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Author(s): Robert Stevenson

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MEXICO CITY CATHEDRAL MUSIC: 1600-1750

ALTHOUGH Mexico City was the foremost cultural center in North America before 1800, the musical history of this capital has been strangely neglected. Not until 1946, when Lota M. Spell published a pioneer article on music in the Conquest century,¹ was a first attempt made at bringing the viceregal music to international attention. Four years later Francisco Curt Lange translated her article into Spanish.² In 1952 Jesús Bal y Gay handsomely edited what he hoped would be but the first in a series to match *Monumentos de la Música Española*.³ As unique source for the transcriptions of Mexican colonial chefs-d'oeuvres⁴ in this luxurious 235-page volume, Bal y Gay availed himself of a filmed codex.⁵ In April, 1961 Roger Wagner recorded approximately half of the Bal y Gay volume—including Juan de Lianas' splendid *Missa super fa re ut fa sol la* (the identical cantus firmus used in Morales's *Missa cortilla* and in Masses by Melchor Robledo and Ginés de Boluda⁶), Francisco López [y] Capillas' *Magnificat secundi toni*, Hernando Franco's *Peccantem me quotidie, Memento mei Deus*, and the Spanish Masses transcribed by Bal y Gay because they were in the source codex.

In 1954-55, *Fontes artis musicae* and *Hispanic American Historical*

¹ Lota M. Spell, "Music in the Cathedral of Mexico in the Sixteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXVI (August, 1946), 293-319. For Mexico Cathedral *actas capitulares* she relied on Gabriel Saldívar, *Historia de la Música en México (Épocas precortesiana y colonial)* (México, 1934); he read the acts systematically from 1536-1600 (p. vii).

² *Revista de estudios musicales* (Mendoza [Argentina], Universidad de Cuyo), II (August, 1950), 217-255.

³ Jesús Bal y Gay (ed.), *Tesoro de la música polifónica en México*, I: *El Códice del Convento del Carmen* (México, 1952 [1953]). Reviewed in *Notes of the Music Library Association*, sec. ser. XIV/1 (December, 1956), 49-50.

⁴ Since in addition to music by such easily identified Neo-Hispanic composers as Hernando Franco and Francisco López the Carmen codex contained Francisco Guerrero's *Missa Beata Mater* (1566) and Tomás Luis de Victoria's *Missa Ave maris stella* (1576), Bal y Gay edited these two Masses also (*Tesoro*, pp. 114-144, 223-226; 49-83). Agnus Dei II and the tenor at mm. 34-44 in the *Et resurrexit* of Victoria's Mass must be supplied from Pedrell's edition; the bass in the *Tesoro* edition, p. 69, mm. 14-17 needs correcting if it is to agree with the 1576 version.

⁵ Formerly in the custody of the Museo Colonial del Carmen in Villa Obregón (= San Angel), this codex is now reported lost, by Dr. Eusebio Dávalos Hurtado, Director General del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. The loss of similar manuscripts is discussed in "Latin American Archives," *Fontes artis musicae*, 1962, No. 1 (January-June), pp. 19-21.

⁶ R. Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1961), p. 326.26.

Review published the present author's "Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Resources in Mexico" and "The 'Distinguished Maestro' of New Spain: Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla."⁷ These articles supplemented and expanded data given earlier in *Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey* (1952) and in the *Grove's Dictionary*, 5th edition, articles on Hernando Franco, Juan Navarro II ("Gaditanus"), Juan [Gutiérrez] de Padilla,⁸ and Manuel de Zumaya. The present article picks up the thread of history where Lota Spell dropped it in her 1946 article and seeks to provide part of the necessary supplement for so useful a book as Irving Leonard's *Baroque Times in Old Mexico* (1959).⁹

Professor Leonard begins with a chapter on Fray García Guerra, archbishop of Mexico (1608-1612) and viceroy during the last year of his life. None better could be picked to confirm the adage that in American 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 (1598-1604), 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.¹⁰ Though occupant of the Mexican see only four years, García Guerra left an imprint so indelible

⁷ *FAM* 1954/2, pp. 69-78 and 1955/1, pp. 10-15 (the *Christus resurgens* Mass mentioned at p. 13 [Valdés codex, fols. 101^v-109] is by Pierre Colin); *HAHR*, XXXV (August, 1955), 363-373.

⁸ Alice Ray [Catalyne] transcribed and commented on his extant music *a 8* in her University of Southern California Ph.D. dissertation, "The Double-Choir Music of Juan de Padilla: Seventeenth-Century Composer in Mexico," 2 vols., 1953. Steven Barwick, John Knowles Paine travelling fellow in Mexico during the late 1940's and author of the indispensable Harvard Ph.D. dissertation, "Sacred Vocal Polyphony in Early Colonial Mexico," 1949, obtained the microfilms that served both Jesús Bal y Gay and Alice Ray. The microfilm from Puebla Cathedral is deposited at the Library of Congress (Music Division). Corrections of the biographical data in *Grove's Dictionary*, VI, 484-485, are given in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, X, cols. 564-565.

⁹ 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 c. 1660. Philip W. Powell, reviewing this book in *HAHR*, XL (August, 1960), pp. 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, is the only recent study of a colonial instrument (see M. A. Vente's corrections in *The Organ*, XXXVII [July, 1957], 46).

¹⁰ R. Stevenson, *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (Washington, 1960), pp. 69-71, 75-78, 98; "Colonial Music in Colombia," *The Americas*, XIX (October, 1962), 125.

that in the late 1940's Steven Barwick could write his admirable Harvard dissertation on 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.¹¹ Already before he landed at Vera Cruz on August 19, 1608, the chapter knew what kind of musical prelate they were about to receive, and had 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 in their month-long ascent to the capital.¹² Meanwhile, the two cathedral organs were being tuned with frantic haste, missing pipes for the smaller were being installed, and the mechanism was being repaired so that it would be again playable.¹³

Inevitably, the advent of new singers from Spain caused some of the Mexico City veterans qualms, for fear that they would be displaced. The succentor Juan Galiano, who began as a highly paid singer 22 years earlier,¹⁴ had perhaps the most reason to fear competition by the tenor brought from Spain, Juan López—who was also an experienced succentor.¹⁵ The archbishop quickly allayed Galiano's anxieties, however, by making López 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 Castilian birth, 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,

¹¹ Mexico City Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares* [hereafter, *A. C.*], V, fol. 240v (July 5, 1611): "El M^{ro} de Capilla hizo presentacion ante los d^{hos} ss de Vn libro escripto y puntado en vitelas en que por su yndustria se pusieron las diez y seis magnificas de todos los ocho tonos que dexo compuestas El M^{ro} Franco su antecesor todo recogido en el d^{ho} libro encuadernado en tablas, y bien adornado, y certificando que demas del y abriendose tratado sobre el caso ausente el d^{ho} M^{ro} de Capilla y communicandolo los d^{hos} ss^{es} con los ss Prebendados musicos y certificado del costo del d^{ho} libro dixeron que se reçaiba Para el usso y seruicio desta santa yglesia, y que los ss^{es} hazedores despachen por contaduria librança delos d^{hos} doscientos pesos . . . abriendose primero comunicado este negoçio con el Ill^{mo} S^r Arçobispo para que lo apruebe. . . ."

¹² Mateo Alemán, "Sucesos de D. Frai Garcia Gera," ed. by Alice H. Bushee, *Revue hispanique*, XXV (December, 1911), 380. Alemán, author of *Guzmán de Alfarache* and the most renowned Spanish writer to emigrate in the colonial period, traveled in the same fleet with the archbishop; so did Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, but at greater distance.

¹³ *A. C.*, V (1606-1616), fol. 91 (August 19, 1608).

¹⁴ *A. C.*, III (1576-1609), fol. 230v (June 17, 1586); hired at 100 *pesos de tepuzque*.

¹⁵ *A. C.*, V, fol. 101v (October 7, 1608). López became *maestro de ceremonias* January 16, 1609.

who was a slave, twelve gold pesos monthly.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ Six years later, Barreto was able to buy his freedom.¹⁸

As early as May 1, 1543, the Mexico City chapter began hiring Indian instrumentalists as permanent employees.¹⁹ Throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century the music of shawns, sackbuts, and flutes is mentioned in the cathedral acts with scarcely less frequency than vocal music.²⁰ Archbishop 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

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 114v.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, fols. 116v and 119.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. 386v-387, 388v-389, 398, 402 (April 28, 1615, May 28, May 12, June 30, August 3). In the intervening years, Barreto had pleased the chapter so mightily that on August 7, 1612, (fol. 292v) the canons bought him two surplices of finest Rouen fabric; and on January 8, 1613, (fols. 309v-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 as 300 pesos. In 1632, aged 62, he was still singing for the cathedral (*A. C.*, VIII [1626-1632], fol. 374v). 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. 379v). However, few slave-musicians seem to have served the cathedral at any time. The notice of December 11, 1576, that two Negro slaves had been purchased to work the organ bellows (*A. C.*, III [1576-1609], fol. 19) hardly qualifies them as "musicians."

¹⁹ *A. C.*, I (1536-1559), fol. 58: "Recibieron por Su S^a y mrds los menestres yndios con partido cada vn año de xxiii p^s de oro comun."

²⁰ Sample entries deal with players of the following instruments: *sacabuche* (sackbut), May 13, 1575 (*A. C.*, II, fol. 308), June 23, 1592 (*A. C.*, IV, fol. 78v); *chirimía* (shawn), January 13, 1576 (*A. C.*, II, fol. 317v); *bajón* (bassoon), August 16, 1588 (*A. C.*, IV fol. 5v); *trompeta* (trumpet), June 7, 1591 (*A. C.*, IV, 49v). In 1586 Guerrero at Seville obtained a chapter-ruling that one verse of festal *Salves* must be confided to *flautas*, another to *chirimías*, another to *cornetas* (R. Stevenson, *La Música en la Catedral de Sevilla 1478-1606*, p. 53b). Never to be outdone by Seville, Mexico City bought January 17, 1595, an expensive set of twelve *flautas para el servicio del coro* (*A. C.*, IV, fol. 111). Next month, February 25, 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 Communion, when commanded to alternate by the maestro de capilla.

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.²¹ 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.²² In response, the chapter thanked him "for such zealous care" 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 Vera Cruz to the capital. Because they had somehow muffed the job, the chapter seized Alonso's death on October 13, 1609,²³ and Gerónimo's prolonged absence in Oaxaca²⁴ as their opportunity to summon from Michoacán in May of 1610 the "best" organ builder and repairman in Mexico, a 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.²⁵ Staying at the house of the cathedral bassoonist,²⁶ Fray Miguel worked so expeditiously that the organs were again playable at Corpus Christi.²⁷ For his pains the chapter on October 8 (1610) authorized to the convento of San Francisco in the capital a 200-peso *limosna*, to Lorenzo Martínez 50 pesos for helping him and 125 for boarding him, to Gaspar Sánchez 25 pesos for 260 new pipes, and to Fray Miguel himself 50 for his *necesidades*.²⁸ Throughout these negotiations—and those of the same summer to outfit a promising boy-soprano for his *colegio* studies (July

²¹ *A. C.*, v. fol. 157.

²² *Ibid.*, fol. 189v: "Y ansimismo propuso de quanta ymportancia era para la devocion y frecuencia del pueblo Xpiano ultra dela solemnidad referida para las horas canonicas que en las extraordinarias despues de medio dia antes de entrar en visperas vbiese mucho concurso de cantores e ynstrumentos que tañesen y cantasen los villancicos y chanzonetas que pudiesen = y ansimismo acabadas las visperas hasta entrar en maytines."

²³ *Ibid.*, fol. 162.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 354 (April 18, 1614). His six-year contract began in 1607. The chapter dismissed him February 23, 1616 (fol. 425).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, fols. 187, 188 (May 14 and 21, 1610).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 189 (May 25). Lorenzo Martínez was bassoonist; see note 32 below.

²⁷ Repairs included tuning, replacing pipes, and fixing the *registros* (stops) of both organs. Such thoroughgoing repairs were needed every few years, however well constructed the organs were to begin with.

²⁸ *A. C.*, V, fol. 202v.

13), to buy 12 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 choristers²⁹—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. Alexo García, who tripled on shawn, cornet, and bassoon, was raised from 150 to 250 pesos annually, as was also Alonso Arias, sackbut.³⁰ Two of the senior instrumentalists had died that year—Juan Baptista, the sackbut hired at 100 pesos on June 23, 1592, who had been sick enough for a prolonged stay at the Guaztepeque hospital in 1608 and who had missed everything before Palm Sunday in 1609,³¹ and Lorenzo Martínez, the bassoonist since at least 1597 who was indispensable in Advent and Lent because his was the only accompanying instrument allowed in those seasons.³² Just as in the homeland, instrument-playing tended to become a family craft in the Indies³³ and the Mexico City Baptistas did not break the rule. 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.³⁴

The same meeting of August 30, 1611, found the chapter receptive to the suggestion that fines be invoked against both instrumentalists and singers who abused their privileges by coming late to terce and vespers, and by leaving Mass after the Gloria, vespers after the first psalm, and processions after the motet. The new rule had it that every musician on the cathedral roll must come every canonical hour from Passion

²⁹ *Ibid.*, fols. 196v, 200v, 202v.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 242.

³¹ *A. C.*, IV, fol. 78v; *A. C.*, V, fols. 131, 136.

³² *A. C.*, IV, fol. 184 (September 12, 1597, the chapter loaned him 50 pesos); *A. C.*, V, fol. 21v (January 12, 1607, his salary rose 150 pesos because "in Advent, Lent, and at Offices of the Dead, he is the only instrumentalist required to play").

³³ Just as the Peraza clan was famous in Spain, so dynasties of New World instrumentalists can be traced in colonial documents. See *The Music of Peru*, pp. 96-97.

³⁴ Lorenzo Martínez's place had been given Francisco de Medina *presbytero* August 5, 1611 (*A. C.*, V, fol. 242v), but the gift was voided on August 30.

Sunday vespers through Easter evening. In the schedule of fines, the stiffest were reserved for failing to sing polyphony at Holy Week passions, *señas*, lamentations, and *Miserere mei*; and at Easter *maytines* and Mass.³⁵ As in other Spanish American cathedrals, shawmers, cornettists, and flautists were expected to take part in the singing during seasons when instruments were curtailed.

Though the archbishop and chapter exercised over-all control, both singers and instrumentalists took their strictly musical orders from the *maestro de capilla*. Selected usually after a rigorous public competition, the chapelmaster in colonial Mexico City—as elsewhere in Spanish dominions—combined the twin functions of official cathedral composer and conductor. When Archbishop Guerra died February 22, 1612, Lima cathedral was within a month of installing as chapelmaster Estacio de la Serna,³⁶ a brilliant organist-composer of Sevillian birth who before migrating to Peru had been Royal Chapel organist at Lisbon.³⁷ Two of La Serna's *tientos* have been recently published in *Monumentos de la Música Española*, XII (1952), 246-255³⁸ with accompanying encomiums of their *optimista y radiante* beauty.³⁹ In contrast with Lima, Mexico City music during Guerra's quadrennium was directed by a sixtyish prebendary, Juan Hernández, who had begun as a cathedral singer on January 20, 1568, and had succeeded Hernando Franco⁴⁰ in the chapelmastership on January 17, 1586. When first hired, his superb *tiple* voice (always the hardest type to find) was his prime asset. However, after having become a *bachiller* and a prebendary, his interests veered so much in the direction of business that the chapter in 1583 made him the *solicitador* to handle all cathedral litigation.⁴¹ Paid much more than a mere singer, he was now sent on long trips.⁴² Even after

³⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 245v.

³⁶ Stevenson, *The Music of Peru*, p. 79; Andrés Sas, "La vida musical en la Catedral de Lima," *Revista Musical Chilena*, XVI (July-December, 1962), p. 32.

³⁷ Martín de León, *Relación de las exequias* (Lima, 1613), fol. 26; Stevenson, *The Music of Peru*, pp. 57, 73.

³⁸ See also Manuel Rodrigues Coelho, *Flores de Música*, ed. by M. S. Kastner (Lisbon, 1959), I, xxv.

³⁹ Francisco Correa de Arauxo, *Libro de Tientos*, ed. by M. S. Kastner (Barcelona, 1952), II, 14 (introduction).

⁴⁰ Franco, first of the great Mexico City maestros, has been more investigated and transcribed than any of his successors. See *The Music of Mexico*, pp. 104-121 (Nahuatl hymns at pp. 119-121 are probably spurious).

⁴¹ *A. C.*, III, fol. 168. October 16 of the year previous, he had exercised his "legal" skill to help get Pascual Crespo out of prison by writing a cedula to the *alcalde de la carcel*. When Crespo left Mexico without paying the debt for which he had been imprisoned, Hernández had to forfeit a month of his prebend (fol. 157).

⁴² *Ibid.*, fol. 173v (June 14, 1583).

becoming chapelmaster he accepted numerous lucrative sidelines—such as the office of chapter secretary.⁴³ He did compose the new chanzonetas and villancicos for 1589 and 1590, but so tardily that the chapter had to concede extra days for him to finish them.⁴⁴ If the incomplete St. John Passion published at pages 212-219 of Bal y Gay's 1952 *Tesoro* is his (the name "Juan Hernandes" at the cropped top of page 226 in the original manuscript can still be faintly read in the facsimile [*Tesoro*, 230]), he was a capable enough composer but not in a class with the other composers he is known to have favored. Francisco Guerrero stood first on his list. As early as December 13, 1585, a month before he became chapelmaster officially, he recommended sending Guerrero 50 pesos *por el libro de canto que enbio a esta s^{ta} iglesia*.⁴⁵ Thirty years later his affection had not cooled: on January 13, 1614, he proposed paying eight pesos *de oro* for the five partbooks of Guerrero's 1597 Venetian motets.⁴⁶ Hernando Franco, with whom he had served a decade (1575-1585), was his first choice among Mexico City chapelmasters who had preceded him.

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.⁴⁷ With Hernández he could be less rigorous. 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*.⁴⁸ Disliking this title, Rodríguez Mata consented to be known the next year as a mere *músico* while awaiting Hernández's voluntary retire-

⁴³ Elected chapelmaster in 1586 (fol. 219v), 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]).

⁴⁴ *A. C.*, IV (1588-1605), fol. 32 (July 31, 1590). He claimed to have been sick December 24-January 1, 1590. On March 26, 1591 (fol. 46), the chapter recognized his claim for 40 pesos *de tepuzque* "owing him for having composed the chanzonetas the last two years."

⁴⁵ *A. C.*, III, fol. 218; the large sum suggests that Guerrero had sent either his *Liber vesperarum*, 1584, or his *Liber secundus missarum*, 1582

⁴⁶ *A. C.*, V, fol. 349v.

⁴⁷ Francisco Sosa, *El Episcopado Mexicano* (third edition; Mexico City, 1962), I, 156-157.

⁴⁸ Guerrero began on very much these same terms at Seville September 11, 1551 (see *La Música en la Catedral de Sevilla*, p. 23a).

ment.⁴⁹ 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 long ago stopped composing.⁵⁰ At last on January 7, 1620, the septuagenarian had reluctantly quit the lucrative office of chapter secretary; for the money that he was losing he requested restoration of the *triple* salary once paid him. So ludicrous 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.⁵¹ 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 was still hobbling to chapter meetings, but by 1625—the year in which 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 the music than for any delight in the service of God”⁵²—Rodríguez Mata was in sole control.⁵³ On August 2, 1629, the year of the great floods that caused 27,000 in the capital to flee elsewhere (Puebla, especially),⁵⁴ Mata agreed that the number of musicians on the payroll must be reduced drastically.⁵⁵ The measure of the devastation was taken by Archbishop Manso de 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.⁵⁶

However, sufficient recovery was made in the next decade for Luis Coronado, principal organist, and several other musicians to obtain salary increases,⁵⁷ for new outfits to be purchased for the choirboys,⁵⁸ and for the repair of numerous old polyphonic choirbooks.⁵⁹ Luis de Cifuentes,

⁴⁹ A. C., V, fol. 381 (February 13, 1615).

⁵⁰ A. C., VI (1617-1620), fol. 66v; fols. 85 and 90v (February 1 and 20, 1619).

⁵¹ A. C., VII (1620-1625), fol. 61. Juan López de la Guarda, who handed the petition to the chapter, was *sochantre*. Probably he was the succentor of the same name brought over by Archbishop Guerra (see note 15).

⁵² *Thomas Gage's Travels in the New World*, ed. by J. E. S. Thompson (Norman, Oklahoma, 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.”

⁵³ A. C., VII, fol. 383v (September 19, 1625).

⁵⁴ Sosa, *El Episcopado Mexicano*, I, 175.

⁵⁵ A. C., VIII (1626-1632), fol. 241 (August 2, 1629).

⁵⁶ Sosa, *El Episcopado Mexicano*, I, 177.

⁵⁷ A. C., VIII, fol. 374v (May 14, 1632); IX (1633-1639), fol. 35v (November 8, 1633).

⁵⁸ A. C., IX, fol. 32 (October 7, 1633).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 400v (November 15, 1639). Eight days later the chapter appropriated

hired as a *triple* at a mere 100 pesos annually 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.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹ Like so many other Mexican musicians from Franco and Hernández to Carrillo and Chávez who started poor and ended rich, Rodríguez Mata was wealthy enough at his decease in 1643 to endow two chaplaincies.⁶²

His successor, Luis Coronado, was the first of three successive Mexico City maestros who rose to the chapelmaster's podium from the organist's bench. Fabián [Pérez] Ximeno, who followed Coronado as principal organist, succeeded him as maestro de capilla on March 31, 1648.⁶³ Composer of a *Batalla Mass a 12* surviving at Puebla Cathedral, Ximeno went there on May 2 of the same year to test the new grand organ being installed for the consecration of the Puebla Cathedral on April 18, 1649.⁶⁴ His gratuity was 200 pesos; on other occasions he received like emoluments. Even so, he found his musical services often less in demand at Mexico City than those of a celebrated Negro band that undercut him, his assistant Juan Coronado, and other instrumentalists in the cathedral, when special music was needed for a funeral, profession, or reception. On May 2, 1651, he therefore petitioned the chapter to forbid "bands of musicians, and in particular, one led by a Negro, from officiating at Masses, because of their indecent manner of singing and their mistakes." He wished them excluded from other acts also, because they mixed nonsense in with the text, and "because they took fees which the Cathedral choir ought rightfully to be earning."⁶⁵ In reply, the

100 pesos for their repair (fol. 402v), after which they were to be put some place where they would not be mistreated.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 167. Possibly, the *triple* (*A. C.*, V, fol. 410) is a mere homonym.

⁶¹ *A. C.*, X (1640-1650), fol. 101 (March 9, 1641).

⁶² *Ibid.*, fol. 238v (April 24, 1643). In the interim since Mata's appointment as tithe-collector, a cathedral musician active since at least 1632 (*A. C.*, VIII, fol. 374v)—Melchor de los Reyes—had served as *Theniente de Maestro de Capilla* at 300 pesos annually (*A. C.*, X, fol. 150v [February 14, 1642]).

⁶³ *A. C.*, X, fol. 637v. By terms of the appointment he was saddled with the inferior Juan Coronado as *ayudante*. November 28, 1642, Ximeno induced the chapter to hire Juan Vital = Vidal as *Maestro de hacer organos* and as organ-tuner.

⁶⁴ Stevenson, "The 'Distinguished Maestro' of New Spain," *HAHR*, XXXV, 367. For his Masses in the Puebla archive, see *Fontes artis musicae*, 1954/2, p. 77.

⁶⁵ *A. C.*, XI (1650-1653), fol. 33v. Ximeno presented first a request for more salary, "because he is poor and has served a long time." This was denied, with good reason

chapter counselled moderation and charity toward the bands against which Maestro Ximeno was complaining, because some of them included poor *clérigos* with no other means of subsisting; and promised to verify the activities *de la capilla del negro*.

Already at the moment of submitting his petition, Ximeno was negotiating with several of the best instrumentalists at Puebla, where under Maestro Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla's energetic direction music had grown to exceed the best that the capital had to offer. Three weeks after the petition, Ximeno handed in the list of *los músicos menestres* from Puebla whom he wished to add to his own staff.⁶⁶ Typical of those whom he wished to hire was the harpist Nicolás Grinón, reputedly the best in New Spain. In 1642 Grinón had turned down Mexico City for Puebla, where in 1651 his yearly pay was 200 pesos.⁶⁷ February 9, 1652, the Mexico City chapter could offer him only half that amount, but Ximeno persuaded him to accept temporarily. Finding that the chapter would not act to suppress the rival *capillas* and that only slim pickings remained to the Cathedral capilla, Ximeno reluctantly bade Grinón farewell seven months later.⁶⁸

With Ximeno's death in April, 1654, the combined post of organist-chapelmaster went to *bachiller* Francisco López Capillas, for 500 pesos annually. López's *mucha suficiencia y haurilidad, para d^{hos} ministerios* was so patent that none disputed his appointment.⁶⁹ Whom to choose

probably. A century later, Ximeno was still recalled as one of the two best-paid musicians in cathedral history (*A. C.*, XXXVI [1741-1744], fol. 35v [January 30, 1742]). His second request was that "se quitten las capillas de músicos, Y en particular, Vna de vn negro, por la indecenssia, con que cantan, y dispartates que dizen en el officiar las missas, Y en otros actos tocantes al ministerio [fol. 34] de Iglessia, fuera de que se minoran las obensiones, dela Capilla dela Cathedral, donde es interesada la fabrica."

⁶⁶ *A. C.*, XI, fol. 43 (May 26, 1651).

⁶⁷ *A. C.*, X, fols. 176 (July 8, 1642, allowed 15 days to take his parents to Puebla), 198 (November 21, 1642, decides to stay in Puebla). The consecration of the completed Puebla Cathedral on April 18, 1649, climaxed the golden decade of Puebla music. When salary cuts were ordered in 1651, Grinón was one of three musicians to escape ("The 'Distinguished Maestro,'" p. 368).

⁶⁸ *A. C.*, XI, fols. 138v (hired at 100 pesos), 199v (resignation September 3). Hernando López Calderón succeeded Grinón December 7, 1654, with 60 pesos annually and the obligation of coming only when specially called. February 18, 1656, his salary rose to 150 pesos on condition that he come more frequently (*A. C.*, XII [1652-1655], fol. 139; XIII [1656-1660], fol. 233v).

⁶⁹ *A. C.*, XII, fol. 40v (April 21, 1654): "Nombrasse al B^r Francisco Lopez Capillas presbitero por M^{ro} de la Capilla y Muzica desta Sta Yglesia, y por organista de ella." Ten days earlier, the chapter had posted "edictos, con termino de quarenta dias" (fol. 35v). However, López Capillas already enjoyed such fame in Mexico City that the chapter commissioned him the very day of issuing *edictos* to compose the Corpus

for his assistant posed the chapter with a more delicate problem—Juan Coronado, picked as Ximeno's assistant in 1648, or Francisco Vidal, Ximeno's nephew who was already showing signs of greater promise? The chapter compromised by dividing the 200-peso assistant's salary equally between Coronado and Vidal. As carrier of this Solomon's judgment to the pair, the chapter chose the treasurer, Canon Simón Esteban Beltrán de Alzate;⁷⁰ but his fair words could not hide from Coronado their choice of Vidal to alternate with López every other week on the organist's bench, except at double feasts. At the more solemn feasts, López was to direct, Vidal to play.⁷¹

The *primera solemne dedicación* of the cathedral on Purification, 1656, inaugurated the most brilliant music year since 1600. The Duke of Alburquerque, viceroy, suggested on January 28 that López was genius enough to write a four-choir Mass in time for St. James (July 25), when four bishops were to be consecrated—Mateo Sagada Bugeiro for the capital, Alonso de Cuevas Dávalos for Oaxaca, and two others.⁷² According to the viceroy's proposal, each of the four choirs would sing a Mass "complete in itself" and different from all the rest. Choirs from the city under their own chapelmasters would eke out the numbers needed for such musical panoply. They would be "so carefully divided into four equal choirs and well trained that the four different Masses sung simultaneously would blend into a perfectly harmonious whole."⁷³ Easily the prince of Mexico City chapelmasters since Franco, López won the complete confidence of the new archbishop before the year

Christi, Assumption, and SS. Peter and Paul chanzonetas. At present, López Capillas's only music in print is the extremely beautiful odd-verse *Magnificat secundi toni* published in Jesús Bal y Gay's *Tesoro* (see note 3 above), pp. 42-49, and recorded at Schoenberg Hall, UCLA, on April 18, 1961, by Roger Wagner. If this is a representative sample, López Capillas' three Masses, 12 motets, passion, and lamentation in a cathedral choirbook inventoried by Saldívar (*Historia de la Música en México*, p. 121) are hidden treasure awaiting the enterprising transcriber. Perhaps this very choirbook is the one presented by López Capillas to the chapter March 10, 1654 (*A. C.*, XII, fol. 26v).

⁷⁰ *A. C.*, XII, fol. 41. Preacher of the sermon at the first solemn dedication of the cathedral February 2, 1656, Beltrán de Alzate was in his own right a sufficiently wealthy Maecenas to endow special music for Assumption and St. Peter's, and to bequeath money for the printing of the villancico texts. See Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Obras Completas*, II (*Villancicos y Letras Sacras*), ed. by Alfonso Méndez Plancarte (México, 1952), facsimiles opp. pp. 144, 224, 320; J. T. Medina, *La Imprenta en México 1539-1821*, II (Santiago de Chile, 1907), 492, 494.

⁷¹ *A. C.*, XII, fol. 183v (April 6, 1655).

⁷² *A. C.*, XIII, fol. 16v.

⁷³ "Que se encarguen A los Maestros de Capp^a Las diuicciones de los quatro Choros Lo qual ajusten con todo Cuidado Para que a vnos y otros ni vnos a otros se hagan disonancia sin que [fol. 17] con toda perfeccion se Ministren Las quatro Missas."

was finished. His virtues (*lo mucho que ha trabajado*) continued to protect him even when the powerful *licenciado* Bartolomé de Quevedo complained to the chapter on June 4, 1660, that Maestro López had insulted him and profaned the sacred enclosure the previous Wednesday.⁷⁴

However, neither the archbishop's protection nor his own acknowledged merits availed him in 1661, when he tried persuading the chapter that "the offices of maestro de capilla and organist cannot properly be filled by the same person."⁷⁵ For more than two decades, the custom of conducting from the organ bench at every event less than a double feast had given Mexico City two musicians—maestro de capilla and organist—for the price of one. This economy at the highest musical level served as a frequent example when other savings were being suggested; for instance, (1) in the secret chapter meeting of December 23, 1642, to discuss lowering of musicians' salaries, (2) in the open meeting of March 3, 1643, when a one-tenth reduction for all *músicos* and the interdicting of new appointments was broached, (3) on June 28, 1652, when a musicians' petition for lighter fines was refused, (4) on April 30, 1655, when Joseph de Loaysa and Cristóbal Bardo won reluctant increases with the proviso that no more petitions for raises would be entertained, (5) on August 26, 1661, when the chapter decided to grapple with the thorny problem of cuts through three successive meetings, (6) on September 2, 1661, when the chapter met the threat of a combined walkout by clapping a 20-peso fine on any musician heard advocating such "union" tactics.⁷⁶ With memories such as these, the chapter could listen patiently on September 13, 1661, to López's denunciation of the hermaphroditic organist-chapelmaster union, and could even agree that the union was harmful.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, they advised him to go on living with the "bad custom" as best he could, because for *justos motivos y causas superiores* no alleviation was in sight.

The first "native-born American" elected a Mexican archbishop was Feliciano de la Vega, born in Lima and translated from Popayán in 1639. The first "native of Mexico City" was Cuevas Dávalos, trans-

⁷⁴ A. C., XIII, fol. 404v. Quevedo demanded that López be fined no less than 50 pesos, but the chantre protested "no es conveniente tenga tanta superioridad e imperio" and the canónigo magistral reminded the chapter of López's "puntualidad, y su Virtud." Another canon came to López's rescue calling attention to "how hard he had worked" both at ceremonies and "en los conciertos de capilla" ("chapel concerts"). López had more friends to defend him than Juan de Araujo at Sucre in a similarly tight spot (*The Music of Peru*, pp. 188-189).

⁷⁵ A. C., XIV (1661-1662), fol. 40v (September 13, 1661).

⁷⁶ A. C., X, fols. 205v, 228v; XI, fol. 172v; XII, fol. 197v; XIV, fols. 37, 38v.

⁷⁷ A. C., XIV, fol. 40v.

lated from Oaxaca in 1664.⁷⁸ Upon entrance in November, Cuevas Dávalos at once suggested receiving *bachiller* Nicolás de Rivas for músico at a 150-peso salary.⁷⁹ Though the chapter could find funds for this unneeded addition, money was not available for López's necessities. When time for the annual Christmas music came the next month, he seems to have decided on a new tack—no new compositions and no special performances. On December 16, the chapter called him to explain why no villancicos were being prepared and why such pitifully meager performances were being staged. He replied that those extras were not part of his job, whereupon the chapter drew up the following notice: "For 80 years Mexico City chapelmasters have been composing the villancicos, and if López does not wish to continue doing so, a proper remedy will be found."⁸⁰ The chapter also complained that the Saturday *Salves* lacked luster, because too many singers were playing truant to go to sing for more money elsewhere.⁸¹

With the arrival of an unmatched prelate, Fray Payo Enríquez de Rivera,⁸² in 1668, López's fortunes mended. His musical advice was at last taken seriously enough for the chapter to engage as principal organist Licenciado Joseph Ydiáquez, the best organ teacher⁸³ and one of the more exceptional performers⁸⁴ in the three colonial centuries. So well was he doing within only a few months of being hired that the chapter on January 10, 1673, voluntarily doubled his salary.⁸⁵ A month later

⁷⁸ Sosa, *El Episcopado Mexicano*, I, 184; 277-278, 290 (consecrated for Oaxaca October 13, 1656), 299 (translation to Mexico City).

⁷⁹ *A. C.*, XVI (1664-1667), fols. 119, 120v.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 122v: "Hauiendo llamado al M^{ro} de Capilla para sauer por que se hauian escusado los Villancicos y demas solemnidad q̄ se acostumbra, Respondio no ser de su cargo, Cossa que le hizo mucha nouedad a Su Señoria y assi hacia esta propuesta . . . = Determinose se notifique al M^{ro} de Capilla acuda segun ha sido costumbre de ochenta años a este parte a Componer los Villancicos, segun que le toca por su obligacion, y de no hacerlo assi se proueer el remedio que combenga."

⁸¹ As early as November 11, 1557 (*A. C.*, I [1536-1559], fol. 150v), the chapter had to begin disciplining musicians who wandered off for extra pay elsewhere at hours when they were being paid for cathedral services. On February 4, 1578 (*A. C.*, III [1576-1609], fol. 46), Archbishop Moya de Contreras had to threaten with excommunication anyone who hired the boy choristers for unauthorized outside functions.

⁸² Sosa, *El Episcopado Mexicano*, II, 31.

⁸³ Ydiáquez taught Manuel de Zumaya, who occupies a place in Mexican music equal to that of José de Orejón y Aparicio in Peruvian. These two organist-composers outdistance all musicians known to have been born on American soil before 1800. Ydiáquez's other creole pupils included his successor as principal organist, Juan Téllez Xirón, and Cristóbal Antonio de Soña. See notes 118, 119, and 122 below.

⁸⁴ Ydiáquez was a "great tiento-player" (*A. C.*, XXIV [1695-1697], fol. 29).

⁸⁵ *A. C.*, XVIII (1670-1673), fol. 368.

López entered an intensive campaign to recruit singers from other parts of New Spain.⁸⁶ Best of all, López was himself rewarded by a *cedula* dated March 23, 1672, at Madrid, and effective at Mexico City on May 7, 1673, authorizing his promotion from half- to full-prebend.⁸⁷ So large did his personal income now grow that two generations later his *renta* was a legend. On January 30, 1742, Juan Téllez Xirón—who began as a cathedral *seise* in 1693 and as organist in 1697—remembered López's income as 1000 pesos in *renta* alone.⁸⁸

Bachiller Joseph de Agurto y Loaysa (or, Loaysa de Agurto on the title pages of villancicos published at Mexico City in 1685 and 1686) succeeded López as "maestro de los villancicos" in 1676, later in the same year as "maestro compositor," and as maestro de capilla sometime before 1685.⁸⁹ Villancicos were so much his forte that he composed the music for no less than five of the twelve canonical sets by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz—those for Assumption in 1676, 1679, 1685, for Conception in 1676, and for St. Peter in 1683.⁹⁰ As if these were insufficient, he composed the music also for the anonymous 1677 and 1686 Assumption villancico-sets which Méndez Plancarte attributes to Sor Juana.⁹¹ Against this impressive record of collaboration with the Tenth Muse, Antonio de Salazar (to be discussed next) composed the music for one canonical set and six "attributed" sets, Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana wrote for three canonical and one "attributed," and Mateo Vallados for one canonical.⁹² Were no other tokens of his importance available, the record of such unusual association with the famous poetess would suffice to insure Loaysa's fame. However, like Henry Lawes, whose fame depends somewhat more on associations with Milton than on mere musical talent, Loaysa seems to have had few other qualities to recommend him. Wearied with the eternal problem of choirboys, who in 1681 were being boarded and clothed by Juan Santos, their underpaid teacher of plainsong and polyphony, Loaysa on January 11 applauded the arch-deacon's proposal to cut the number down to no more than 20—less if possible.⁹³ Loaysa also welcomed in 1684 the easier solution of en-

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 372v (February 7, 1673).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 397v.

⁸⁸ *A. C.*, XXXVI (1741-1744), fol. 35v.

⁸⁹ Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Obras Completas*, II, 355, 365, facs. opp. p. 144.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 355, 388, 401, 365, 397.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 469, 499.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 427, 479, 485, 489, 494, 512, 517; 408, 413, 419, 506; 431.

⁹³ *A. C.*, XXI (1680-1683), fols. 38 (December 17, 1680), 54 (January 11, 1681).

trusting the soprano lead henceforth to a castrato, Bernado Melendes.⁹⁴ Castrati were not unknown in the New World before 1684: Francisco de Otal at Guamanga-Ayacucho in 1614 and at La Plata-Sucre in 1618 affords an earlier example.⁹⁵ However, even in Spain they were rare (Seville engaged a castrato for the first time in 1620⁹⁶).

Antonio de Salazar, who contrasts with Loaysa by being a composer of the first rank, was born in 1650, appointed maestro de capilla at Puebla on July 11, 1679,⁹⁷ and at Mexico City on September 3, 1688. In Puebla his industry soon became a byword. Latin hymns, Spanish villancicos, and instrumental music showed how versatile he could be. Six of his Latin hymns, one for March 19, two for June 29, one for July 25, and two for August 15, still survive in Puebla Choirbook V.⁹⁸ The villancico-sets grew to unheard-of lengths, with eight or nine district numbers in a set. The four suites with "Sor Juana" texts published at Puebla 1680-1684 contain 33 individual movements, the titles of which vary from *folías*, *jácara*, *kalenda*, and *negro*, to *ensaladilla*.⁹⁹

His fluency served him well when the time came for him to compete at Mexico City. The preliminaries to this appointment can be traced back to May 28, 1688, on which date Señor José Vidal de Figueroa suggested that the chapter revert to so time-honored a method of choosing the next chapelmaster as a competition publicly announced throughout New Spain. Wednesday, August 11, was named the closing date for applications to compete. A week later, 19 chapter-members assembled to set the terms of the examination.¹⁰⁰ The next morning, after the conventional tests in *canto llano y contrapunto*, all five candidates were handed the texts of a Latin motet and of a Spanish villancico, which they were to set before three the next afternoon. Between Friday afternoon and the next Wednesday, August 25, the voting members of the chapter had heard the compositions performed and were ready to vote. The scrutiny gave Salazar eight votes, and his nearest contender but three.¹⁰¹ His salary, which came up for consideration next, was set at

⁹⁴ A. C., XXII (1682 [sic]-1690), fols. 64, 125 (May 26, 1684). Melanges sang in Puebla Cathedral before coming to Mexico City.

⁹⁵ *The Music of Peru*, pp. 184-185, 202.

⁹⁶ Simón de la Rosa y López, *Los Seises de la Catedral de Sevilla* (Seville, 1904), p. 137.

⁹⁷ Date kindly supplied by Dr. Efraín Castro Morales of Puebla. For Salazar's birth-year, see note 126 below.

⁹⁸ *Fontes artis musicae*, 1954/2, p. 76.

⁹⁹ Méndez Plancarte ed., II, 262, 266 and 299, 270, 276, 289.

¹⁰⁰ A. C., XXII, fol. 313.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 315. Girón (first name not given) was his nearest opponent.

a yearly 500 pesos plus one real in every peso of the *obenciones*. In addition, he was to be given sufficient music paper for all his compositions and, at Canon Lope Cornejo de Contreras' instance, copying assistance so that "his works can be placed in the archive, as was done at Puebla."¹⁰²

That Salazar's concern for archives extended beyond his own compositions became at once apparent. Before Friday, September 3, when his appointment was formally read, he had already called attention to the maltreatment and dispersal of the Cathedral musical patrimony. No one knew just where the polyphonic books had fled, some thinking them to be in Loaysa's house at Toluca, others claiming that Maestro Carrión had them. When the latter surmise proved correct, the whole lot of *libros de canturía de órgano y Música figurada* were found to be in such bad condition that none was usable without costly repairs.¹⁰³ These were ordered, after which they were to be placed in a new and separate archive to which Salazar would have the key.

Gabriel Saldívar, who is the best equipped to know, calls Salazar's output of "Masses, motets, hymns, Te Deums,¹⁰⁴ and villancicos" larger than that of any other Mexico City maestro de capilla.¹⁰⁵ However, his only villancicos scored, their texts translated, and the music commented upon in *Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey* (pp. 143-147) are two for January 23, 1691 (Feast of St. Ildephonsus).¹⁰⁶ Even more interesting would be his entire villancico-sets for August 15, 1690, June 29, 1691, and June 29, 1692, when Sor Juana served as his poetess.¹⁰⁷ Her 1690 set ends with an ensalada that incorporates a juguete¹⁰⁸ and a jácara. In the jácara, Salazar cites the well-known folk tune *Yo voy con*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*: "que haga lo que en la Puebla, que ponga en archivo sus obras, y se le de para papel." Salazar's works were not the first to be so valued. February 1, 1619 (*A. C.*, VI, fol. 85), the chapter stipulated that Rodríguez Mata's 30 pesos for each set of chanzonetas would be paid "on condition he provides the Archive with a copy."

¹⁰³ *A. C.*, XXII, fol. 318v.

¹⁰⁴ Sosa (*El Episcopado Mexicano*, II, 57, 62, 66) quotes contemporary descriptions of cathedral ceremonies, November 13, 1701, and January 29, 1702, including Salazar's Te Deum.

¹⁰⁵ Saldívar, *Música en México*, pp. 108-109.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-108 [*sic*], 110-111.

¹⁰⁷ Méndez Plancarte ed., II, 148-163, 330-342, 342-353.

¹⁰⁸ Juguetes were as popular in Peru as in Mexico throughout the 1690's. But Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, Lima chapelmaster 1676-1728, wrote a letter to a Cuzco colleague (found by Rubén Vargas Ugarte in the Seminary library at Cuzco), warning him to abandon such "jocular music" if he hoped to please an austere archbishop elected in 1703. See *The Music of Peru*, p. 107. When they crept back into favor at Sucre c. 1772, juguetes took the form of gay sung playlets (*ibid.*, p. 205).

toda la artillería to give flavor at the outset.¹⁰⁹ For the intermezzo opening the third nocturn of her 1691 set, Salazar assembled no less than 15 different instruments. In Peter and the Wolf style, these played short solo passages in the following order: bugle, trumpet, sackbut, cornet, [portative] organ, bassoon, violin, shawn, marine trumpet, bass viol, cittern, vihuela, small rebeck, bandore, and harp.¹¹⁰

Although a more representative body of Salazar's works must be scored before any critique of his oeuvre can be relied upon, the milestones of his long Mexico City career can at least be set up here to guide future investigation. His first five years in the capital saw the installation of a new grand organ, built in Madrid by the famous Jorge de Sesma. To insure that the contract with the Madrid builder was scrupulously fulfilled, the *chantre* spent several months in Spain (1689-1690) and there engaged Don Tiburcio Sanz de Izaguirre, his brother Félix, and another assistant to accompany the organ to Mexico City.¹¹¹ This trio arrived at Vera Cruz in October 1692, and exactly two years later Don Tiburcio could report to the chapter completion of the organ case, chambers for the pipes, two bellows, an added octave for the *corneta de eco* stop, and the tuning of all pipes a half-step higher than when they had left Spain—because Mexico City pitch was a semitone above homeland pitch.¹¹² For all these services 4,000 pesos of a contracted 12,000 were still owing October 1, 1694.

Before final settlement the chapter insisted, of course, on inspection. The five-member inspecting team consisted of Dr. Juan de Narváez, a prebendary, Joseph [de] Ydiáquez, principal organist since 1673, Francisco de Orsuchi[1], second organist and tuner since 1656,¹¹³ Diego de León, a cathedral musician who was a boy chorister in 1673,¹¹⁴ and

¹⁰⁹ Méndez Plancarte ed., II, 161. Such popular touches came usually at the close of the last nocturn.

¹¹⁰ Méndez Plancarte ed., II, 339-340, 516. Data on the contemporary use of many of these same instruments at Lima in Sas, "La vida musical," pp. 23-32.

¹¹¹ A. C., XXII, fol. 394 (January 17, 1690). The dean thought Don Tiburcio's prospective wages ought to be set before leaving Spain, but Joseph Vidal de Figueroa, cura of the Sagrario, did not think this kind of decision possible before arrival. For Don Tiburcio's biography, see Saldívar, pp. 189-190.

¹¹² A. C., XXIII (1691-1695), fol. 331 (October 1, 1694); XXIV (1695-1697), fol. 29 (May 17, 1695).

¹¹³ A. C., XIII, fol. 116 (December 19, 1656). Hired at the small sum of 50 pesos to play when the *ayudante* could not come, and to tune, Orsuchi hung on in 1699 (A. C., XXV [1698-1701], fol. 72v) but had always been a poor player. February 16, 1700, someone proposed diverting his 60 pesos to the up-and-coming teen-age organist, Juan Téllez Xirón (fol. 154), but the more humane solution of retirement on "full" pay was accepted.

¹¹⁴ A. C., XVIII, fol. 369 (January 13, 1673).

Joseph de Espinosa de los Monteros, bassoonist. Orsuschil's sealed report of May 17, 1695, asked several questions: (1) why do diapasons sound so much like flutes? (2) why does the *octava* of the great organ break into a *medio registro* at Middle C but the octava of the choir [*cadereta*] not divide thus? (3) are any pipes missing from mixture ranks, and are all mixtures properly labeled? (4) is the *corneta magna* of seven pipes per note under two expression pedals or only one? ¹¹⁵ (5) do any pipes of the cymbel duplicate *lleno*-pipes in the *cadereta*? (6) why did the first four ranks sound so much brighter and fuller when installed than now? (7) does the difficulty in keeping mixtures in tune have anything to do with placement of the pipes or wind pressure? (8) why are the big *contra* pipes not more advantageously placed? (9) does the lead in the diapasons cause them to heat more quickly when the sun strikes them?

Don Tiburcio's replies are no less revealing than the questions: (1) the quality of the diapasons was determined in Spain, where not the same sound-ideals prevail; (2) the *medio registro* in the great and entero in the *cadereta* increase the organist's options, but pipes have not been curtailed; (3) no pipes are missing from the mixtures, except that one mutation stop labeled a Twelfth uses the same pipes as another labeled a Nineteenth; (4) only one swell pedal controls the *corneta magna*; (5) for lack of room, the cymbel does duplicate *lleno*-pipes in the *cadereta* organ; (6) when first installed, the four ranks sounded louder because there were no other pipes in front; (7) pipes for the *mixturas principales de los flautados* [= diapasons], *octauas*, *quinzenas*, *decimonouenas*, y demás are all properly placed; (8) the contras were not in the original plan; (9) mixtures, especially those with four pipes to the note, always go out of tune at every slight temperature shift. Even with these replies, Dr. Narváez doubted that the mixtures had sufficient "corpulency" (*corpulencia de voces y sonido*) to accompany the choir. When Don Tiburcio admitted that the character of the sound could not be revised short of a major overhaul, the chapter

¹¹⁵ According to Drs. M. A. Vente and W. Kok, "Organs in Spain and Portugal," *The Organ*, XXXV (October, 1955), p. 60, the swell box is almost certainly an Iberian invention. "The swell box is not operated by a long flat pedal as we have known since the 19th century, but by a pedal knob which must be pressed down." A cornet nearly always went in its own swell box, and if *medio registro*, treble and bass of the cornet would each need a separate swell pedal. Page 62: "The swell box deviates strongly from the common type [outside the Peninsula], but its effect is even greater; there are no slatted blinds; the swell box is indeed a little box of which the upper cover can be opened and closed." Vente and Kok's translations of Spanish names for organ stops deserve careful attention: *flautado* = diapason, *tapadillo* = flute, and *lleno* = mixture. *ldas y venidas* or *suspensión* = swell pedal.

decided to pay extra for “four or five louder mixtures” (*mixturas de cañuteria de sonido recio que siruiesen al lleno*), the new pipes filling the vacancy left after pulling out the *punto alto* pipes.¹¹⁶

Having spent so much on the new grand organ, the chapter next grappled with the problem of training organists. After Salazar certified that a choirboy named Cristóbal Antonio de Soña was taking daily lessons from Ydiáquez, the chapter placed the youth on a 20-peso yearly salary to help clothe him. For each day he missed a lesson, he was to be fined.¹¹⁷ May 25, 1694, the dean recommended that Manuel de Zumaya, another cathedral choirboy, be given 30 pesos for clothing expense and placed on a yearly salary of 50 or 60 pesos while taking daily lessons with Ydiáquez and assisting in cathedral services when required.¹¹⁸ As reasons for this generosity the dean voiced his desire to restrain so musically talented a lad 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*).¹¹⁹ Zumaya proved the happiest choice possible for such generosity when he later succeeded Salazar as maestro de capilla and in 1711 distinguished himself by writing the first North American opera, *La Parténope*.¹²⁰ Still another youth who was supported while studying organ with Ydiáquez, Juan Téllez [Xirón], started with an 80-peso yearly salary on January 5, 1697. Again, the chapter made the salary conditional on the ex-choirboy’s “taking an organ lesson every day.”¹²¹

Like Ydiáquez, Salazar took pupils supported by the chapter. José Pérez de Guzmán, an exceptionally talented choirboy, began lessons with him on January 10, 1696. The chapter subsidized the lessons and

¹¹⁶ *Punto alto* stops were drawn by the organist when he wished pieces written in F to sound in G. According to Ydiáquez, *punto alto* was used only to accompany bassoon, cornet, or shawn when these players came up to the organ loft to play solo *versos*. They were never used to accompany the singers. After Don Tiburcio had re-tuned the main body of the organ to Mexico City pitch (semitone higher than Madrid), the *punto alto* mixtures served as automatic transposers from F to Mexico City F # = Madrid G. Since *punto alto* did not serve even for solo tientos, Ydiáquez’ forte, he advised dispensing with the whole *punto alto* group.

¹¹⁷ A. C., XXIII, fol. 132v (January 9, 1663).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 297v.

¹¹⁹ In a petition dated May 24 (1694), Zumaya asked to be dismissed from cathedral employ with the customary terminal pay granted graduating *seises*. The petition asked *licencia para salir a aprender organo*.

¹²⁰ See *Music in Mexico*, p. 149. For his drama celebrating Luis Fernando’s birth, *El Rodrigo* (printed in 1708), see Medina, III (1908), p. 398.

¹²¹ A. C., XXIV, fol. 197.

gave the boy a 50-peso salary.¹²² By 1708 Pérez de Guzmán had made sufficient progress to be elected chapelmaster at Oaxaca.¹²³ Another notable pupil was the *bachiller* Manuel Francisco de Cárdenas, who arrived from Guadalajara on July 6, 1700, with a four-month leave to prepare for *sochantre* with Salazar. Possessor of a *muy buena voz*, he was invited to stay in Mexico City, where in 1710 he was earning 200 pesos from the cathedral while continuing to study “at Salazar’s house.”¹²⁴

On January 10 of the latter year, Salazar petitioned the chapter to excuse him henceforth from teaching the boy choristers in the *escoleta*. “Not all the choristers need to know counterpoint,” he averred. However, “he would be glad to continue teaching counterpoint to the prospective succentors who would come to his house.” Now sixty, he claimed to be almost blind and in bad health.¹²⁵ The chapter agreed to free him from his *escoleta* duties but not to discontinue the teaching of counterpoint. Instead, Zumaya was deputed to teach counterpoint in the *escoleta* every Monday and Thursday, “as the statute requires.”¹²⁶ When Zumaya was also selected to substitute for Salazar in the cathedral, Bachiller Francisco de Atienza filed a counterpetition on February 11, claiming that he had frequently substituted for Salazar seven years previously and was much senior to Zumaya. Some chapter members agreed in the meeting of June 27 that no organist could conduct from the bench. Moreover, 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 who was to conduct at each Mass.”¹²⁷ Piqued at not having his way, Atienza departed for Puebla not long thereafter.¹²⁸

¹²² *Ibid.*, fol. 110v; salary mentioned at fol. 197. The three students that he taught in 1692 are named in *A. C.*, XXIII, fol. 37v (January 8).

¹²³ *A. C.*, XXVI (1706-1710), fol. 157v (February 28, 1708). On the same day, the chapter obligated all three cathedral organists—Zumaya, Téllez, and Esquivel—to teach talented choirboys polyphony, so that the stream of new candidates for important positions would not dry up.

¹²⁴ *A. C.*, XXV, fol. 211; XXVI (1706-1710), fol. 337.

¹²⁵ *A. C.*, XXVI, fols. 336v-337.

¹²⁶ Now a priest, Zumaya had been dispensed from the normal intervals between tonsure and the orders by an act dated February 12, 1700 (*A. C.*, XXV, fol. 157v).

¹²⁷ *A. C.*, XXVI, fol. 376.

¹²⁸ Miguel de Dallo y Lana succeeded Antonio de Salazar December 16, 1688; *edictos* announcing a competition for his successor were issued on September 1, 1705, shortly after his death. Atienza became *maestro* no later than 1712. Between 1715 and 1722, twelve sets of villancicos for which he had composed the music were published at Puebla. J. T. Medina inventoried the copies in the Biblioteca Palafoxiana (*La imprenta en la Puebla de los Angeles* [Santiago, 1908], pp. 184, 185, 187, 189, 191, 194, 195, 201,

After Salazar's apogee, Mexico City cathedral music traces a parabolic curve downward during the next half-century. Sufficient documentation to prove this decline could be marshalled from the books of capitular acts numbered XXX-XLIV (1731-1762) to double the present article. However, so melancholy a tale would serve only a sociological, not a musical, end. Instead, the baldest summary will therefore be added here by way of a mid-eighteenth-century coda. 1731: July 6 and 20. Five recently named boy choristers prove so sickly and inept that they must be dismissed. 1732: July 29. Bachiller Juan Peres, master of the boys, neglects teaching them plainsong. 1734: January 12. Maestro Zumaya protests suspension of the choirboy school (*escoleta*). May 11. Having complied with requests of the two cathedral organists—Juan Téllez Xirón and Joseph Xuárez—to fix one organ, Joseph Nazarre (master organ-builder¹²⁹) agrees to fix the cadereta of the other. May 18. Archbishop Vizarrón y Eguiarreta (1730-1749) becomes interested in Nazarre's plans for two matching grand organs on opposite sides of the *coro*.¹³⁰ 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 than windplayers as cathedral *músicos*. August 14. The old small organ must be transferred to a side-chapel¹³¹ so that Nazarre's second grand organ can occupy its tribune. 1735: January 7, October 31, December 10, December 13. Placement of the new organs stirs up such acrimony that the *chantre* asks for dismissal of two cathedral organists.¹³² 1736:

202 [twice], 206 [twice]). His name on the title pages of these villancicos is always Francisco de Atienza y Pineda *presbítero*. Any hard feelings against Zumaya in 1710 did not prevent Atienza from adding numerous compositions by his erstwhile rival to the Puebla repertory. Zumaya's altogether admirable villancico which is in effect a solo cantata for tenor and accompanying ensemble, *A la Asunción de Nuestra Señora*, dated 1719, was transcribed not from a Mexico City but rather from a Puebla manuscript by Alice Ray [Catalyne]. To date, this 1719 piece at Puebla is Zumaya's only recorded villancico. Richard Robinson was the soloist, Roger Wagner the conductor, and John Korman and Joan Druckenmiller were the obligato violins in the April 30, 1961 Schoenberg Hall, UCLA performance during which the recording was taken. Because Saldívar fell prey to a faulty transcription of a Zumaya villancico dated 1715 (*Música en México*, pp. 112-113), Zumaya's reputation has suffered in modern Mexico, quite unjustly. The recording will convince even the casual listener that Zumaya was a true master.

¹²⁹ See Nicolás León, *Bibliografía Mexicana del siglo XVIII* (México, 1903), Sec. I, pt. 2, p. 223 (*Gazeta de México*, núm. 370); also p. 557. Before coming to Mexico City, Nazarre built a 2226-pipe organ for Guadalajara. The 86 *mixturas* in his *nuevo famoso Organo* for Mexico City Cathedral were inaugurated August 15, 1735, amidst splendor rarely equalled in colonial annals.

¹³⁰ See C. C. Kerr's article (note 9).

¹³¹ Later given to the Congregación del Sr San Pedro (*A. C.*, XXXIII [1735-1736], fol. 129 [October 31, 1735]).

¹³² Three days later, they made their peace with him (*A. C.*, XXXIII, fol. 144).

April 24. New *ministriles* are hired who can play violin, viola, violoncello, bass-viol, trumpet, clarion, *y otros instrumentos*. September 18, October 23. The principal organist at Puebla plus the organists at San Francisco and San Agustín in the capital are invited to come to inspect and play the now completed Nazarre organs. November 22. The archbishop-vice-roy professes complete delight with the new organs. Nazarre certifies Joseph Casela as an adequate tuner, but the chapter insists that he post bond not to damage the organs. 1737: December 3. 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 friend, departs for Oaxaca to take up his duties as bishop. 1739: January 13, 22, 30. Nazarre having died, the chapter proposes charging his estate for added work on the bellows and ducts of the old organ that he was supposed to have repaired. Casela asks 500 pesos for these added repairs, but after the Puebla maestro declares this exorbitant, the chapter suggests that Casela show himself "a man of good faith." August 29. Inasmuch as Zumaya has accepted Bishop Montaña's invitation to Oaxaca, without Mexico City cathedral license, the canons commission three formal letters adjuring his return. 1740: January 8. Zumaya's disregarding all three 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). February 19. The organist Juan Antonio Pérez Zamora brings a certificate of illness and requests a month's rest. June 28. Jacinto Zapata, second harpist, has been substituting for his "sick" father eight years, but the invalid is always able to appear on first-class days when tips are in prospect. 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*. Since a 1500-peso salary (500 renta, 200 escoleta, 800 obenciones) has failed to uncover any talents in Mexico, nought remains but to write Seville for help. May 12. Pedro Bernárdez de Rivera, a *colegial de los infantes* who is about to lose his voice, has been studying harp with the "invalid" Salvador Zapata, and now asks for lessons at chapter expense with the son, Jacinto Zapata; prudence suggests to the chapter, however, that Jacinto's extra pay for these lessons start the moment the boy shows fruit. The lad also asks the Rector of the *colegio* to

buy him an oboe or bassoon, since the cathedral needs players versed on several instruments. July 11. Such ambition is rare, the more usual *colegial* being as lazy and careless as Joseph de Siles, whom the Vice-Rector now secures permission to expel with a 30-peso gratuity to help the sluggard get started in the world outside. September 20. True to expectation, neither Jacinto nor his father Salvador is teaching the lad Pedro Bernárdez harp. One of the father-son team must give the lad a daily lesson, or face discipline. The 13-year-old orphaned son of cathedral violinist Antonio Rodríguez applies for his father's post claiming that he can sight-read anything. September 28. The boy-violinist Juan Rodríguez is hired at his father's salary, but obenciones are to go to the widowed mother, left with two younger children. Juan must study two other instruments with Ignacio Podrosa, clarion and French horn.¹³³ 1742: After 49 years on the organ bench, Juan Téllez Xirón has so deteriorated that he should be reduced to 400 pesos and asked to come on first-class days only. Juan Antonio Argüello, who proved himself Christmas Eve, deserves to succeed him as principal organist. January 30. Téllez holds out for 600, not 400 pesos. His services include the training of eight competent organists during his long term in office. This number fails to impress the chapter, remembering that Ydiáquez did much better in half the time. February 10. Téllez's retirement salary can be 400, and he need not come at all. 1743: January 8. Now that Bishop Montaña is dead and Zumaya remains in Oaxaca as mere *cura interino de la catedral* he might be persuaded to return. The dean and other chapter members agree to ask him back. 1745: October 9. Bass-singers no longer comprise a part of the cathedral choir, which consists instead of tenors, *contra altos, primeros y segundos tiples*. The instruments playing the bass-part include *biolón de quatro* (string-), *vajón y vajoncillo* (woodwinds). 1746: Téllez, getting 450, still comes occasionally, but should stop altogether. Joseph Xuárez, titular first organist, is dying of *cangrio en la caja, que se le va comiendo*. Argüello cannot do everything, and the trainee, Baltasar de Salvatierra, is still too much of a boy to attempt the large organs. The priest Pedro Molina, formerly first organist at Puebla, would make a good choice at 250 pesos plus obenciones. 1747: January 10. Cathedral music, both instrumental and vocal, continues to grow worse and worse, agree the canons. The senior singers are laxest. 1748: November 15. The violin has become so much the rage that none of the cathedral instrumentalists is willing to play bassoon or cornet. 1749: January 7. The organs are dirty, the instrumental music reeks, the singers come late and chatter

¹³³ *Clarín y cuerno de caza* (A. C., XXXVI [1741-1744], fol. 6).

continuously, playing their usual pranks (*zangonautlas*). Matheo Torres, the only promising boy, is spoiling his voice while lugging too many heavy choirbooks. 1752: January 7. Ignacio Hierusalem (= Jerusalem = Jerusalem), interim chapelmaster since 1749, comes when he pleases, and the music has reached a nadir. The dean suggests petitioning Archbishop Rubio y Salinas (1749-1765) for a minimum of three or four respectable church musicians to be brought from Spain. Under the influence of the Italian Hierusalem, brought over to play in the Coliseo de México, not the cathedral, Mexican musicians disdain everything but the theater. 1754: December 10. Hierusalem gouges his own *músicos* for lessons which the chapter is paying him to give free. He refuses also to pay his debts. 1755: January 7. The Christmas season music could not have been worse, with even the *Magnificat de la O* lacking *música, vajones, y de contrapunto*. 1756: January 9. Despairing of local aid, the chapter is still awaiting a ship from Spain that will bring deliverance from the Italian theater-violinist Hierusalem. 1761: None has come bearing a sweet-singing Quetzalcóatl, but in the last year Hierusalem has at last amended his dissolute life and has consented to attend more diligently to his cathedral duties. His presence must therefore be endured another year.¹³⁴

ROBERT STEVENSON

*University of California,
Los Angeles, California*

¹³⁴ In contrast with Mexico City, Lima was in the hands of the consummate creole José de Orejón y Aparicio (d. 1765), whose compositions place him on a par with Zumaya. See *The Music of Peru*, pp. 87-89, 286-303.