en el Perú* (Lima: Asociación Artística y Cultural "Jueves," 1974), 2-9.

fernando franco,

Superius 1.



Mi se re mei de us se cun dum ma gnam mi se ri cor di am
tu am Ti bi soli pec ca ui . y. ti bi soli
pe ca ui et ma lum co ram te fe ci ut Jus ti fi cis in ser
moni bus tu is et vin cas cum Ju di ca ri o

Tenor



Mi se re re mei de us se cun dum ma gnam mi se ri cor di am
tu am Ti bi soli pe ca ui . y.
ti bi soli pec ca ui et ma lum co ram te fe ci, ut Jus ti fi caris in ser
moni bus tu is et vin cas cum Ju di ca ri o,

Superius 2.

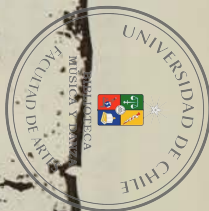


Mi se re re mei de us se cun dum ma gnam mi se ri cor di am tu
am Ti bi soli pec ca ui . y.
ti bi soli pec ca ui et ma lum co ram te fe ci ut Jus ti fi
cis in ser moni bus tu is et vin cas cum Ju di ca ri o.

Altus



Mi se re re mei de us se cun dum ma gnam mi se ri cor
di am tu am Ti bi soli pec ca ui . y.
ti bi soli pec ca ui et ma lum co ram te fe ci
ut Jus ti fi caris in ser moni bus tu is et vin cas cum Ju di ca ri o





JACINTO = JASINTO, FRAY.

- Puebla Cathedral Choirbook xvi containing all odd verses of Guerrero's Magnificat Secundi Toni at fols. 55^v-87, continues with even at 87^v-120. As for others, the following Guerrero Magnificats occur at Puebla in Choirbooks xvi (Tone I, odd, 1^v-34, even, 34^v-55; Tone III, even, 120^v-157) and xvii (Tone IV, even [158^v]-196; Tone V, odd, 196^v-236; Tone VI, even, 236^v-271; Tone VII, even, 271^v-304; Tone VIII, odd, 304^v-330).
- Missa Dormendo un Giorno, a 4 ("Misa de a quatro de primer tono por alamire"). Benedictus a 3 and Agnus Dei a 5 omitted. ii, 107^v-115; v, 113^v-122. In both Newberry ii and v this Mass lacks composer ascription and title. Source was Guerrero's *Liber primus missarum* (Paris: Nicolas du Chemin, 1566), fols 95^v-118. In this Mass, Guerrero parodied Philippe Verdelot's five-voice madrigal *Dormend'un giorn'a Bai* (*Recueils imprimés XVI^e-XVII^e siècles* [RISM, B1], 1538²⁰).
- [Missa pro defunctis], a 4. iv, 77^v-88^v Printed source was Guerrero's *Liber primus missarum* (Paris: Nicolas du Chemin, 1566), fols. 133^v-149. However, Newberry iv contains only six of the 13 items in Guerrero's 1566 *Missa pro defunctis*.
- Introit: Requiem aeternam, 136^v-137 = 77^v-79; Kyrie, 135^v-136 = 79^v-81; Graduale: Requiem aeternam, 136^v-137 = 81^v-82 (omitting the versicle "In memoria aeterna"); Offertory: Domine Jesu Christe, 142^v-143 = 82^v-84; Sanctus: 143^v-145 = 84^v-87; and Agnus Dei, 145^v-146 = 87^v-88. Guerrero repeated these six items in his 1582 *Missarum liber secundus*, fols. 119^v-140. Newberry iv copyist's variants conform with the 1566 versions.
- Missa Saeculorum Amen, a 4. i, 55^v-78; iv, 48^v-61. Newberry i contains all movements in the *Motecta Francisci Guerreri* (Venice: Apud Iacobum Vincen-tium, 1597). The Newberry iv copyist headed the work "Missa Octavo tono" and omitted the Benedictus a 3 and last Agnus Dei a 5. Concerning this work, see Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, pp. 190-191.
- Salve Regina, a 4. iv, 61^v-65. Modern editions include Felipe Pedrell, *Hispaniae schola musica sacra*, ii (Barcelona, 1894), 48-53; Juan Bautista de Elústiza and Gonzalo Castrillo Hernández, *Antología Musical* (Barcelona, 1933), 94-99; and José María Llorens Cisteró (with critical apparatus) in *Monumentos de la música española*, xxxvi (Barcelona, 1978), 65-71. New World copies survive at Puebla Cathedral, Choirbook i, 42^v-46; Mexico City Cathedral Choirbook v, 26^v-30; and Bogotá GFH (Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo) Choirbook, pp. 110-117.
- Sanctorum meritis, a 4. iv, 21^v-22. In *Liber vesperarum*, 73^v-75; Guatemala Cathedral Choirbook ii, 65^v-67; Mexico City Cathedral Choirbooks v, 83^v-86, ix (1774), 54^v-55; Puebla Cathedral Choirbooks v, 158^v-159; xii, 271^v-279.

Beatus vir, a 11. Second choir: iii, 57^v-59; vi, 53^v-55; Third Choir: ii, 52^v-54; v, 69^v-71. Tone IV. Parody source for Fabián Ximeno's *Missa Beatus vir*. Surviving homophonic parts scarcely ever allude to the psalm tone formula. Music consists mostly of exciting calls and responses (frequently overlapping).

LEROY, JEAN. See LORROI.

LIENAS, [DON] JUAN DE.

[Christe (= Jesu) redemptor omnium], a 6 ("Himnus in die natibitatis"). iii, 4^v-5; vi, 4^v-5. Second strophe only ("Tu lumen"). Transcribed in Schleifer, pp. 667-676. Paraphrased plainsong segments serve in imitative points.

Credidi propter quod locutus sum, a 8 (Ps. 115). Tone VI. First choir: iii, 83^v-87; vi, 73^v-77; Second choir: ii, 82^v-85; v, 88^v-91. Transcribed in Schleifer, pp. 494-550. F Major throughcomposed setting of the entire psalm, enlivened with meter changes, delightful rhythmic quirks, and transient modulations to closely related keys. First modern performance: May 16, 1975, in Rockefeller Chapel, University of Chicago, by Collegium Musicum, directed by Howard Mayer Brown, David Young conducting. According to Schleifer, p. 157, "the charm of this composition lies in its pulsating rhythms, its free development and subtle use of chant, its motivic unity, and its expression of the spirit of the text."

Dixit Dominus, a 8 (Ps. 109). Tone I, transposed up a fourth, throughcomposed setting. "Tu es sacerdos" in Φ_3^2 mensuration. First choir: iii, 78^v-80; vi, 68^v-70; Second choir: ii, 77^v-79; v, 83^v-85. Transcribed by Schleifer, pp. 551-595.

Domine ad adjuvandum, a 8. First choir: i, 93^v-94; Second choir parts missing.

Incipit Lamentatio-Aleph-Quomodo-Beth-Plorans-Jerusalem, a 4 (Lamentations 1:1-2; Maundy Thursday, Lesson I). Tone IV. iii, 126^v-129; vi, 105^v-108. Concordance: Carmen Codex, pp. 200-207; published in *Tesoro de la música polifónica en México*, i (1952), 173-181 (Jesús Bal y Gay's division of Plorans into half-verse a 4 and half-verse a 5 [Omnes amici] is misleading).

In manus tuas Domine, a 4. Tone VIII. Short compline responsory. ii, 128^v-129; v, 21^v-22. Transcribed in Schleifer, pp. 677-683. In this lovely setting, top voice sings "In manus tuas Domine, Commendo spiritum meum" as a solo, responded to by four-part chorus treating the same melody imitatively. Identical procedure in the versicle.

Laudate pueri, [a 8] (Ps. 112). Tone VI. First choir: iii, 80^v-83; vi, 70^v-73; Second choir, ii, 79^v-82; v, 85^v-88. Transcribed in Schleifer, pp. 684-745. Throughcom-



- posed, F Major setting of all verses, enlivened by frequent meter changes, shifting textures, contrasts of fast parlando sections with smooth melismatic moments, and occasional short journeys to closely related keys.
- Magnificat Octavi toni, a 8. First choir: iii, 87^v-89; vi, 77^v-79; Second choir: ii, 85^v-87; v, 91^v-93. Transcribed in Schleifer, pp. 746-784. Throughcomposed run-on setting. Et misericordia verse for four soloists ("sencillo"). Meter changes in middle of Et exultavit, Deposuit, and Sicut erat ($\Phi 3 = 3/4$; $C 3 = 6/8$).
- Magnificat Tertii toni, a 5 (Et misericordia, equal voices, a 4). i, 94^v-99. Concords with Carmen Codex, pp. 46-57; published in *Tesoro de la música polifónica en México*, 1 (1952), 19-29.
- Magnificat, a 10. Tone I. First choir: missing; Second choir: iii, 101^v-106; vi, 91^v-96; Third choir: ii, 98^v-102; v, 104^v-108. Throughcomposed setting of all verses. Two solo voice parts missing. Imitative style in Et misericordia a 4 ("sencillo"); other verses mostly call-and-response music; Tone I formula serves as cantus firmus in the Gloria (tiple of Choir II, mm. 137-145).
- Miserere mihi Domine et exaudi orationem meam, a 3. ii, 126^v-127; v, 19^v-20. Transcribed in Schleifer, pp. 838-839. The lowest voice in this 15-measure setting sings the Tone VIII compline antiphon (LU, 1961 ed., p. 266) in half-notes while above, the two tipples rush about in imitative passages involving abundant 16th-notes.
- Nunc dimittis, a 8. Canticle of Simeon (Luke 2:29-32). First choir: iii, 3^v-4; vi, 2^v (tiple 1 and tenor); vi, 4 (tiple 2 and alto); Second choir: iii, 132^v-133; v, 17^v-18. Transcribed in Schleifer, pp. 840-862. Tone III. Cantor begins with chant (LU, 1961 ed., p. 271). Polyphony starts with "secundum verbum tuum." Instead of exploiting plainsong, Lienas's *Nunc dimittis* develops as a series of calls by First choir and answers by Second choir. Each verse opens with a longer call and response. The next calls and responses grow progressively shorter before the long cadence (shared by both choirs) that ends the verse. Longer calls are in free homophony, shorter in strict. The responses generally repeat the rhythm of the calls but with the top voice a third or fourth lower in responses.
- Salva nos Domine, a 4. ii, 129^v-130; v, 22^v-23. Transcribed in Schleifer, pp. 863-865. In this unascrbed compline antiphon, the tenor (bottom voice) sings the plainchant (LU, 1961 ed., pp. 271-272) in long notes above which tiple and alto soloists disport themselves in fast imitative fragments that slow only at the close.
- Salve Regina, a 4. i, 78^v-82. Tone I. The Carmen Codex, pp. 36-43, contains this same Salve, ascribed to "m^o D. Ju^o de lienas." Jesús Bal y Gay transcribed it in *Tesoro de la música polifónica en México*, 1 (1952), 10-16. In 1966 Roger Wagner Chorale recorded it in *Salve Regina: Choral Music in the Spanish New World 1550-1750*, Angel record S36008, side 1, band 3.
- Salve Regina, a 8. First choir: iii, 1^v-3; vi, 1^v-3^v; Second choir: iii, 132^v-135^v; v, 15^v-17. In contrast with Lienas's other double-choir works, this Salve adheres to *stile antico* norms throughout all sections.
- Te lucis ante terminum, a 5. Compline hymn. ii, 127^v-128; v, 20^v-21. Transcribed in Schleifer, pp. 866-871. Lienas composed this hymn before Urban VIII's 1632 revised hymn texts were accepted in Mexico—as is proved by line 3, "Ut solita clementia" in Newberry v. This line in Newberry ii has been changed by a later copyist to read "Ut pro tua clementia"—the reading promulgated in Urban VIII's *Breviarium Romanum* of 1632.
- Throughout *Te lucis* Lienas quotes liberally from the same distinctively Spanish plainchant melody adopted by Guerrero for his hymn *Exsultet caelum*. However, in contrast with Guerrero, he allows the borrowed melody to migrate from voice to voice instead of treating it as a cantus firmus confided to one voice part. Also, in contrast with Guerrero, Lienas expects some virtuosic singing of rapid passages by all voices except bassus.
- Tristis est anima mea, a 8. Maundy Thursday responsory. First choir: iii, 125^v-126; vi, 103^v-105; Second choir: ii, 123^v-125 (altus and bassus); v, 128^v-129 (tiple and tenor). Ascription at ii, 125: "del famoso corn[udo]." Transcribed by Schleifer, pp. 872-894. This exquisite 68-breve transposed Tone IV setting ranks among Lienas's masterpieces. His responsiveness to changes in text aligns him with such baroque double-choir composers as Juan Bautista Comes and Andrés Lorente.

[LORROI = LEROY, JEAN].

Missa, a 8. First choir: vi, iii^v-12; Second choir: v, 131^v-138. Concords with the Mass a 8 itemized in João IV, *Primeira parte do index da livraria* (Lisbon, 1649), page 449 (caixão 36. n^o. 807). This Leroy tonic-dominant C Major Mass survives at Puebla Cathedral, with four added voices by Fabián Ximeno. See *Fontes artis musicae*, xxv (1978), 175-176.

MAILLARD, JEAN.

Missa Je suis déshéritée, a 4. i, 1-9 (superius and tenor of Kyrie missing). Printed concordances: *Liber primus sex missas continens* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1553) and *Missae tres a Claudio de Sermisy, Ioanne Maillard, Claudio Goudimel cum quatuor vocibus conditae* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1558). Parody source: Pierre Cadéac chanson. Other composers who adopted Cadéac's 1539 chanson as parody source include Gombert, Lassus, and Palestrina. Rafael Mitjana, *Catalogue critique et descriptif des imprimés . . . d'Upsala*



(Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1911), I, 267–268, published the first eight bars of Maillard's Kyrie I. Transcribed complete in Edwin E. Stein, "The Polyphonic Mass in France and the Netherlands c. 1526 to c. 1560" (University of Rochester Ph.D. dissertation, 1941), II, 76–90. Newberry copyist omitted Pleni and Benedictus (both *a 3*) and last Agnus (*a 6*) of Maillard's Mass.

Maillard's *Missa Je suis déshéritée* is one of at least two French sixteenth-century Masses extant in Mexican colonial manuscripts—the other being Pierre Colin's *Missa Christus resurgens, a 4*, erroneously attributed to "Joanne Petra Loysio" (Palestrina) in the so-called Valdés Codex, fols. 101^v–109. See *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1970), pp. 131–132.

MENDES, LUIS.

Vultum tuum deprecabuntur, *a 4*. Tone IV. I, 83^v–85. Bass part moves in black breves: ECDEFF. (Text in LU, 1961 ed., p. 1229: Mass introit, Virgin not a Martyr.)

MORALES, CRISTÓBAL DE.

Magnificat Quarti toni, *a 4*. IV, 24^v–30. Odd verses in polyphony, even plainchant. Eighteenth-century copy. Magnificat Sexti toni, *a 4*. IV, 37^v–42. Odd-verse polyphony, even plainchant. Eighteenth-century copy.

PÉREZ XIMENO, FABIÁN. See XIMENO, FABIÁN [PÉREZ].

RODRÍGUEZ DE MATA, ANTONIO.

Asperges me, *a 8*. First choir: III, 47^v–49; VI, 43^v–45; Second choir: II, 42^v–44; V, 60^v–62. Transcribed in Schleifer, pp. 482–493. All three sections ("Asperges me," "Miserere mei Deus," and "Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto" of this brilliant Tone VIII setting are prefaced by plainsong. In at least 18 of the 37 polyphonic bars, Rodríguez Mata shows his contrapuntal virtuosity by having both choirs sing in seven real parts.

Concerning this triumphal work, Schleifer wrote as follows (p. 219): "Rodríguez de Mata's *Asperges* is a very concentrated composition. It leaves no space between calls and echoes and provides no connecting passages between echoes and new calls or other statements. The music is fast-paced and is characterized by a constant drive towards the end of sections. Performance of the composition demands a great deal of virtuosity from the singers who have to be alert to its many syncopations and able to perform the very fast scales and rhythms towards the end of the piece. It is one of the most interesting compositions in the New-

berry Collection and certainly worthy of performance today."

[Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Lucam] ("Pasion del miercoles s̄to"), *a 4*. II, 115^v–118; V, 122^v–125. Scriptural verses set polyphonically: Luke 22:9, 36, 38, 49, 56, 62, 64, 66, 70, 71; 23:2, 5, 18, 21, 35, 37, 46, 49. Except for italicized verses, these all contain crowd utterances—qualifying this as a responsorial-type passion to be sung with the surrounding verses of the Luke passion narrative plainchant. Juan Navarro's *Liber in quo quatuor passiones Christi Domini* (Mexico: Diego López Dávalos, 1604) contains the *flexa*, *metrum*, and *interrogatio* chant formulas used by Rodríguez de Mata. See Theodor Göllner, "Unknown Passion Tones in Sixteenth-century Hispanic Sources," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxviii/1 (1975), 54–57, for tables showing the Mexico 1604 layout (compared with that in five peninsular passioners dated 1510, 1562, 1579, 1595 [Lisbon], and 1600). Most of Rodríguez de Mata's setting is chordal, *a 4*. The maid's part (Luke 22:56) is set *a 2*, soprano and bass. Christ's words (Luke 23:46) are set *a 3*—omitting soprano. "Crucify him!" (Luke 23:21) is set imitatively with fast music.

ROMERO, MATEO.

Missa Bonae voluntatis, *a 9*. Second choir: III, 17^v–24; VI, 15^v–22; Third choir: II, 13^v–20; V, 32^v–39. A scribe at the bottom of V, 33, reads: "Esta es la missa de Bone Voluntatis que canta Rosa" ("this is the Bonae Voluntatis Mass that Rosa sings"). Concerning copies of this Mass at Puebla Cathedral, see *Fontes artis musicae*, xxv/2 (April–June 1978), 182. Paul Becquart, *Musiciens néerlandais à la cour de Madrid* (Brussels, 1967), pp. 194–195, itemized five peninsular concordances for this Mass (the best existing at Saragossa Cathedral in Case 168).

TORRE, FRANCISCO DE LA.

Ne recorderis, *a 4*. IV, 88^v–89. Another unattributed copy survives in Puebla Cathedral Choirbook III, 92^v–93. At Toledo Cathedral, Choirbooks I, 87^v–88, and XXI (dated 1549), 121^v–122, ascribe this responsory for the dead to Francisco de la Torre (*f* 1483–1504). See *Fontes artis musicae*, xx/3 (September–December 1973), 104. In contrast with partial signatures notated in Toledo XXI, the Mexican copies carry flat signatures in all voices. The Mexican versions also fill in leaped thirds with scale steps.

VICTORIA, TOMÁS LUIS DE.

Incipit Oratio-Recordare Domine-Pupilli facti-Jerusalem, *a 6*. (Lamentations 5:1–5; Sabbato Sancto Lectio III).



- ii, 1^v-4; v, 1^v-4. Originally published in *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* (Rome, 1585), fols. 63^v-66^r. Modern edition: Felipe Pedrell, ed., *Opera omnia* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907-1913), v (1908), 181-187 (minus Jerusalem convertere, a 8). Both Samuel Rubio in 1977 and Eugene Cramer in 1982 edited the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* anew. Among Victoria's lamentations, the Oratio Jeremie, copied in Newberry ii and v, ranks as richest in reminiscences of the Spanish lamentation formula for Hebrew letters (Acdf, edc, cd). Victoria alludes to this formula in the incipit (tenor I), in verse 3 ("Pupilli," cantus I), and at "convertere" in Jerusalem a 6 (cantus I).
- Miserere mei Deus, a 4 (Ps. 50). Tone III. ii, 8^v-12; v, 8^v-12. In conformity with Victoria's *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* (Rome, 1585), fols. 31^v-35 (transcribed in Samuel Rubio's edition, 1977, pp. 87-96), verses 1, 2 (si placet, vocibus paribus), 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19 are *fabordones*, with only slight variants from verse to verse to accommodate shifting sense of the text. The optional equal-voice music a 4 for verse 2 serves, if so desired, for all later even verses. The harmonies of all odd-verse CATB *fabordones* are enriched with the chromaticism cl-c#-d or B-cl-c#-d in altus part (first half-verse). Successive major chords of C, A, D or G, C, A, D debouch on C Major at the mediant. All odd verses end with this chord progression: d minor in first inversion-E Major. The even-verse formulas end: d minor in root position-E Major.
- Missa Alma Redemptoris, a 8. First choir: i, 101^v-109; vi, 132^v-141; Second choir: v, 139^v-147. Original printed as the first composition in Victoria's 1600 polychoral miscellany published in partbooks at Madrid in 1600, *Missae, Magnificat, Motecta, Psalmi, & alia quam plurima quae partim Octonis, alia Nonis, alia Duodenis Vocibus concinuntur*. Modern edition: Felipe Pedrell, ed., *Opera omnia*, iv, 99-122. The Newberry copies of both this and Victoria's *Missa Ave Regina* bear signs of their having been very frequently sung. However, discrepancies suggest that the Newberry copyist may not have had access to 1600 printed partbooks. Only Bogotá among New World cathedrals still archives any of the 1600 printed partbooks.
- Missa Ave Regina, a 8. First choir: iii, 7^v-16, [This excellent copy is headed *Missa Aue Regina. Thome, de Victoria*], iii, 112^v-121; vi, 6^v-15; Second choir: ii, 65^v-74; v, 23^v-32. Like the *Missa Alma Redemptoris*, this Mass derives from Victoria's organ-accompanied 1600 miscellany. Newberry iii, 112^v, bears the superscription "La misa de sexto [tono] tiple 1^o Choro del horgano" (Victoria's organ part duplicates first choir parts). Both the *Alma Redemptoris* and *Ave Regina* Masses expand on material in likenamed antiphons first published in Victoria's *Cantica Beatae Virginis per annum* (1581).
- Salve Regina, a 8. "O clemens" verse, only. i, 91^v-93. First published in *Liber Primvs qvi missas . . .* (Venice: Angelo Gardane, 1576). Modern editions: *Opera omnia*, vii (1911), 128-130; *Monumentos de la música española*, xxxi (1968), 121-128. However, the organ part in both Pedrell and Anglés editions appeared only in the 1600 Madrid edition, not in the 1576, 1581, 1583, 1589, or 1603 editions itemized in *MME*, xxxi, 20.
- Te Deum, a 4. iv, 93^v-97.
- Vere languores nostros, a 4. ii, 7^v-8; vi, 7^v-8. Published first in *Motecta* (Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1572), no. 11; details of subsequent publications in *Monumentos de la música española*, xxvi (1965), 31-32; music at 14-16 of same volume.
- Vexilla regis, a 4. iv, 97^v-99. Adapted to the revised hymn text published in Urban VIII's 1632 breviary. The music was first published as concluding item in Victoria's *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* (Rome, 1585), fols. 75^v-79, and is based on the Spanish chant (*more hispano*), not the Roman which had formed the basis of his *Vexilla regis* published four years earlier in his hymns of 1581. Newberry omits the strophes set a 3 (*Arbor decora*) and a 6 (*Te summa Deus*). Also Victoria's polyphony for verse 2 (*Quo vulneratus*) becomes in Newberry the polyphony for verse 1. Modern edition of Victoria's "Spanish manner" *Vexilla regis* in Samuel Rubio, ed., *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* (Cuenca: Instituto de Música Religiosa, 1977), pp. 209-223 (discussed at pp. 122-123).
- Vidi aquam, a 4. iv, 45^v-48. First published in *Missae IV, V, VI et VIII voc. concinendae vna cum antiph. Asperges et Vidi aquam totius anni. Liber secundus*. (Rome: Ascanio Donangeli, 1592). Modern edition, *Opera omnia*, vii (1911), 133-134.

XIMENO, FABIÁN [PÉREZ].

Dixit Dominus, a 8. First choir: iii, 75^v-77; vi, 66^v-68; Second choir: ii, 75^v-77; v, 81^v-83. Transcribed in Schleifer, pp. 596-617. Tone I, throughcomposed setting, sparked with vigorous rhythmic figures.

Dixit Dominus, a 8. Odd verses. First choir: iii, 93^v-98, vi, 83^v-88; Second choir: ii, 90^v-95; v, 96^v-101. Transcribed in Schleifer, pp. 618-666. Tone I transposed up a fourth, throughcomposed festal setting (each verse begins a new section). Unlike the throughcomposed setting of every verse, the odd-verse constantly refers to the psalm tone—elaborated in imaginative ways. The first half of each verse always occupies fewer measures than second half. The *Judicavit* verse "brings the music to its climax" (Schleifer, p. 140). "New calls and echoes for this verse (mm. 87-114) are based on the rhythm of the words. At the same time they are developed to form a gradual increase of tension. The music for the Gloria Patri is derived from the music for



the first verse of the psalm. The return of the music of vers^e 1 and the formal closure that it gives, together with the rhythmic motives in developing echoes, the depiction of the text at certain important points, and the free use of the chant melody make this composition one of the finest in the Newberry choirbooks." "Sede a dextris" starts in C3 (second choir), "Et Spiritui Sancto" starts in Φ 3 (both mensurations transcribed 3/4); remainder of psalm in C mensuration. Ximeno's note-values in common time need no present-day reduction.

[Laudate pueri], a 11. Tone VI. Second choir: III, 98^v-101; VI, 88^v-91; Third choir: II, 95^v-97; V, 101^v-104.

Magnificat Septimi toni, a 8. First choir: III, 106^v-111; VI, 96^v-101; Second choir: II, 102^v-107; V, 108^v-113.

Transcribed in Schleifer, pp. 785-837. This is a brilliant, virtuosic setting suitable for a double first-class feast. High pitched top voices in both choirs frequently sing A's. Et misericordia is for four soloists ("sencillo"). Et exaltavit shifts to Φ 3 mensuration (= 3/4), Esurientes returns to C, Gloria to Φ 3, Sicut again to C mensuration.

Magnificat, a 11. Second choir: III, 59^v-62; VI, 55^v-58; Third choir: II, 54^v-56; V, 71^v-74.

Missa sexto tono de la batalla, a 8. Lacks Agnus Dei. First choir: III, 36^v-47; VI, 32^v-43; Second choir: II, 32^v-42; V, 50^v-60. Transcribed by Schleifer, pp. 387-

481. In the concordance at Puebla Cathedral (found in partbooks) the Agnus Dei ends with "dona nobis

pacem." See *Fontes artis musicae*, xxv/2 (April-June 1978), 187.

Missa super Beatus vir, a 11. Tone IV. Second choir: III, 49^v-57; VI, 45^v-53; Third choir: II, 44^v-51; V, 62^v-69. Lacks Benedictus. Concludes with "dona nobis pacem." Parody of Fray Jacinto's (Jasinto's) 11-voice psalm setting. Concerning Puebla Cathedral partbooks of this Mass, see *Fontes artis musicae* xxv/2, 187. First choir parts also survive in the Sánchez Garza Collection now owned by CENIDIM (Centro Nacional de Investigación, Documentación e Información Musical) [Liverpool 16, Mexico, D.F.]. See *Renaissance and Baroque Sources in the Americas* (1970), pp. 180 and *55 (musical supplement).

ZUMAYA (= SUMAYA), MANUEL DE.

Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, a 4. v, 163^v-164. The first five and last nine bars, transcribed in Schleifer, pp. 123-124, exhibit masterful handling of chains of suspensions and show the richness of Zumaya's harmonic palette.

Christus factus est pro nobis, a 4. II, 122^v-123; V, 127^v-128. Although unascrbed in Newberry II and V, this "four-part setting of the gradual for Maundy Thursday Mass" was published as Zumaya's in Steven Barwick's *Two Mexico City Choirbooks of 1717, An Anthology of Sacred Polyphony from the Cathedral of Mexico* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), pp. 67-71.





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 menestriales, demas de los mitotes varios q̄ se salian a cada paso*¹ (“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.² 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).³ 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

¹ 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.”

² *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.”

³ *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).⁴ Which are the consonant intervals? "In music, the octave, sixth, fifth, third, and their compounds give pleasure; all the other intervals dissonate."⁵ 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.⁶

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

⁴*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."

⁵*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.

⁶*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.

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."⁷

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*.⁸ 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."⁹ 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*¹⁰ are linked as Mars's instruments. In *El Anticristo*, written in

⁷*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."

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

⁹*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.

¹⁰Sebastián 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.¹¹

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!¹²

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

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

¹² 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 anywhere else that the sun shines.¹³

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.¹⁴

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.¹⁵ 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

¹³ 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.

¹⁴ "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.

¹⁵ *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (Washington: Pan American Union, 1960), pp. 69-71, 75-78, 98^b; "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.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸

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,¹⁹ had perhaps the most reason to fear competition by the tenor brought from Spain, Juan López de Legarda—who was also an experienced succentor.²⁰ 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.²¹ 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.²² Six years later (1615) Barreto was able to buy his freedom.²³ 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, 1625.²⁴ In 1632, now aged 57, he was back in his home cathedral at Mexico City—again with a singer's salary.²⁵

As early as May 1, 1543, the Mexico City chapter began hiring Indian instrumentalists as permanent employees.²⁶ 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.²⁷ Arch-

²²*Ibid.*, fols. 116^v and 119.

²³*Ibid.*, fols. 386^v-387, 388^v-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^v) the canons bought him two surplices of finest Rouen fabric; and on January 8, 1613 (fols. 309^v-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.

²⁴Puebla Cathedral, *A.C.*, VIII (1623-1627), fol. 134: "Resiio por cantor . . . luis barreto Presbitero con salario de quatro cientos p^s."

²⁵Mexico City Cathedral, *A.C.*, VIII (1626-1632), fol. 374^v. 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^v). 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."

²⁶*A.C.*, I, (1536-1559), fol. 58. For the Spanish text, see footnote 19 of "The Founding Century."

²⁷Sample 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^v); *chirimía* (shawm), January 13, 1576 (*A.C.*, II, fol. 317^v); *bajón* (bassoon), August 16, 1588 (*A.C.*, IV, fol. 5^v); *trompeta* (trumpet), June 7, 1591 (*A.C.*, IV, 49^v). Concerning the set of twelve *flautas para el servicio 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

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

¹⁷"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."

¹⁸*A.C.*, V (1606-1616), fol. 91 (August 19, 1608).

¹⁹*A.C.*, III (1576-1609), fol. 230^v (June 17, 1586); hired at 100 pesos de tepuzque.

²⁰*A.C.*, V, fol. 101^v (October 7, 1608). López became *maestro de ceremonias* January 16, 1609.

²¹*Ibid.*, fol. 114^v.



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.²⁸ 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.²⁹ In response, the chapter thanked him "for such zealous care"³⁰ 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, 1609,³¹ and Gerónimo's prolonged absence in Oaxaca³² 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 choristers³³—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 sack-but 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;³⁴ 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.

²⁸A.C., v, fol. 157.

²⁹*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 villansicos y chançonetas que pudiesen = y ansimismo acabadas las visperas hasta entrar en maytines."

³⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 190: "dado muchas gracias a su S^a Ill^{ma} por tanto zelo y cuidado."

³¹*Ibid.*, fol. 162.

³²His 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."

³³*Ibid.*, fols. 196^v, 200^v, 202^v.

³⁴A.C., iv, fol. 78^v; A.C., v, fols. 131, 136.

³⁵Andrés 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,³⁵ a brilliant



organist-composer of Sevillian birth who before migrating to Peru had been Royal Chapel organist at Lisbon.³⁶ Two of Serna's *tientos* were published in *Monumentos de la Música Española*, XII (1952), 246-255³⁷ with accompanying encomiums of their *optimista y radiante* beauty.³⁸ 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,³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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*.⁴¹ Disliking this title, Rodríguez Mata consented to be known the next year as a mere *músico* while awaiting Hernández's voluntary retirement.⁴² 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.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ 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

³⁶A.C., VI (1617-1620), fol. 66^v; fols. 85 and 90^v (February 1 and 20, 1619).

³⁷A.C., VII (1620-1625), fol. 61. Juan López de Legarda, who handed the petition to the chapter, was by then first *sochantre*.

³⁸Guatemala Cathedral, *Libro de el III^o Cabildo de Santiago de Guatemala delos aquerdos . . . que se acen desde el Año de 1599: en adelante*, fols. 148^v-150^v. 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^v).

³⁶Martín 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.

³⁷See also Manuel Rodrigues Coelho, *Flores de Musica*, ed. by M. S. Kastner (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1959), I, page xxv³.

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

³⁹Elected chapelmaster in 1586 (A.C., III, 219^v), 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]).

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

⁴¹Guerrero 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).

⁴²A.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."⁴⁶ On August 2, 1629, the year of the great floods that caused 27,000 in the capital to flee elsewhere (Puebla, especially),⁴⁷ Rodríguez Mata—by now *racionero* and titular *maestro de capilla*—agreed that the number of musicians on the payroll could be reduced drastically.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹

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 1633,⁵⁰ for new outfits to be purchased for the choirboys in 1633,⁵¹ and for the repair of numerous old polyphonic choirbooks in 1639.⁵² From the Mexico City excess, Rodríguez Mata could in 1632 forward to nearby Puebla the partbooks of Francisco Guerrero's 1570 motets.⁵³ Luis de Cifuentes, hired as a *tiplé* 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.⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵ 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^v-114, Lesson 1 for Holy Saturday at folios 114^v-119, and two passions *a 4*—Matthew for Palm Sunday at folios 1^v-14, and John for Good Friday at 72^v-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^v-118, and V, at 122^v-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)⁵⁶ 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

⁴⁶Thomas 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."

⁴⁷Sosa, *op. cit.*, I, 175.

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

⁴⁹Sosa, I, 177.

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

⁵¹A.C., IX, fol. 32 (October 7, 1633).

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

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

⁵⁴A.C., IX, fol. 167.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, fol. 238^v (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^v)—Melchor de los Reyes—had served as *Thieniente de Maestro de Capilla* at 300 pesos annually (A.C., X, fol. 150^v [February 14, 1642]).

⁵⁶*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 John⁵⁷ 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 Passions⁵⁸ 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^v-8 and 12^v-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^v-7) and *Ave Rex* (27.30 = fols. 9^v-10) notated with voids, he chooses 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^v)

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

⁵⁸*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 Mattheum 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^v-33, 34^v-45, 46^v-58, 60^v-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 C mensurations. On occasion Coronado specifies a mensuration not found in Rodríguez Mata's passions, $\text{O}3$, with semibreves transcribable as quarter-notes. In the Crucifigatur of his Matthew passion (27.22b, 23b = fols. 24^v-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^v, 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^v, 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^v-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^v-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^v-25

Cru - ci - fi - ga - tur, Cru - ci - fi - ga tur,

Cru - ci - fi - ga - tur, Cru - ci - fi -

Cru - ci - fi - ga - tur, Cru - ci - fi - ga

Cru - ci - fi - ga - tur,

Cru - ci - fi - ga tur

ga - tur, Cru - ci - fi - ga - tur

tur, Cru - ci - fi - ga - tur

Cru - ci - fi - ga tur

*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.⁵⁹ This most fortunate

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

⁵⁹George 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.



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.⁶⁰ The first Ph.D. dissertation to discuss them was written by Eliyahu Schleifer.⁶¹ 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^v–82 and 94^v–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^v–108 is Lienas’s—on the strength of not one but two concordances naming him as composer, the first in Newberry iii, folios 126^v–129 (“in cena domini don ju^o 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*.⁶²

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).⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ 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.

⁶⁰What 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.

⁶¹Concerning 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.

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

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

⁶⁴This 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 Tenantilla[n]) as from the engagements of the chosen architect elsewhere.



Not the friars themselves, but rather Indian choirs directed by Indian maestros provided the polyphony performed in colonial Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian, and Carmelite *conventos*.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ 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 1639.⁶⁷ In Encarnación as in other wealthy Mexican nunneries instruments played by the nuns themselves conveniently substituted for missing male voices.⁶⁸

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 Hogal⁶⁹ 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

⁶⁵ 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.

⁶⁶ 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.

⁶⁷ 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.

⁶⁸ 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.

⁶⁹ 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^o 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.⁷⁰ On January 30, 1635, now a *presbítero*, Ximeno received 200 pesos for testing the new large organ under construction at nearby Puebla Cathedral.⁷¹ When its twin was finished, he was paid another 200 pesos for his services at the dedication on May 2, 1648.⁷²

⁷⁰See 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.

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

⁷²Puebla 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].⁷³ 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.⁷⁴ Because he knew how indispensable he was, Fabián Peres [Pérez] Ximeno—as his full name reads in certain acts⁷⁵—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, 1648,⁷⁶ 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, 1649.⁷⁷ 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.⁷⁸ 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."⁷⁹

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

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, fol. 228^v.

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

⁷⁶A.C., x, fol. 637^v.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, fol. 749^v. 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^v (January 30, 1742).

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

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, fol. 33^v: "Leyose otra peti^{on} del dicho M^o enq^o 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

Musical staff for Tiple Solo y con la copilla. Lyrics: Ay ay ga-le-gui-ños

Tiple A5

Musical staff for Tiple A5. Lyrics: Ay ay ga-legui-ños

Tiple A5

Musical staff for Tiple A5. Lyrics: Ay ay ga-le-gui-ños

Tenor A5

Musical staff for Tenor A5. Lyrics: Ay ay ga-le-gui-ños

Bajo A5

Musical staff for Bajo A5. Lyrics: Ay ay ga-le-gui-ños

Acompañamiento del gallego

Musical staff for Acompañamiento del gallego.

Ay ay galeguiños ay que lo veyo

A 5 con acompañamiento

Fabián Ximeno

Tiple solo

Musical staff for Tiple solo. Lyrics: Ay ay ga-le-gui-ños ay ay

Tiple

Musical staff for Tiple.

Tiple

Musical staff for Tiple.

Tenor

Musical staff for Tenor.

Bajo

Musical staff for Bajo.

Acomp.

Musical staff for Acompañamiento.



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

8

10

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

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

8 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-yomas ay que lo mi - ro ay
 no
 no
 8 no
 no



35

ay ay que lo ve-yo en un pe - se - bri - ño ay que lo ay que lo ay que love-yo mas ay que love-yo mas

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 ay ay que loveyo 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 cuestas na - ce 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."⁸⁰ 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.⁸¹ This same harpist, first hired at Puebla Cathedral August 14, 1643, *con cargo de tocar harpa y violon*,⁸² 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.⁸³ He liked Mexico City no better this time, quitting the capital after only seven months.⁸⁴

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

⁸¹ 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]).

⁸² Puebla Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, xi (1640-1647), fol. 193.

⁸³ 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).

⁸⁴ Mexico City, *A.C.*, xi, fol. 199^v (September 3, 1652): "Admitesse el despidimiento de Grinon 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^v).

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



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

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^o 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.⁸⁹ 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^o 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*⁹⁰); complete parts

for his *Missa de la Batalla, a 8*,⁹¹ for a through-composed *Magnificat Tertii toni, a 8*,⁹² a "G minor" *Magnificat, a 11*,⁹³ "G minor" *Dixit Dominus, a 8*, and "F Major" *Laudate nomen Domini, a 11*,⁹⁴ 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 collection⁹⁵ 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 1975⁹⁶).

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

⁹¹A 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.

⁹²Verses end on A (D is intermediate cadencing chord). Tipples struggle frequently to high a¹. 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.

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

⁹⁴Mensurations shift eight times between C and C 3.

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

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

⁸⁵A.C., xi, fol. 172^v.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, fol. 319.

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

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, fol. 40^v (April 21, 1654).

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

⁹⁰In Newberry II, the scribe wrote before the tenor part (on 42^v): "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 g¹ (Aztec fondness for "tl" may account for the quaint "tiple" in Newberry III, 49^v). 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, 1593.⁹⁷ 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.

⁹⁷Mexico 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.⁹⁸ 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, 1647.⁹⁹ 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.¹⁰⁰ 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-

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

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, fol. 194^v (September 1, 1643): "Que fr^{co} Lopez organista toque hasta que venga Pedro Simon Y venido se prouehera lo que conuenga; fol. 214 (January 15, 1644): "Que fr^{co} Lopez organista Por q^{lo} a seruido el tiempo q̄ auia de asistir el Licenciado Pedro Simon se le paguen los quatro meses q̄ ha faltado susodicho a razon Y conforme gana el salario el dicho L^{do} Pedro Simon y que de este auto se de q^{lo} a su Ex.^{as}"; fol. 231 (July 15, 1644): "Que a fr^{co} Lopez organista se le den duçientos p^{os} 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 deuiere se Retenga"; fol. 346 (January 11, 1647): "Que al B^r fran^{co} Lopes organista se le den duçientos p^{os} Por los ocho meses q̄ a seruido Por el P^r Pedro Simon Y para el aumento q̄ pide de salario a respecto de auer quedado solo se traiga p^a el primer Cauildo."

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 279: "Que se le den a fr^{co} Lopez organista las obenciones de cantor Por quanto tiene duçientos p^{os} de salario de tal Cantor Y los otros duçientos 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^a obencion se le den como si estubiere presente a ganarla =".



ing eight months before January 11, 1647.¹⁰¹ Four days later the chapter regularized his status by naming Francisco López—now a *licenciado*—organist at 600 pesos annually.¹⁰² 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.¹⁰³

This was not enough to please Simón, who managed to get back all his former posts January 17, 1648.¹⁰⁴ 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*¹⁰⁵ (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.¹⁰⁶ 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.¹⁰⁷ On July 29 [1648], *bachiller*¹⁰⁸ Ygnacio Ximeno succeeded López (who had already left May 15¹⁰⁹), 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.¹¹⁰

López of course bettered himself by leaving. From April 21, 1654,¹¹¹ 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

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, fol. 29: "Al Liz^{do} Gimeno Organista de Mex^{co} ducientos p^{os} 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."

¹⁰⁸Mexico City, Archivo General de la Nación, *Grados de Bachilleres en Artes*, Vol. 141, Exp. 182, fols. 437-438^r (January 9, 1648). He received the bacillerato by examination. Cf. fol. 438: "Ignacio Ximeno Presbitero digo q̄ conforme ala constitucion de nro muy S^{co} P^e Martino quinto de loable memoria y el estatuto de salamanca . . . si algun estudiante por falta de cursos quisiere graduarse de B^e 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.

¹⁰⁹The 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^r de Fran^{co} Lopez Organista y sea respetiue de lo que tenia de salario el susso dho."

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

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

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

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

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, fol. 384^v.

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

¹⁰⁵A.C., XI, fol. 194 (August 20, 1643).

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



Magnificat Secundi, toni*



Codice del Convento del Carmen, pp. 72-75

Francisco López Capillas

Tiple 5

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

Alto

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

[Tenor]

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

Baxo

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-

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:

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 ge - ne - ra - ti - o - nes.

- mnes ge - ne - ra - ti - o - nes.

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

- mnes ge - 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 -

- - - [e - - 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,



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.]

35

Detailed description: This is a musical score for a vocal piece, likely a Mass. It consists of four staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "tu - - - i San - cto." The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "- - - tu - i San - cto. San - cto." The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "cto, et Spi - ri - tu i San - cto." The bottom staff is a bass line with lyrics: "[et Spi - ri - tu - - - i San - cto.]". The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. The score ends with a double bar line and a fermata. The number "35" is written in the top right corner of the score area.