



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 *Miquel 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.



Supernus: Missa. auj. Re Sol Fran. Lopez

Kyrie eleison Kyrie eleison

Kyrie eleison Kyrie eleison

Missa. auj. Re Sol Fran. Lopez

Kyrie eleison Kyrie eleison

Kyrie eleison Kyrie eleison

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

Supernus: Missa. auj. Re Sol Fran. Lopez

Agnus Dei Agnus Dei

ALTUS. Missa. auj. Re Sol Fran. Lopez

Agnus Dei Agnus Dei

TENOR. Missa. auj. Re Sol Fran. Lopez

Agnus Dei Agnus Dei

BASSIS. Missa. auj. Re Sol Fran. Lopez

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 Lienas in the so-called Convento del Carmen Codex.⁶ The two items thus identifiable as Lienas'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 Lienas'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 Lienas, 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 Lienas'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 Lienas's contribution to the Convento del Carmen Codex, Robert Stevenson proposed identifying Lienas as "at least an hidalgo if not a cacique" because of "the use of 'don' or its abbreviation before 'Juan de Lienas' 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 Lienas," "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, Lienas 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 Lienas 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 Lianas" 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

Lianas 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 Tepotztlán = *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 Tepotztlán 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 Músicos, 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 *chantré* 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.^o 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.^o 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 Boluntatis 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.