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The musical inventory of Mexico Cathedral, 1589: a lost document rediscovered

SHORTLY after the conquest of Tenochtitlan from the Aztecs in 1521, Cortés decided to establish the political, religious and economic capital of viceregal New Spain in Mexico City. In that city the first printing press in the New World was set up in 1539 by Juan de Pablos, an Italian printer who worked as an agent for Juan Cromberger, three provincial councils regulating the establishment of the Church in New Spain (1555–85) were held, and the Tribunal of the Inquisition (1571) was founded, as was the Royal and Pontifical University (1553) where the viceregal intellectual élite was educated. The cathedral, constructed in 1530 on the site of the legendary Aztec temple and elevated to a metropolitan see in 1546, has long been considered to be one of the most important centres for the cultivation of polyphony in the New World. Both its strategic geographical situation on one of the main communication routes linking Europe with America, and its rich musical history, especially since Steven Barwick discovered some polyphonic books there in the 1940s, have served to establish this idea.¹ Research by Robert Stevenson and other local historians such as Jesús Estrada and Gabriel Saldivar confirmed the presence of an exceptionally vibrant musical life in the city right from the start of the Spanish colonial period.²

However, little is known about the music performed in Mexico Cathedral in the 16th century since the earliest sources date only from the first quarter of the 17th century. This major gap can be partially filled thanks to a rich and highly detailed inventory of the music books and papers that were held in the cathedral towards the end of 1589 (see *illus.1*). In spite of the usual problems of identification that inevitably limit this kind of document, this

inventory is fascinating, not only for the breadth of repertory it contains and the degree of detail in which this repertory is described, but also because it affords a glimpse into certain aspects of the music performed at a New World cathedral at the end of the 16th century.³ During my research in Mexico, I recently relocated this document, which had been mislaid since 1940.⁴

The 1589 inventory of music books forms part of a bundle of papers bound in a large volume containing a number of different inventories drawn up in the 16th and 17th centuries of ‘the possessions, silver, ornaments and other things’ (*‘los bienes, plata, ornamentos y otras cosas’*) belonging to the cathedral. The inclusion of music books among the cathedral valuables (*‘tesoro’*) occurs frequently in this period. The bundle containing this inventory is dated 1585–9, and includes three inventories of interest for music in the cathedral.⁵ The first is an inventory of the organs which bears witness to the existence of ‘two main organs consisting of all their mixtures and other stops, with none of the necessary pipes missing’ (*‘dos órganos principales cumplidos de todas sus mixturas y composiciones, que no les falta cañón ninguno de los necesarios’*). The second lists 27 missals, mostly post-tridentine or ‘new’ missals from the great printing-houses of the mid-16th century such as Plantin in Antwerp and the Junta family in Venice. Among those liturgical books printed in Spain, eight printed by Guillermo Foquel in Salamanca (two in 1587, two in 1588, and four more in 1589, the year in which the inventory was drawn up), are included, reflecting the rapidity with which new editions reached the New World.

153

Y nventario de los libros de musica que
ay en esta yglesia asi de mol de como
de mano hasta y nueve de diez em
tre de mill y quic y ochenta y
nueve años

89

ARCHIVO DE LA
CATEDRAL DE MEXICO

V Primera mente vn libro grande de plie
go de marca mayor de mol de Enquadernado
en tablás y badana amarilla con
sus manuscritos de flandes y impresso
en Roma Sthypsiographia Dominici
Bassi año de 1582 autor es Tome laubra
de beffra es de missa de quatro tiempo
y seis voces.

2 y otro libro de la misma enca de ma
con motos impresso del mismo autor
impresso el año 1582 es de missa de
quatro voces y de otras cosas de ma
de a cinco y ocho voces.

V y otro libro de la misma y impresso y
del mismo autor y de la misma Enquadernacion
impresso en Roma clario de 1581 es
de Himnos de clario de quatro voces y
de algunos psalmos de ocho voces.

V y otro libro grande de marca mayor en
quadernado en papelones de beffra leona
do y de otras cosas de missa de
y impresso en Roma año de 1585 es de
retes de sanctos de quatro cinco seis y
ocho voces.

V y otro libro grande de mol de de papel
de marca mayor enquadernado en papel
negro y badana negro impresso en Paris Sth

1 First page of the inventory of the music library of Mexico City Cathedral (1589) (by permission of the Chapter of Mexico Cathedral)

The third of these inventories, the focus of this article, lists the polyphonic books and was completed on 9 December 1589; it consists of four folios and has a total of 208 entries (see the Appendix). Among the eleven composers mentioned in the document are some of the most celebrated of the 16th century; the wide range of musical genres represented reflects the importance of music in the metropolitan cathedral. No rubric or heading is found in the document which presents a mix of choirbooks, partbooks, and works copied on loose sheets (*cuadernos*) in Latin and Castilian. It almost certainly follows the order of the books on the shelves arranged according to size: first, the choirbooks (with printed books before manuscripts), followed by the partbooks and the separate items in Latin and Castilian. A comparison with other cathedral inventories of the period shows that Mexico had one of the richest collections in the whole of the Spanish world (see Table 1).

The reason for the copying of this inventory in 1589 is not known since there is no evidence that the music was transferred from one custodian to another at that time. The new chapelmaster Juan Hernández had been appointed in January 1586, so it may have been simply as a result of the reorganization of the musical material at a moment when all the cathedral valuables were being inventoried. Although the document is unsigned, it is possible that Juan Hernández, a senior member of the choir who was appointed a singer in 1568 and who was acting chapelmaster from 1586, was involved in its redaction. He was responsible for the music books at

that time and it is clear that he was greatly involved in the renewal and increase of music during his tenure, which lasted until about 1620. Taking advantage of his privileged position in the cathedral hierarchy and of the chapter's respect for him as a canon, administrator of the tithes and capitular secretary, Hernández copied and acquired a large number of music books. This activity stemmed from at least the 1570s when he composed and oversaw the printing of some chant melodies for the antiphoners published in Mexico in 1576 by Pedro de Ocharte.⁶ Curiously, not a single work listed in the inventory is attributed to Hernández, who nevertheless surely composed much of the music.

The imported repertory: the printed collections of polyphony

The polyphonic books are conveniently identified as printed ('de molde'), manuscript ('de mano') and for instrumentalists ('de ministriles'). Some printed books can be positively identified, since not only the composer's name and main musical genre, but also the city, printer and date of the edition are given. In other cases, only a brief physical description is provided so that no identification is possible. Even so, it is still possible to gain a fairly clear idea of the printed music in Latin held in 16 collections in Mexico Cathedral at the end of the 16th century (see Table 2).

Tomás Luis de Victoria is the best represented composer, with four of his collections printed in Rome (Appendix, nos.1–4). These volumes, published between 1581 and 1585, contained the main genres of Latin-texted polyphony (Masses, Magnificats, antiphons, hymns, psalms and motets); they reached Mexico only a few years after publication. From an analysis of other cathedral inventories of the period, it is clear that Mexico Cathedral in 1589—when Victoria had just returned from Rome to Spain—held one of the largest collections of his music.⁷

Cristóbal de Morales is represented by his two books of Masses (6–7). Although it is not possible to identify which edition was held by the cathedral, the description of the volumes as being of 'paper, large format' ('en papel de marca mayor') and 'old' ('viejos') suggests one of the two choirbook editions produced in the 16th century, whether that of Valerio and Ludovico Dorico (Rome, both volumes, 1544; RISM M3580 and M3582) or that of Jacques

Table 1 Analysis of the contents of the 1589 inventory

<i>Latin polyphony</i>	
Printed choirbooks	10
Manuscript choirbooks	10
Printed partbooks	28 / 6 collections
Manuscript partbooks and <i>cuadernos</i>	30 / 11 collections
Separate items	24
<i>Vernacular music</i>	
Partbooks and <i>cuadernos</i>	118 / 39 collections
Separate items	109
Choirbooks for <i>ministriles</i>	3

Moderne (Lyon, 1545 and 1551; M3581 and M3583, respectively). Morales's two volumes of Masses were widely disseminated in the Iberian world, as can be seen from 16th-century inventories from Spain and Spanish America from both private and institutional libraries.⁸ The known transmission of Morales's books of Masses to the New World begins in the year of his death (1553), when the two volumes are listed in an inventory from Cuzco Cathedral, and by this date they would surely already have reached a much more accessible and important city such as Mexico. One or both volumes of Masses are also cited in inventories in three other cathedrals in New Spain (Guatemala, Valladolid—present-day Morelia—and Puebla), and printed and manuscript copies of his Masses are preserved throughout the continent (Guatemala, Puebla, Buenos Aires, La Plata—present-day Sucre—and Santafé de Bogotá).⁹ Surprisingly, the Mexican inventory does not list a single edition of one of the great successes of 16th-century music printing, Morales's Magnificats, the collection of that genre most influential in the Hispanic world. However, manuscript copies of two of Morales's Magnificats originating in the convent of La Encarnación in Mexico City have been pre-

served in the Newberry Library in Chicago.¹⁰ This manuscript has a lot of repertory in common with the polyphonic books of Mexico Cathedral, and it is therefore possible that at least one of the three anonymous collections listed in the inventory (9, 10 and 22) may have included manuscript copies of settings by Morales.¹¹

Alongside Victoria and Morales, the brothers Pedro and Francisco Guerrero are also specified in the inventory. Pedro Guerrero is represented by a printed collection of motets in four partbooks (14). Possibly this edition can be identified with the *Liber Primus Epigramatum*, which contained motets for four to six voices, but till now no extant copy has been located, even though its existence is known from several Italian inventories as well as that of the music library of King João IV of Portugal.¹³ Since it is listed in the Portuguese inventory alongside Francisco Guerrero's motets of 1555, it has been suggested that it might have been printed by Martín de Montesdoca in Seville between 1551 and 1555, and that its production was overseen by Francisco himself, while his brother Pedro was in Italy.¹⁴ Further evidence in favour of this hypothesis is found in the inclusion of two of his motets, *O beata Maria* and

Table 2 Printed music collections in the 1589 inventory

Date	Composer	Title	City	RISM number
unknown	not specified	4 partbooks of motets	unknown	unknown
unknown	not specified	5 partbooks of masses and motets	unknown	unknown
unknown	not specified	10 partbooks of motets (probably two collections)	unknown	unknown
1532	not specified [Josquin and others]	<i>Liber Viginti Missarum</i>	Paris	1532 ¹⁻⁷
?1532	not specified	<i>Motteti del fiore</i>	?Lyon	?1532 ⁹
1541	Pierre Colin	<i>Liber Octo Missarum</i>	Lyon	C3307
1544	Cristóbal de Morales	<i>Missarum Liber Primus</i>	Rome	M3580
1544	Cristóbal de Morales	<i>Missarum Liber Secundus</i>	Rome	M3582
?1551–5	Pedro Guerrero	<i>Liber Primus Epigramatum</i>	?Seville	not listed in RISM
1555/1570	Francisco Guerrero	<i>Sacrae cantiones / Motteta</i>	Seville / Venice	G4867 / G4871
1566	Francisco Guerrero	<i>Liber Primus Missarum</i>	Paris	G4870
1581	Tomás Luis de Victoria	<i>Hymni totius anni ... cum quattuor psalmis</i> ¹²	Rome	V1428
1581	Tomás Luis de Victoria	<i>Cantica B. Virginis vulgo magnificat ... cum quatuor antiphonis</i>	Rome	V1430
1583	Tomás Luis de Victoria	<i>Missarum libri duo</i>	Rome	V1431
1585	Tomás Luis de Victoria	<i>Motecta festorum totius anni</i>	Rome	V1433/1585 ⁶

Quinque prudentes virgines, in a manuscript in Guatemala Cathedral, where Montedoca, the supposed printer, was *praecentor* in the 1570s. This choir-book is one of the few sources to contain motets by Pedro Guerrero.¹⁵ In any case, it is noteworthy that this collection of motets is lacking from other 16th-century inventories, at least from those so far consulted. This would be surprising if the collection had indeed been printed in Seville since its distribution would very probably have been similar to that of other books printed by Montedoca. This situation has surely arisen, at least in part, because all motet collections simply ascribed to ‘Guerrero’ have been unilaterally assigned to Francisco. However, the four printed anthologies of Francisco’s motets (1555, 1570, 1589 and 1597) all had five partbooks, while that by Pedro had only four, at least according to the Mexican Cathedral inventory, and this makes it likely that references in Spanish inventories to collections of ‘Guerrero’ motets in four partbooks (as occurs in the inventory (1573) of Princess Juana of Austria’s collection of music books) allude to Pedro’s anthology rather than any of Francisco’s.¹⁶ Even so, for whatever unknown reason, it would appear that Pedro’s collection circulated less widely than those of his brother Francisco.

Of the two editions of motets by Francisco Guerrero listed in the inventory, one is in fact a collection for five voices (15). It is perhaps unlikely that an edition printed in Venice in 1589 would have reached Mexico in the same year, so it was probably the *Sacrae cantiones* of 1555 or the *Motteta* of 1570.¹⁷ A copy of this last edition, which circulated more widely than that of 1555, was acquired by the cathedral chapter in 1632, possibly because the exemplar listed in the 1589 inventory was worn out from use and needed to be replaced.¹⁸ The other printed book by Guerrero listed is his *Liber Primus Missarum* (5), which contained eight Masses, three motets and a Requiem Mass.¹⁹ Although Francisco Guerrero published a revised version of the Requiem Mass to conform with the requirements of the post-tridentine *Nuevo Rezado* in his second book of Masses (Rome, 1582; G4872), the pre-tridentine version continued to be used in Mexico Cathedral (with the tract ‘Dixit Dominus’ rather than ‘Absolve Domine’, and the pre-tridentine text and music for the Communion), albeit following the reformed structure, as is clear from the existence of a

concordance with the 1566 Mass in a manuscript copied around 1700 (see illus.2).²⁰ It is curious that the metropolitan see, and thus the viceregal liturgical and ceremonial model, should have continued to use the pre-tridentine musical setting of the Requiem, while other cathedrals, such as Puebla, adopted the revised version.²¹ On the other hand, the inclusion of works by Guerrero in several 18th-century manuscripts confirms its longevity: Guerrero’s music clearly formed part of the established canon. In 1585 Mexico Cathedral bought a book sent personally by Guerrero, and this can be identified as the *Liber Vesperarum* (Rome, 1584; G4873).²² For some unknown reason, this book does not appear in the 1589 inventory, which offers a corrective to the received idea that inventories present a complete picture of an institution’s collection at a given moment in time and place.

Among the foreign composers represented in the inventory is Pierre Colin with a book of Masses (8) that can be identified as the *Liber Octo Missarum* (Lyon, 1541).²³ As occurred with Pedro Guerrero’s book of motets, Colin’s Masses rarely appear in 16th-century Spanish inventories, the only other reference to date being found in that of Princess Juana of Austria (1573).²⁴ This volume, produced in choir-book format, contained eight Masses, eight motets and eight Magnificats. One of the Masses, *Christus resurgens*, is copied in the Valdés Codex, although there it is wrongly attributed to ‘Palestina[sic]’.²⁵ In any case, Colin is one of the few foreign composers specifically mentioned in New World inventories of the 16th century.

Unlike Colin’s Mass book, the ‘libro de veinte misas de Josquin’ (13) is one that appears most frequently in 16th-century Spanish inventories, together with another that was apparently even more widespread, the ‘libro de quince misas de Josquin’. The Mexican inventory is, up till now, the only Hispano-American inventory to include the ‘book of 20 Masses’, although the ‘book of 15 Masses’ is also listed in an inventory from Guatemala Cathedral of 1542.²⁶ From its description ‘the book of 20 Masses’ can be identified as the collection of seven volumes printed by Pierre Attaignant with the title *Liber Viginti Missarum* (Paris, 1532¹⁻⁷). Each volume includes three Masses (except for the sixth, which has only two), with a continuous foliation, so that they could be bound together, as they appear in the



2 Francisco Guerrero, Sanctus from Requiem Mass (1566 version) (MEX-Mc 2, f.50v) (detail) (by permission of the Chapter of Mexico Cathedral)

1589 inventory. This Mass anthology, one of the few in the 16th century to contain specifically 20 Masses, included works not only by Josquin, but also by Sermisy, Gascogne, Manchicourt, Mouton, Richafort, Divitis, Prioris and Gombert, among others. Other ecclesiastical archives that held this edition included those of Burgos, the Royal Chapel in Granada, the collegiate church of El Salvador in Granada, Jaén, Plasencia, Tarazona and Zaragoza.²⁷

It is not possible to identify other anthologies in the inventory with works by foreign composers because of the generic nature of the descriptions. This is the case with the four partbooks of motets 'de la flor' (18). Several volumes of motets 'of the flower', or *Motteti del fiore*, were published by Jacques Moderne in Lyon between 1532 and 1542 and by Antonio Gardano in Venice in 1545. The title stemmed from the picture of a thistle on the title-page. Although a firm identification of the volume held in Mexico is not possible, the contents of the collections were very similar, including motets by Franco-Netherlandish composers active in the first half of the 16th

century, such as Arcadelt, Cortois, Gombert, Lasso, Lhéritier, Lupus, Manchicourt, Richafort and Willaert, among others.²⁸ If the manuscript copy of Verdelot's *Si bona suscepimus* mentioned in the inventory (129) was made from a printed edition, it was probably that from Lyon (1532⁹), the only edition of the 'motets of the flower' to have four partbooks, as listed in this inventory.

The identification of the ten partbooks 'presented by his worship' ('que regaló su señoría') (16), probably a reference to the archbishop Pedro de Moya Contreras (*d* 1591), is more intractable. The generic description forestalls any concrete identification, though it is clear that they were partbooks ('pequeños'), printed ('de molde'), and contained motets ('de motetes'), by a variety of authors ('de diversos autores') with lettering in gilt. Very probably this entry refers to two sets of five partbooks, or else one of four and the other of six, possibly printed in Italy or France. The same could probably be said of the five printed partbooks of Masses and motets (17), decorated with small golden flowers.²⁹

The 16 printed collections listed in the 1589 inventory comprised an extensive, varied and international repertory that must have been acquired through a number of different channels. The Spanish polyphonic books were very possibly sent to Mexico by the composers themselves, following the practice established by Morales in the 1540s.³⁰ Victoria is known to have sent his books of polyphony to the New World, as in the case of Lima in about 1597, probably on this occasion his second book of Masses (Rome, 1592; V1434). Victoria also sent to the New World four copies of Philippe Rogier's *Missae Sex*.³¹ This practice is also confirmed by Alonso Lobo's sending of his *Liber Primus Missarum* (Madrid, 1602; L2588) to Puebla Cathedral in 1606, and the book of Magnificats (probably that by Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia (Zaragoza, 1618; A450)) sent by Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo to Mexico Cathedral in 1621, as well as that sent by the composer Sebastián López de Velasco of his *Libro de Missas, Motetes, Salmos...* (Madrid, 1628; L2822) to the same cathedral in 1634.³²

However, it is also possible that the Italian and French collections containing international repertory could have reached Mexico through the gift of a high-ranking clergyman, as was common in the period. An example of this practice is provided by the ten partbooks given by Archbishop Moya Contreras (see above), major musical patron who also held two other important positions, that of Viceroy and General Inquisitor of New Spain. There is no evidence that Moya Contreras travelled to Italy, but as president of the Third Mexican Provincial Council (1585), he was in constant contact by correspondence with the Holy See through Francisco Beteta, canon of Puebla Cathedral, who represented the Mexican hierarchy in Rome. Beteta was also apparently a bookseller and publisher, since he was granted the privilege to print conciliar texts for 20 years as a reward for his service in Rome. It is wholly possible, following well-established practice, that Beteta might have returned to Mexico with printed music books and presented them to Moya Contreras by way of thanks for favours received.³³

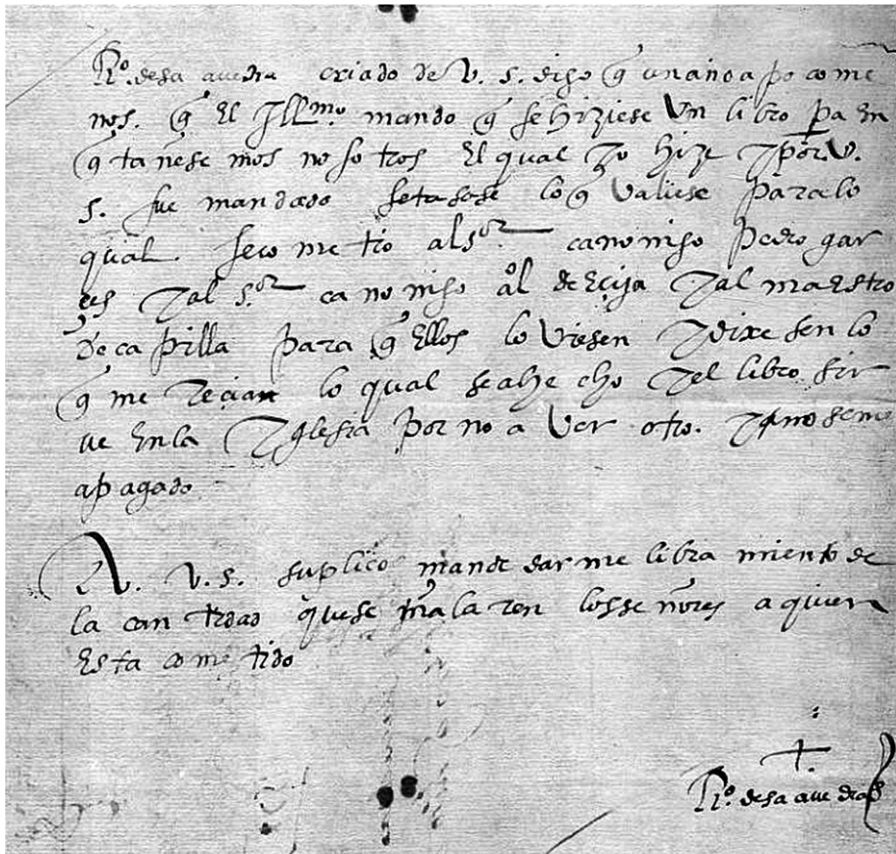
Local production: the manuscript collections

In addition to the printed books in the 1589 inventory, 21 manuscript collections are listed (ten in choirbook format and the remainder partbooks) and

24 works copied onto separate sheets. Unfortunately, the inventory does not, as does that from Tarazona Cathedral dated 1591, list the contents of each volume in detail, although the example of Tarazona is any case extremely rare.³⁴ Thus, it is not possible to gauge the total number of works copied in these manuscripts, although some idea of the diversity of the collections and the repertory needed to cover the cathedral's musical needs in this period can be gained: motet anthologies (nos. 21, 43, 83, 101–02, 105, 107–10, 129, 134, 208), Masses (23, 70, 113) or both genres together (11, 24); Holy Week music with psalms, Passions and Lamentations (12, 25, 51, 112, 121, 127); music for the Mass and Office of the Dead (23, 130, 134); Vespers music including psalms (68, 99, 187), hymns (39, 69, 114, 115), Magnificats (10, 22, 188), a mix of two of these such as hymns and Magnificats (9), hymns and psalms (20), or all three (46); alleluias (98), *Asperges* (123–4); and verses and *fabordones* (63, 69, 114). These surely included the book presented in 1578 to the chapter by the instrumentalist Rodrigo de Saavedra, one of the earliest manuscripts of music for 'ministriles' I have encountered (see illus. 3).³⁵

In the case of the separate items in Latin, the title of the work is given but not the composer so that it is impossible to know whether these were local or imported compositions. For example, the introit *Gaudeamus* (122), the motet *Sancti Dei omnes* (43),³⁶ the Mass *Petrus Apostolus* (113),³⁷ and the motets *Plange Jerusalem* (for equal voices) (83)³⁸ and *Ad te levavi* (a12) for the Office of the Dead (134) are all unattributed. This last work is important as one of the earliest references to a polychoral work in the Hispano-American world. The earliest 12-voice works in Spain date from exactly the same period: Guerrero's motet *Duo Seraphim*, copied for Seville Cathedral in 1587–8, and Rogier's Magnificat for the royal chapel in Madrid in 1591.³⁹ A further unattributed work is the antiphon *Exaudi nos Domine* (144), composed for the celebration of the Third Mexican Provincial Council, inaugurated by Moya Contreras on 20 January 1585; this may possibly have been one of the last works composed by Hernando Franco, who died in November of that year.⁴⁰

As is typical of other 16th-century inventories, the compiler of this inventory identified the manuscript books by the repertory they contained, rather than by composer, so that very few names appear in this



3 Rodrigo de Saavedra asks for payment for a book of polyphony he has copied for the instrumentalists ('ministriles') (AHAM, Fondo Cabildo: Museo Catedral/Catedral Metropolitana, Caja 183, Expediente 34, 6 June 1578) (by permission of the Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México)

section of the list. Among those composers active in Mexico, only the singer Juan de Carabantes and the chapelmaster Hernando Franco appear. Carabantes, represented by a Mass for four voices (70), went before the chapter in 1558 with the offer of four 'books' (probably partbooks) of polyphony, the contents of which are unknown, though they were acquired by the cathedral. Since the volumes had a specific title—unfortunately omitted from the chapter acts—they probably comprised a printed collection. Later Carabantes went to Guatemala, where the only extant work by him is preserved: a setting of the Passion.⁴¹

Without doubt Franco ought to be the best-represented composer in the inventory, given his position as chapelmaster in the years immediately

before it was compiled, and given the large number of works by him to survive (more than 70 in Mexico, Puebla and Guatemala), an indication that he was a fairly prolific composer for his time.⁴² However, only one motet anthology in six partbooks is ascribed to him (21), although other entries in the inventory are probably attributable to him. Among these are: the double-choir setting of the psalm *Miserere mei, Deus* and the antiphon for Lauds *Christus factus est* (25), as well as a draft copy of *Asperges me* (123–4), all of which have been preserved in MEX-Mc 10 and attributed to Franco; one or more of the anonymous collections of Magnificats (probably no.22) that served as a source for the parchment copy made by Juan Hernández and presented to the chapter in 1611;⁴³ the setting of *Consummatum est* for the Passion sung

on Good Friday and the four-voice versicle *Pater in manus tuas* (127), copied in MEX-Mc 1; the psalm *In exitu Israel* (187); the Office of the Dead (23); and a good proportion of the separate sheets with various psalm-settings which were copied in MEX-Mc 11.

Cristóbal de Morales is the best-represented peninsular composer in the manuscript repertory, at least for the attributed works. His celebrated motet *Tu es Petrus* (a5) (101), which was printed in ten 16th-century motet anthologies, is also listed in the Tarazona Cathedral inventory.⁴⁴ Other works by Morales must have reached Mexico in manuscript form since they were never printed, as was the case with the Office of the Dead. On the other hand, the Requiem Mass mentioned in the inventory (23) was probably the five-voice version that appeared in his second book of Masses. These works, still extant in 1589, are of particular interest since they can be linked to the exequies held for Charles V three decades earlier in 1559 in Mexico City; the chronicle of this event, entitled *Túmulo Imperial*, specifically mentions several works by Morales that were performed on this occasion.⁴⁵ Morales's music for the dead acquired a symbolic status in the Hispanic world through its connection with royal exequies and was also performed at those held for Philip II in the royal chapel in Madrid.⁴⁶ A copy of this five-voice Mass has been preserved in a 17th-century manuscript in Puebla, with an attribution to the 'divine Morales' (see illus.4).⁴⁷ Curiously, this same attribution appears in the last of Morales's works in the inventory, the verse *Caph. Vocavi amicos* from the third Lamentation of Good Friday (51). This Lamentation was printed in two posthumous Italian editions of 1564: one by Francesco Rampazzeto and the other by Antonio Gardano (M3607 and M3608), both widely distributed through Europe. Of the nine Lamentations in this collection, only the last four are by Morales.⁴⁸ In any case, it is striking that these three manuscript works by Morales (*Tu es Petrus*, the five-voice Requiem Mass and the Lamentation setting) are also found in the Tarazona Cathedral inventory of 1591 and, like Guerrero's 1566 Requiem and certain works by Victoria, clearly formed part of the canon of cathedral polyphony in the late 16th-century Hispanic world.⁴⁹

Finally, the inventory also lists separate items by three Franco-Netherlandish composers who feature

strongly in Spanish inventories of the 16th and 17th centuries: Philippe Verdelot, Lupo and Orlande de Lassus. Verdelot's famous motet *Si bona suscepimus* (129), which appeared in six editions between 1532 and 1559, is listed, probably copied from the *Moteti del fiore* published by Moderne in 1532 (1532⁹). A motet with the incipit 'Jesus' (105) is attributed to Lupo, although neither Lupus Hellinck nor Johannes Lupi (the two possible candidates) are known to have composed works beginning with this word. Hellinck composed a four-voice setting of *Joannes Jesu Christo* (1553⁹), but the inventory indicates five voices.⁵⁰ Identification of the motet (102) attributed to Lassus is also impossible since the inventory gives no incipit and indicates only that it is for four voices. The presence of this work in Mexico Cathedral, however, is not without significance since it is one of the few Spanish cathedrals to make reference to Lassus's music before 1600.⁵¹ Another unattributed motet is *Veni sponsa Christi* (107); settings exist by Jean Richafort, Philippo Duc, Eustachius Barbion, Jan Nasco and Annibale Padovano, among others, although it could also have been a copy of Victoria's setting from his *Motecta festorum totius anni* (Rome, v1433/1585⁶). It is impossible to determine the authorship of two other motets, *Hoc est corpus* and *Ave Maria* (108 and 109).⁵² Although the presence of works by Franco-Netherlandish composers is limited, it is significant in its reflection of the integration of printed repertory through manuscript copies.⁵³

Devotional music: villancicos and related genres

As well as the Latin-texted works, the 1589 inventory includes a large repertory in Castilian with 39 collections in *cuadernos* and 109 pieces copied in parts or on separate sheets, such as the three books of songs for the instrumentalists (65–67) with the paraliturgical music performed by the *capilla* inside and outside the cathedral. Not one composer's name is mentioned, the importance of this section is enormous, since Castilian-texted works, given their ephemeral nature, were not customarily inventoried; when they are included, it is not usually with as much detail as in the Mexican inventory where textual incipits, number of voices, genre and feast are given. None of this music has survived: given its occasional nature, it was generally copied onto separate sheets or in parts rather than into books whose

F. Morales morales. a 5. v. 57

Do nis cis do mi ne de o mi ne
do mi ne, et lux perpe tua et lux perpe tua et
lux per pe tua lu ce at cis
lu ce at cis.

4 Morales, Requiem Mass (5vv) (MEX-Pc Leg.36, p.57) (by permission of the Chapter of Puebla Cathedral)

more resilient format would have contributed to its preservation. Nevertheless, given that so few sources have survived, the wealth and variety of poetic genres, musical forms and performing contexts that can be extrapolated from the inventory help to illuminate an otherwise obscure aspect of music-making in the New World towards the end of the 16th century.

Much of the Castilian-texted repertory in the 1589 inventory cannot be understood without consideration of the well-established tradition in Spanish drama for the inclusion of musical items in the public theatrical productions mounted by cathedral chapters, municipalities and religious orders (especially the Jesuits) for the purposes of religious doctrination, political propaganda or popular devotion.⁵⁴ There is documentary evidence for music's important role in plays, *autos*, dialogues and interrogatory exchanges (*coloquios*) in the 16th century. Lázaro del Álamo (chapelmaster of Mexico Cathedral between 1556 and 1570) composed motets, villancicos and *chanzonetas* for the plays and *coloquios* written for

Corpus Christi and Christmas by the poet Juan Bautista Corvera. The following chapelmaster, Juan de Vitoria (1570–74), directed and probably composed the incidental music for two theatrical works written for Moya Contreras's appointment as archbishop in 1574: *Desposorio espiritual entre el pastor Pedro y la Iglesia Mexicana*, by Juan Pérez Ramírez; and the third *coloquio A la Consagración del Doctor don Pedro Moya de Contreras*, by Fernán González de Eslava. Vitoria's successor, Hernando Franco (1575–85), composed several 'excellent musical settings' ('acertadísimas en letra y punto') for the festivities held in 1578 for the reception of some relics presented to the Jesuits by the pope. Thus it is clear that the practice of inserting musical items written by cathedral chapelmasters into theatrical productions in New Spain was well established from the mid-16th century.⁵⁵

A large proportion of the musical settings of texts in the vernacular comprises devotional items for the principal feasts of the cathedral's liturgical year.

The two vernacular genres most often mentioned in the inventory are the villancicos and *chansonetas*, which were especially developed in the New World. Together, these genres account for 90 per cent of the settings of vernacular texts. Today the two terms are often used synonymously, but the deliberate use of one or the other surely implied some now unrecognized difference in the period.⁵⁶ The earliest references to the performance of *chansonetas* in Mexico date from 1535, when the municipal council asked the cathedral chapelmaster Juan Xuárez to compose the ‘*chansonetas y música e invención*’ needed for the reception of the first viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza.⁵⁷ References to *chansonetas* appear in the chapter acts throughout the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century, especially for Christmas and Corpus Christi, usually regarding the expenses paid to the chapelmaster for their composition, copying or rehearsal.⁵⁸ The term ‘villancico’ was introduced only later in Mexico, in the 1580s.⁵⁹ In the first half of the 17th century, both terms seem to have been used indiscriminately, although the title-pages of the first printed chapbooks of Mexico Cathedral (1650, 1651, 1654, 1656, 1657, 1659, 1660, 1672) continue to refer to *chansonetas* or texts (*letras*) rather than villancicos, that word not being used in this context until 1657. This chronology contrasts with that of Puebla Cathedral, where the word *chansoneta* was used into the 1670s, although, curiously, the term villancico was used from the earliest known chapbook for Puebla (1652).

The statutes of Mexico Cathedral (1585) include mention of the chapelmaster’s duty, well established for some decades, to compose ‘devout and honest songs’ (‘*canciones devotas y honestas*’) for Christmas, Epiphany, and the Assumption and Birth of the Virgin Mary. Early on the texts were provided by the *praecentor*,⁶⁰ but the quantity of texts needed was such that, so as not to ‘importune’ any single person, the cleric Arias de Villalobos was appointed ‘*poeta de esta Santa Iglesia*’ in 1595.⁶¹ Villalobos was an important author from Extremadura who encouraged a great deal of activity in the first quarter of the 17th century as master of the college of San Juan de Letrán and official playwright to the municipal council; with his appointment the supply of texts was assured. Evidence of the importance of these musical settings in the vernacular is found in the

cathedral chapter’s granting of periods of leave to the chapelmaster to seek out the texts needed and set them to music well enough in advance. The number of days’ leave granted corresponded to the importance of the feast and the number of pieces he had to compose: 40 days for Christmas and Corpus Christi and its octave, four for the feast of St Michael, and three for that of St Peter and the Assumption, this last being the advocacy of Mexico Cathedral.⁶² The inventory includes the incipits and number of voices for the villancicos and *chansonetas* for these feasts, as well as for those less established such as the Good Thief (95), St Luke (103), St Gregory (79) and two local patron saints of Mexico City: St Hippolitus (78, 100, 131) and St Eligius (88, 146). References are also found to popular characters (Gil, Juana, Carrillo, Manuel, Mexía) who address each other in the rustic language typical of the 16th-century Iberian villancico.

Despite the preponderance of *chansonetas* and villancicos, they are not the only genre mentioned in the 1589 inventory. Several references to the *ensalada*, a Christmas-related genre that mixes different music, languages and metres, are listed, although no reference to it has been found in the chapter acts.⁶³ However, the inventory also makes reference to *ensaladas* with themes other than Christmas, such as a game of *pelota*, an entertainment of Aztec origin (29), war (30), the auction (34), visit (40), beheading (50), marriage (97) and St Michael (35, 37). There are also references to the related genre, the smaller-scale *ensaladilla* (87 and 92). The titles display the allegorical and metaphorical nature typical of these works: *Buenas nuevas pecador*, *Ladrones* or *Carne, mundo y Lucifer*. In a few instances other pieces closely related to their poetic form are also listed, as, for example, the *tercetos*, with verses of three lines in *arte mayor* (126), the *lira*, with five lines (89), and the sonnet with its 14 lines of eleven syllables (45).⁶⁴

The *coloquio*, another of the poetic-musical genres included in the inventory, deserves special mention. As a genre belonging to religious drama with a didactic aim, the *coloquio* presents a dialogue format in the scholastic tradition, its text consisting of a series of questions and answers, thus giving its composer the opportunity to exploit different double-choir textures. The inventory lists nine eight-voice *colocios*, almost all in two *cuadernos*, one for each four-voice

choir (47–9, 58–62, 64). The description is similar in every case and includes the textual incipit for each choir: ‘two *cuadernos* with an eight-voice *coloquio*, one beginning *Muerte, ¿de quién huides, di?* and the other responding *De la vida que hoy es nascida*’ (48). The music for these works does not survive, but its style was probably similar to pieces of the same kind in Gaspar Fernandes’s *Cancionero musical*, in which the antiphonal setting and largely homorhythmic approach of the two choirs, with the play between question and answer having an almost theatrical dynamism, can be clearly seen.⁶⁵ These *coloquios* reveal how the new polychoral idiom developed at the end of the 16th century was not limited to Latin-texted pieces, but was also used to a considerable extent—probably even earlier—in this now lost but very rich vernacular repertory. Also of interest for its early appearance is the ‘Salve en romance’ (38), which was substituted on occasion for the Latin *Salve regina*. Although this setting has not survived, its text was probably similar to those preserved at Bogotá and La Plata.⁶⁶

Since none of these settings in the vernacular specifies a composer, a more complete view of the repertory is impossible. However, it is very likely that most of these works were composed by the chapelmasters active before 1589 and, in particular, the four who served from the 1560s onwards (Lázaro del Álamo, Juan de Vitoria, Hernando Franco and Juan Hernández), when there was a marked increase in the amount of devotional and popular poetry following the Council of Trent. The repertory’s specifically local nature is clear from local references, as in the villancico composed for the foundation of the convent of Jesús María in 1580 (143); almost 40 villancicos performed for the taking of vows by Jeronymite and Conceptionist nuns (whose names are specified) in various convents in Mexico City (147–85); an *ensalada* for the game of *pelota* (29); and a villancico for the anniversary Mass for Agustín Díaz (135).⁶⁷ Also of local inspiration are the works in honour of the viceregal authorities, such as the villancicos for the consecration in 1575 of Juan de Medina Rincón, Bishop of Michoacán (74) and of the Bishop of Charcas (116), for the reception in 1580 of Viceroy Lorenzo Suárez de Mendoza, Count of Coruña (75), and the doctorate in 1584 of Dionisio Ribera Flores, canon of Mexico Cathedral (133).

Little information is available on the authors of the texts of these works, but they included Fernán González de Esclava, a prolific poet and playwright. Most of González de Esclava’s *coloquios* required musical interpolations. For instance, Esclava’s sixth *coloquio* includes the texts for the entry of the Count of Coruña (75) and some of his poems were set to music, like the *ensaladilla* entitled *Ven oveja donde estoy* (92), the *ensalada* entitled *The Auction* (34), and the *chanzoneta* entitled *El divino Emanuel* (44).⁶⁸ A more systematic comparison between the textual incipits in the inventory and the anthologies and collections of individual poets such as Pedro de Trejo, Eugenio de Salazar and Juan de Cigondo might result in further attributions. It is also possible that some of these texts are *a lo divino* versions of texts found in collections of secular verse. In any case, the inventory affords some insight into the large number of texts set to music and the many liturgical contexts and devotional functions and namings for music in the vernacular in the New World during the 16th century.

Conclusions

This detailed discussion reflects the significance of the 1589 inventory as regards the polyphonic repertory of one of the most important cathedrals in the New World in the 16th century. A comparison between it and other cathedral inventories of the period confirms its exceptional character, not only as the earliest surviving such document for Mexico Cathedral but also for its relatively detailed descriptions. Other 16th-century inventories from Hispano-America do not afford adequate points of comparison, since they are either much earlier (Guatemala, 1542, and Cuzco, 1553) or the level of description is too vague (Quito, 1581),⁶⁹ so inventories from the Iberian peninsula must be compared if the significance of the Mexican inventory is to be placed in context.

There are 37 collections of Latin-texted polyphony listed in the inventory of Mexico Cathedral, including choirbooks, partbooks and *cuadernos*. This figure approaches that of the 46 collections listed in the 1587 inventory of the convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid and that of the 42 entries in the Tarazona Cathedral inventory of 1591,⁷⁰ and it exceeds that of other major 16th-century institutions such as Seville

Cathedral (1588) and the Royal Chapel of Granada (1592), which had 35 and 30 collections respectively.⁷¹ Thus, as regards Latin-texted polyphony, the Mexican inventory offers one of the most substantial collections of the period.

However, the real wealth of the Mexican inventory lies with the size of the collection of the musical settings of vernacular texts, and the detail with which it records that repertory. The inventories of Seville Cathedral (1588), the Royal Chapel of Granada (1592) and the Royal Chapel of Madrid (1600) do not include any of this music,⁷² and only the inventories of Zamora Cathedral (1582) and the convent of the Descalzas Reales (1587) list some books and *cuadernos* of villancicos and *chanzonetas*, described in generic fashion with the number of volumes and, sometimes, the relevant liturgical feast.⁷³ The only cathedral inventory that systematically presents the title and number of voices for each piece is that of Tarazona. However, the number of *cuadernos* of Castilian-texted works in that inventory is 63, a much lower figure than that of 118 in the Mexican inventory. In addition, the Mexico Cathedral inventory specifies a further 109 works copied on separate sheets (both single and half sheets), while the Tarazona inventory lists only three. Thus the Mexican inventory affords one of the fullest insights into the cultivation of the religious villancico in the 16th-century Iberian cathedral world.

Despite the inevitable limitations of an analysis based on an inventory from a single cathedral, it is possible to glimpse certain general aspects of the polyphonic repertory performed in a New World cathedral in the 16th century. The juxtaposition of works by Iberian composers, whether active

in the Iberian peninsula or the New World, and those by foreign composers (especially of Franco-Netherlandish origin) can be observed, with a clear emphasis on works found in Italian or French printed collections between 1532 and 1585 whether acquired directly from Italy or via a number of different routes through Spain. The inventory also shows the interdependency between printed and manuscript music books, confirms the intense cultivation of the vernacular genres and affords valuable information about the involvement of the cathedral *capilla* with other institutions, such as convents, in the urban milieu and with major civic and religious events in the viceregal capital, underlining its position as the official music chapel of the city.

The 1589 inventory also affords some insight into the shift in repertory that occurred in the last third of the 16th century. From the study of the chapter acts and other documents of Mexico Cathedral it is clear that in this period the cathedral had two large organs and enough musicians, singers and instrumentalists to be able to perform polychoral music. The inventory confirms the existence of this polychoral practice established in the 1570s and 80s, one that clearly affected both Latin- and vernacular-texted genres, these last offering the perfect opportunity for experimentation. At the end of the 16th century, the music library of Mexico Cathedral was one of the richest in America, a clear reflection of Mexico City's position as a cosmopolitan urban centre and a meeting-point for the music that circulated in every region of the Spanish empire.

Translated by Tess Knighton

Appendix

ACMM, Inventarios, Libro 2, Expediente 2, ff.89r–92v, 9 December 1589 (there is a second foliation: ff.153r–156v) To make the inventory easier to follow, spelling has been modernized, abbreviations realized and *tildes* and punctuation added where necessary. Each entry has been numbered, whether referring to a collection or separate item, and that number is presented in brackets (1–208). The number of volumes in each entry (whether in choirbook or partbook format) is indicated by the superscript number(s) (^{1–331}). Those pieces copied on separate sheets (whether full or half sheets) have been counted as a single volume.

Inventario de los libros de música que hay en esta Santa Iglesia así de molde como de mano hasta hoy 9 de diciembre de 1589 años

[1¹] Primeramente un libro grande de pliegos de marca mayor de molde encuadernado en tablas y badana amarilla con sus manzuelas de Flandes impreso en Roma Thyphographia Dominici Basi año de 1583, auctore Thomae Ludovici de Victoria es de misas de a cuatro, y cinco y seis voces.

- [2²] Ítem otro libro de la misma encuadernación, molde e impresión del mismo autor impreso el año de 1581 años es de magnificas a cuatro voces y de antifonas de Nuestra Señora de a cinco y ocho voces.
- [3³] Ítem otro libro de la misma impresión y del mismo autor y de la misma encuadernación impreso en Roma el año de 1581 años es de himnos de todo el año a cuatro voces y de algunos salmos a ocho voces.
- [4⁴] Ítem otro libro grande marca mayor encuadernado en papelones de becerro leonado con unas cintas azules del dicho autor impreso en Roma año de 1585 años es de motetes de Santos a cuatro, cinco, seis y ocho voces.
- [f.89v]
- [5⁵] Ítem otro libro grande de molde de papel de marca mayor encuadernado en papelones y badana negra impreso en París Typographia de Nicolás du Chemin 1565 años es de misas de Francisco Guerrero.
- [rest of page blank]
- [6-7⁶⁻⁷] Ítem dos libros de pergamino que son el primero y segundo de Morales de misas son de papel de marca mayor y están ya viejos.
- [8⁸] Ítem otro libro de misas de misas de Petro Cholino [sic] de papel de marca mayor está encuadernado en pergamino.
- [9⁹] Ítem otro libro viejo de papel de marca mayor de mano encuadernado en pergamino de himnos y magnificas.
- [10¹⁰] Ítem un libro viejo encuadernado en papelones de badana de mano es de magnificas.
- [11¹¹] Ítem otro libro muy viejo de papel de marca mayor en papelones de becerro de mano es de misas y motetes.
- [12¹²] Ítem otro libro de papel de marca mayor de mano encuadernado en papeles de badana negra donde está el oficio de la Semana Santa.
- [f.90r]
- [13¹³] Ítem otro libro de veinte misas de Jusquin [sic] de molde en papel de marca mayor encuadernado en papel.
- [14¹⁴⁻¹⁷] Ítem cuatro libros chicos de molde en pergamino de motetes de Pedro Guerrero.
- [15¹⁸⁻²²] Ítem cinco libros chiquitos de molde encuadernados en pergamino con cintas verdes y encarnadas de motetes de Francisco Guerrero.
- [16²³⁻³²] Ítem diez libros de motetes de diversos autores pequeños encuadernados de becerro negro de molde con unos letreros dorados que dio su Señoría.
- [17³³⁻³⁷] Ítem otros cinco libros de misas y motetes de molde de cuarto de pliego encuadernados en becerro colorado con unas florecillas de oro.
- [18³⁸⁻⁴¹] Ítem cuatro libretes de la flor de motetes y encuadernados en pergamino son de molde.
- [19⁴²⁻⁴⁵] Ítem cuatro libretes de chanzonetas de mano encuadernados en badana colorada.
- [20⁴⁶] Ítem un libro de mano de papel de marquilla de himnos y salmos encuadernado en pergamino.
- [21⁴⁷⁻⁵²] Ítem seis cuadernos de mano encuadernados en pergamino de motetes del racionero maestro Hernando Franco.
- [22⁵³] Ítem otro libro viejo encuadernado en pergamino de papel de marquilla en que hay unas magnificas de mano.
- [23⁵⁴] Ítem otro libro de papel más que marquilla encuadernado en papelones y badana negra con unas flores de oro y unas cintas de seda negra en que están de mano el antifona de asperges, una misa de Requiem de Cristóbal de Morales y otras misas y oficio de difuntos y salves y otras cosas.
- [f.90v]
- [24⁵⁵] Ítem otro libro viejo de papel más que marquilla encuadernado en papelones y badana negra [con] unas flores de oro tiene de mano misas y algunos motetes.
- [rest of page blank]
- [25⁵⁶⁻⁵⁷] Dos cuadernos encuadernados que contienen el salmo de Miserere mei que se canta la Semana Santa, los dos coros y el un cuaderno comienza Christus factus est pro nobis.
- [26⁵⁹⁻⁶⁰] Una chanzoneta en dos cuadernos de San Miguel que comienza Aparta, aparta a ocho.
- [27⁶⁰⁻⁶³] Más cuatro cuadernos de chanzonetas de Navidad que comienza el primero Regocijate zagal.
- [28⁶⁴⁻⁶⁷] Otros cuatro cuadernos de chanzonetas de Navidad que el primero comienza Nasce hombre y nasce Dios.
- [29⁶⁸⁻⁷¹] Otros cuatro cuadernos del juego, una ensalada del juego de la pelota que comienza el tiple Jugaba a la pelota.
- [30⁷²⁻⁷⁵] Otros cuatro cuadernos de otra ensalada de la guerra que comienza Carne, mundo y Lucifer.
- [31⁷⁶⁻⁷⁹] Otros cuatro cuadernos de chanzonetas del Corpus Christi que comienza Más valiera no comerte.
- [32⁸⁰⁻⁸³] Otros cuatro cuadernos de chanzonetas de San Miguel que comienza Gran batalla hay en el cielo.
- [33⁸⁴⁻⁸⁷] Otros cuatro cuadernos de chanzonetas de Navidad que comienza el primero Mal puede desenlazarse.
- [34⁸⁸⁻⁹¹] Otros cuatro cuadernos de la ensalada de la almoneda que comienza [A]llegaos a la almoneda.
- [f.91r]
- [35⁹²⁻⁹⁵] Cuatro cuadernos de ensalada y villancicos de San Miguel que comienza Alegraos si la lanza no me miente.
- [36⁹⁶⁻⁹⁹] Otros cuatro cuadernos de chanzonetas para la Asunción de Nuestra Señora que comienza Ay ay divina pastora.
- [37¹⁰⁰⁻¹⁰³] Una ensalada y chanzonetas de San Miguel que comienza ¿Quién se quiere embarcar? y el villancico Gran fiesta.
- [38¹⁰⁴⁻¹⁰⁸] Cinco cuadernos en que está la Salve en romance a cinco.
- [39¹⁰⁹⁻¹¹⁶] Ocho cuadernos en que está Pange lingua gloriosi prelium certaminis y algunos versos de Vexilla Regis.
- [40¹¹⁷⁻¹²⁰] Cuatro cuadernos en que está la ensalada de la visita que comienza Buenas nuevas pecador.

- [41¹²¹⁻¹²⁴] Cuatro cuadernos de villancicos para el Corpus Christi que comienza el primero A tal extremo ha llegado.
- [42¹²⁵⁻¹²⁸] Cuatro cuadernos viejos de villancicos antiguos que al principio le falta algunas hojas y vienen a concordar en un villancico que dice Enamorado el Cristo eterno.
- [43¹²⁹⁻¹³²] Cuatro cuadernos en que está el motete de Todos los Santos que comienza Sancti Dei omnes.
- [44¹³³] Cuatro pliegos en que está una chanzoneta que dice El divino [E]manuel.
- [45¹³⁴⁻¹³⁷] [blank] cuadernos de chanzonetas que en el principio de ellas está un soneto que comienza Viendo Cristo que ausencia causa olvido.
- [46¹³⁸] Un cuaderno en que está un fabordón del tercero tono que comienza Dixit Dominus y el himno Ave Maris Stella y una magnificat de cuarto tono.
- [47¹³⁹⁻¹⁴⁰] Dos cuadernos que tienen un coloquio de a ocho voces que comienza el un cuaderno ¿Quién canta, Carillo? y le responde el otro El cielo.
- [48¹⁴¹⁻¹⁴²] Dos cuadernos que tienen un coloquio de ocho voces que el uno comienza Muerte, ¿de quién huides, di? y responde el otro De la vida de hoy nascida
- [49¹⁴³⁻¹⁴⁴] Otros dos cuadernos que tienen un coloquio de a ocho voces para la fiesta de San Miguel que comienza ¿Miguel? y responde el otro Luzbel.
- [50¹⁴⁵⁻¹⁴⁸] Otros cuatro cuadernos de la ensalada del ahorcado que comienza Ladrones.
- [51¹⁴⁹] Un cuaderno de marca mayor que comienza Gloria, laus et honor y tiene la Pasión de Ramos y la del Miércoles y Viernes Santo y la Lamentación del divino Morales que comienza Coph y el primer verso Vocavi amicos meos.
- [52¹⁵⁰] Un cuaderno en que están las chanzonetas del recibimiento del Conde de Coruña que comienza A me alegrado zagal.
- [53¹⁵¹⁻¹⁵²] Dos cuadernos en que están dos chanzonetas de a ocho y a siete que la de a siete comienza ¿Qué es aquesto que aquí está? y la de a ocho Di que miras, hombre, di.
- [54¹⁵³⁻¹⁵⁴] Otra chanzoneta de a ocho en dos cuadernos que comienza Hoy el arcángel fiel.
- [55¹⁵⁵⁻¹⁵⁶] Otra chanzoneta de a ocho en dos cuadernos que comienza ¿Quién es el manso cordero?
- [56¹⁵⁷⁻¹⁵⁸] Otra chanzoneta de a ocho en dos cuadernos que comienza No siendo de sí enemigo.
- [57¹⁵⁹⁻¹⁶⁰] Otra chanzoneta de a ocho que comienza ¿Por qué da luz el cielo?
- [58¹⁶¹⁻¹⁶²] Una chanzoneta de a ocho coloquio al velo de una monja que se llamaba María que comienza ¿Quién es la que prometió?
- [59¹⁶³⁻¹⁶⁴] Dos cuadernos que contienen otro coloquio para el día de San Miguel que comienza Dinos Luzbel quién cayó.
- [60¹⁶⁵⁻¹⁶⁶] Otro coloquio de a ocho para Navidad en dos cuadernos que comienza Mas tiene el suelo que el cielo.
- [61¹⁶⁷⁻¹⁶⁸] Otros dos cuadernos que tienen un coloquio a ocho que comienza ¿Qué tenemos que ha nascido?
- [62¹⁶⁹⁻¹⁷⁰] Otro coloquio a ocho en dos papeles que comienza Si supiese quién es ésta que hoy nasce.
- [63¹⁷¹] Otro cuaderno que tiene los versos Dic nobis Maria de la prosa de Pascua de Resurrección.
- [64¹⁷²⁻¹⁷³] Otro coloquio de San Miguel en dos cuadernos a ocho que comienza Victoria, Victoria.
- [65¹⁷⁴] Otro cuaderno para con [sic] ministriles que en el tiple sólo está una letra que comienza La serpentina maraña.
- [66¹⁷⁵] Otro cuaderno para con [sic] ministriles que sólo el tiple tiene una letra Honor, deleite y nieves.
- [67¹⁷⁶] Otro cuaderno para con [sic] ministriles que sólo el tiple tiene una letra que comienza Adiós, adiós mundo malo.
- [68¹⁷⁷] Otro cuaderno de dos pliegos que es borrador en que está compuesto el salmo Lauda Jerusalem.
- [69¹⁷⁸] Otro cuaderno en que están unos versos del himno de Navidad y de los Inocentes.
- [f.91v]
- [70¹⁷⁹] Otro cuaderno en que está una misa de Juan de Carabantes a cuatro voces.
- [71¹⁸⁰⁻¹⁸³] Cuatro cuadernos de villancicos que el primero comienza Lloroso va el padre anciano.
- [72¹⁸⁴] Un cuaderno en que está una chanzoneta que comienza Goza padre pues podrás.
- [73¹⁸⁵] Un villancico de San Pedro en cuatro medios pliegos que comienza ¿Quién alegra la floresta?
- [74¹⁸⁶] Cuatro pliegos en que está un villancico que se hizo a la consagración del Obispo de Michoacán.
- [75¹⁸⁷] Cinco papeles en que están los villancicos que se hicieron al recibimiento del Conde de Coruña.
- [76¹⁸⁸] Cuatro medios pliegos sueltos en que está un villancico que comienza Mil gracias a Dios le damos.
- [77¹⁸⁹] Un villancico de San Pedro a cuatro que comienza la letra Pedro pues que por honraros.
- [78¹⁹⁰] Cuatro papeles en que está un villancico de San Hipólito que comienza ¿Quién son estos que han venido?
- [79¹⁹¹] Cuatro papeles en que está un villancico de San Gregorio que comienza Desde el eterno consuelo.
- [80¹⁹²] Cuatro papeles en que está un villancico que comienza Virgen pues os váis, de la Asunción de Nuestra Señora.
- [81¹⁹³] Cuatro villan papeles en que está un villancico que comienza Pues que está ya con nosotros la doncella.
- [82¹⁹⁴] Otros cuatro papeles en que está un villancico que comienza Salvaos Dios nuestro consuelo.
- [83¹⁹⁵] Un motete a cuatro que comienza Plange Jerusalem que es de voces iguales.
- [84¹⁹⁶] Otro villancico de San Miguel que comienza Al monte cristiano.
- [85¹⁹⁷] Cuatro medios pliegos en que está un villancico que comienza Mirad la abeja industriosa.
- [86¹⁹⁸] Cuatro medios pliegos en que está un villancico que comienza Pablo que es bajo aprobado.

- [87¹⁹⁹] Cuatro pliegos en que está una ensaladica que comienza El triunfo celebremos excelsamente a San Miguel.
- [88²⁰⁰] Un villancico a San Eligio que comienza Eligio el divino amor.
- [89²⁰¹] Una lira a tres y cinco que comienzaCuál suele al duro invierno.
- [90²⁰²] Un villancico a cuatro de San Pedro que comienza A Dios Pedro, a Dios a Dios.
- [91²⁰³] Un villancico a cuatro que comienza Ver primero no queráis.
- [92²⁰⁴] Cuatro pliegos de marquilla en que está una ensaladilla que comienza Ven [illegible blot] oveja donde estoy.
- [93²⁰⁵] Dos pliegos de cuatro hojas en que está un fabordón de Dixit Dominus de quinto tono.
- [94²⁰⁶] Un villancico a cuatro que comienza Hoy deja el demonio al hombre.
- [95²⁰⁷] Un villancico a cuatro del Buen ladrón que comienza Pues con lágrimas enciende.
- [96²⁰⁸] Otro villancico a cinco que comienza Y sube Dios nuestro nombre.
- [97²⁰⁹⁻²¹²] Cuatro cuadernos en que está la ensalada del desposorio que comienza El gran salvador México.
- [98²¹³] Un cuaderno en que están algunos Alleluias de contrapunto.
- [99²¹⁴⁻²¹⁵] Unos borradores de salmo Dixit Dominus y Laudate Dominum omnes gentes.
- [100²¹⁶] Un villancico de San Hipólito a cuatro que comienza Quién contar nueva hazaña.
- [101²¹⁷] Un motete de Morales a cinco que comienza Tu es Petrus.
- [102²¹⁸] Orlando Laso a cinco en cuatro medios pliegos.
- [103²¹⁹] Un pliego de papel en que están dos villancicos de San Lucas a cuatro voces.
- [104²²⁰] Un villancico de Nuestra Señora que comienza Virgen si estáis aguardando a cuatro voces.
- [105²²¹] Un motete a cinco de Lupo que comienza Jesus.
- [106²²²] Otro villancico a cuatro que comienza Tres panes en solo un pan.
- [107²²³] Un motete de Santa Catalina a cinco que comienza Veni sponsa Christi.
- [108²²⁴] Un motete a cuatro que comienza Hoc est corpus quod pro nobis traditum.
- [109²²⁵] Un motete a cuatro que comienza Ave María.
- [110²²⁶] Un motete de Todos los Santos que comienza Sancti Dei omnes a cuatro voces que atrás está asentado otra vez.
- [f. 92r]*
- [111²²⁷] Un villancico a cuatro que comienza Ahora han visto mis ojos.
- [112²²⁸] Tres papelitos donde está el Heli de la pasión a tres voces.
- [113²²⁹] Una misa a cuatro sobre un canto llano que comienza Petrus apostolus.
- [114²³⁰] Un libro en papel de la china en que están fabordones e himnos del año.
- [115²³¹] Un cuaderno en que está el himno Ave Maris Stella a cuatro voces.
- [116²³²] Un villancico que se cantó a la consagración del Obispo de las Charcas que comienza A México voy a cuatro.
- [117²³³⁻²³⁶] Cuatro cuadernos en que están algunos villancicos y comienza el primero Pastor es de concheo [¿consejo?]
- [118²³⁷] Un villancico en dos pliegos a cuatro que comienza Goza Pedro.
- [119²³⁸] Otro villancico a cuatro que comienza ¿Quién nació, di, quién es?
- [120²³⁹] Otro villancico en cuatro medios pliegos que comienza Di Gil, ¿qué siente Juana?
- [121²⁴⁰] Una pasión del Domingo de Ramos a cuatro.
- [122²⁴¹] Un borrador del introito Gaudeamus a cuatro voces.
- [123²⁴²] Otro borrador del Asperges.
- [124²⁴³] Otro borrador a cuatro del Asperges.
- [125²⁴⁴] Un villancico a cuatro de San Miguel que comienza Alegraos, está en cuatro medios pliegos.
- [126²⁴⁵] Unos tercetos sueltos en cuadernito pequeño a cinco que comienza Llegado es ya Dulcísima María.
- [127²⁴⁶⁻²⁴⁷] Tres papelitos donde está Consumatum est de la Pasión del Viernes y otro en donde está Pater in manus tuas a cuatro.
- [128²⁴⁸] Villancico a cuatro que comienza Ya el Dragón está rendido.
- [129²⁴⁹] Un motete a cinco de Berdelot [sic] que comienza Si bona suscepimus.
- [130²⁵⁰] Un pliego en que está el verso Gloria tibi Domine qui surrexisti a mortuis, también está en los libros de música.
- [131²⁵¹] Cuatro pliego[s] en que está un villancico a cuatro que comienza Dime Hipólito arrastrado, es para su fiesta.
- [132²⁵²] Villancico que comienza Virgen que de en hora en hora a cuatro.
- [133²⁵³] Un villancico para el doctoramiento del doctor Ribera que comienza Ribera bien sois Ribera a cuatro.
- [134²⁵⁴] Un motete a doce que comienza Ad te levavi oculos meos.
- [135²⁵⁵] Un villancico a cuatro para la misa nueva de Agustín Díaz que comienza Agustín.
- [136²⁵⁶] Un villancico a cuatro que comienza Aunque fuera grave la culpa.
- [137²⁵⁷] Otro villancico a cuatro que comienza Sois hermosa.
- [138²⁵⁸] Un villancico a cuatro que dice Y así vuelve el suelo en cielo.
- [139²⁵⁹] Otro villancico a cuatro Su gesto a su misma ley.
- [140²⁶⁰] Otro villancico a tres que ya está otra vez asentado que comienza Ay ay diva pastora.
- [141²⁶¹] Otro villancico a cuatro que comienza Yo me iba por un camino.

- [142²⁶²] Otro villancico a cuatro que comienza Con vos nasce nuestra vida.
 [143²⁶³] Otro villancico a cuatro que se cantó en la fundación del monasterio de Jesús María que comienza Cristo y su madre han venido.
 [144²⁶⁴] Una antífona para el concilio que comienza Exaudi no[s] Domine a cuatro.
 [145²⁶⁵] Otro villancico a cuatro que se cantó cuando llevaron el Sacramento a las Recogidas que comienza El divino Rabadán.
 [146²⁶⁶] Otro villancico que atrás está asentado otra vez a cuatro que comienza Hoy elige Dios a Eligio.
 Más veinte y ocho villancicos [in fact there are 38, 147–184^{267–304}] a cuatro que se cantaron a profesiones de monjas de diferentes nombres que porque no se truequen se pondrán aquí los principios de ellos y otro que es a tres que comienza
 [147²⁶⁷] Francisca ninfa dichosa.
[Text in two-column format: column 1]
 [148²⁶⁸] Términos lleva María.
 [149²⁶⁹] Adiós que me deja María.
 [150²⁷⁰] Pues con vos se desposó Agustina.
 [151²⁷¹] Amores abajan a Dios.
 [152²⁷²] Rica mina, rica mina.
 [153²⁷³] Hoy pide los votos Juana.
 [154²⁷⁴] O qué venturoso día.
[Column 2]
 [155²⁷⁵] Cecilia a tres desafía.
 [156²⁷⁶] Margarita tan preciosa.
 [157²⁷⁷] La victoria que hay mayor.
 [158²⁷⁸] Clara luz que nos alumbra.
 [159²⁷⁹] Que estrella es esta Pascual.
 [160²⁸⁰] Beatriz de reina quiere.
 [161²⁸¹] Amor Agustina e vos.
[f.92v]
[Text in two-column format: column 1]
 [162²⁸²] Mejor Ana es vuestra estrella.
 [163²⁸³] María y Ana son dos.
 [164²⁸⁴] No sé cierto como os cuadre.
 [165²⁸⁵] Tiene una amiga Isabel.
 [166²⁸⁶] A la china celestial.
 [167²⁸⁷] Luisa juega al trocado.
 [168²⁸⁸] O qué extraña maravilla.
 [169²⁸⁹] Francisca vuestra humildad.
 [170²⁹⁰] Hoy hace presentación.
 [171²⁹¹] María circuncisión.
 [172²⁹²] Hoy la angélica Beatriz.
 [173²⁹³] El león divino y fuerte.
[Column 2]
 [174²⁹⁴] Entra sin temor de mayor contienda.
 [175²⁹⁵] Pues queréis casar hoy con Magdalena.
 [176²⁹⁶] María quien como vos.
 [177²⁹⁷] De victoriosos ramos.
 [178²⁹⁸] Y pues que con afición.
 [179²⁹⁹] Isabel hace su alma hoy el [sic].
 [180³⁰⁰] Sobre una piedra preciosa.
 [181³⁰¹] Dios a Francisca convida.
 [182³⁰²] Con María hace Dios.
 [183³⁰³] Niñas de los ojos.
 [184³⁰⁴] Pues en tormento cruel.
[Text continues in one column]
 [185³⁰⁵] Otro de profesión que comienza Con María hace hoy contrato.
 [186³⁰⁶] Otro villancico a cuatro que comienza O qué divino amasijo.
 [187³⁰⁷] El salmo In exitu Israel de Egipto en borrón a cuatro.
 [188³⁰⁸] Otro borrón a cuatro de la magnificat a cuatro del sexto tono.

- [189³⁰⁹] Desde el corazón al alma a cinco.
 [190³¹⁰] Divina Inés a cuatro.
 [191³¹¹] Gastando fue el amor mis tristes años a cuatro.
 [192³¹²] Hállome un día Amor muy descuidado a cuatro.
 [193³¹³] Si la verdad divina de mi Señora a cuatro.
 [194³¹⁴] Todo se acaba todo se acaba y todo ha de acabarse a cinco.
 [195³¹⁵] Como cogeré el fruto de la simiente amor a cinco.
 [196³¹⁶] No puedo la fortuna con su movible rueda a cinco
 [197³¹⁷] Comienza tú a llorar çampoña mía a cinco.
 [198³¹⁸] La humanidad de Dios triste afligida a cinco.
 [199³¹⁹] De mi ninfa divina lo que más fatiga a cinco.
 [200³²⁰] O ánima amorosa enamorada, loca de amor sin tino a seis.
 [201³²¹] Porque me pareciste en el semblante, amorosa y afable, cruel pastora a cuatro.
 [202³²²] No haya del cuerpo dolor y muy menos de la vida, mas póneme gran temor del que el alma por amor va también a ser perdida a cuatro.
 [203³²³] Un rato se levanta mi esperanza a cuatro.
 [204³²⁴] Amor, amor yo voto a mí que si asco diese a cuatro.
 [205³²⁵] O lágrimas cansadas que en llegando mostráis a cuatro.
 [206³²⁶] A gran dignidad subís misa cantan[d]o a cuatro.
 [207³²⁷] Sois Margarita preciosa y tenéis virtud extremada a cuatro.
 [208^{328–331}] Cuatro libritos de motetes de mano, tienen también canciones a forrados en pergamino.

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1 S. Barwick, 'Sacred vocal polyphony in early colonial Mexico', 2 vols. (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1949), i, pp.53–8, 83–6, and 110–25.

2 R. Stevenson, *Music in Mexico. A historical survey* (New York, 1952), pp.104–22 and 140–58. Stevenson

developed further some of the issues raised in 1952 in a later study, *Music in Aztec and Inca territory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), pp.154–240, and in a series of important articles on the history of music in the cathedral: 'Mexico City Cathedral: the founding century', *Inter-American Music Review*, i (1979), pp.131–79, a summary of which was published in Spanish as 'La música en la Catedral de México. El siglo de fundación', *Heterofonía*, c–ci (1989), pp.10–24; and 'La música en la Catedral de México: 1600–1750', *Revista Musical Chilena*, xiic (1965), pp.11–31. See also J. Estrada, *Música y músicos de la época virreinal* (México D.F., 1973) and G. Saldívar y Silva, *Historia de la música mexicana. Épocas precortesiana y colonial* (México D.F., 1987), pp.126–51. The musical sources preserved in Mexico Cathedral were catalogued (though incompletely) in T. E. Stanford, *Catálogo de los Acervos musicales de las Catedrales metropolitanas de México y Puebla de la Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia y otras colecciones menores* (México D.F., 2002), pp.3–244.

3 E. Ros-Fábregas, 'Libros de música en bibliotecas españolas del siglo XVI (I–III)', *Pliegos de Bibliofilia*, xv, xvi and xviii (2001–2), pp.39–62, 33–46 and 17–54, gives a summary of the problems presented by music inventories and the entries relating to music books in 68 16th-century Spanish libraries. Other studies of specific libraries are cited throughout the article. On the transmission of music books from Spain to the New World during that period, see M. Gembero Ustárroz, 'Circulación de libros de música entre España y América (1492–1650): notas para un estudio', in *Early music printing and publishing in the Iberian world*, ed. I. Fenlon and T. Knighton (Kassel, 2007), pp.147–77.

4 The existence of the 1589 inventory of music books was referred to by Lota Spell, who in a pioneering study of 1946 mentioned 'an unpublished catalogue ... shows that the works of Guerrero, Morales, Victoria, Orlando di Lasso, and Palestrina were all represented'. See L. Spell, 'Music in the Cathedral of Mexico in the sixteenth

century', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, xxvi (1946), pp.293–319, at p.317. Despite this generalized but revealing reference, nothing more was heard of the inventory, although several scholars attempted to locate it: see, for example, Stevenson, 'Mexico City Cathedral: the founding century', p.169.

5 México D.F., Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México (ACMM), Inventarios, Libro 2, Expediente 2 ('Libro y inventario de los bienes, plata, ornamentos y otras cosas de la Iglesia Cathedral de México. De este año de mil quinientos y ochenta y cinco'), f.60r (organs), f.63r (missals), and ff.89v–92r (polyphonic books and fascicles).

6 The title-page of one of the books makes reference to this fact: '... nunc denuo, ex industria, studio et labore admodum Reuerendi Bachalauri Joannis Hernandez excussum & innumeris mendis et superfluitatibus (quibus scaturiebat) notularum cantus repurgatum. Supper additis et de novo compositis per eundem Bachalaurum cum Introitibus, cum Gradualibus, Alleluia & tractivibus tuum demum, Offertoriis & Communionibus ...'; see E. P. Housty, 'The Graduale Dominicale (México: Pedro Ocharte, 1576) of Juan Hernández' (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1970), p.13. On Hernández, see J. Marín López, 'Música y músicos entre dos mundos. La Catedral de México y sus libros de polifonía (siglos XVI–XVIII)', 3 vols. (PhD diss., University of Granada, 2007), i, pp.318–22.

7 For example in 1588 Seville Cathedral had only two books of music by Victoria, the Magnificats and the psalms: see J. Ruiz Jiménez, *La librería de canto de órgano. Creación y pervivencia del repertorio del Renacimiento en la actividad musical de la Catedral de Sevilla* (Granada, 2007), p.318, entries [17, 22].

8 T. Knighton, 'Morales in print: distribution and ownership in Renaissance Spain', in *Cristóbal de Morales. Sources, influences, reception*, ed. O. Rees and B. Nelson, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music*, vi (Woodbridge, 2007), pp.161–75.

9 See R. Stevenson, 'Morales's voice in the viceroalties', in *Cristóbal de*

Morales. Sources, influences, reception, pp.207–12; R. J. Snow, *A New-World collection of polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve service*. *Guatemala City, Cathedral Archive, Music MS 4*, *Monuments of Renaissance Music*, ix (Chicago and London, 1996), p.16; and Ó. Mazín Gómez, *El Cabildo Catedral de Valladolid de Michoacán* (Zamora de Michoacán, 1996), p.136, n.128. For Puebla, see Puebla, Archivo del Venerable Cabildo Angelopolitano (AVCA), Legajo 130 ('Memoria e inventario de los papeles de música latinos'), no foliation, 20 February 1718.

10 US–Cn, Case Ms. 5184, no.4, ff.24v–30r and 37v–42r, anon.

11 The continual use of the printed Magnificats resulted in manuscript copies of them being made in the 16th century, as occurred in Granada and Daroca, where the printed volumes fell apart; see J. López-Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada, 1963), i, p.129; and P. Calahorra Martínez, 'Dos inventarios de los ss. XVI y XVII de la Colegial de Daroca y dos pequeñas crónicas darocenses', *Revista de Musicología*, iii (1980), pp.33–76, at p.41. On the copy of Morales's Magnificats in Mexico City, see E. A. Schleifer, 'The Mexican Choirbooks at the Newberry Library (Case Ms. VM 2147 C 36)', 2 vols. (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1979), i, pp.180–3.

12 This volume included a first section dedicated to hymns, followed by one of psalms, but in the inventory it is identified only through the second part, perhaps because the first was no longer used, probably because it was no longer valid after Trent.

13 See P. Barbieri, 'Music printers and booksellers in Rome (1583–1600)', *Recercare*, xvi (2004), pp.69–112, at pp.100–3; and *Primeira parte do index da livraria de música de El-Rei D. João IV*, ed. M. Sampaio Ribeiro (Lisbon, 1967), p.36, no.201. From the Portuguese inventory it is clear that Pedro Guerrero also published a collection in Castilian, *Sonetos y madrigales difíciles a 3* (*Primeira parte*, p.148, no.606), and another Italian inventory, that of the Junta family in Florence (1604), mentions an edition of motets for five voices; see O. Mischiati, *Indici, catalogui e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali*

italiani dal 1591 al 1798 (Florence, 1984), p.125, entry [592].

14 See A. Luis Iglesias, 'Andanzas y fortunas de algunos impresos musicales españoles del siglo XVI: Fuenllana y Pedro Guerrero', *El libro antiguo español. IV. Coleccionismo y Bibliotecas (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, ed. M. L. Hernández González (Salamanca, 1998), pp.461–503, at pp.463–7.

15 GU–Gc, Ms. 3, ff.11v–12r and 56v–57r, anon. Another extant copy of *O beata Maria* (MEX–Pc, Ms. 1, ff.102v–103r) probably reached Puebla with Gaspar Fernandes; see G. Fernandes, *Obras sacras*, ed. R. J. Snow, *Portugalia Musicae*, xlix (Lisbon, 1990), pp.xxxv–xlili. On Montesdoca, see R. Stevenson, 'Martín de Montesdoca: Spain's first publisher of sacred polyphony (1550s), Chantre in Guatemala Cathedral (1570s)', *Inter-American Music Review*, xii (1992), pp.5–16. This manuscript includes other anonymous motets which might have been composed by Pedro Guerrero.

16 See J. Moll, 'Libros de música e instrumentos musicales de la princesa Juana de Austria', *Anuario Musical*, xx (1965), p.16.

17 The Venetian collection of the *Motecta* of 1597 (G4877) was acquired by the chapter in 1614 (ACMM, *Actas Capitulares* 5, f.349v, 31 January 1614).

18 On Francisco Guerrero's music in Mexico, see J. Marín López, '*Por ser como es tan excelente música: la circulación de los impresos de Francisco Guerrero en México*', *Concierto barroco. Estudios sobre música, dramaturgia e historia cultural*, ed. J. J. Carreras and M. Á. Marín (Logroño, 2004), pp.221–2.

19 1565, not 1566, was cited as the year of printing probably because the date was taken from the dedicatory letter to the King of Portugal, dated May 1565, and not from the title-page where the year is clearly 1566. For a description of the contents of the editions of Guerrero's Masses, see *Francisco Guerrero (1528–1599). Opera omnia*, ed. J. M. Llorens Cisteró *et al.*, *Monumentos de la Música Española*, 14 vols. (1955–2005). Specifically on the second book of Masses, see L. Merino, 'The Masses of Francisco Guerrero' (PhD diss., University of California, 1972), ii.

20 MEX–Mc, Ms. 2, ff.44v–53r, anon. For the concordances for this Mass and the differences between the pretridentine and revised version, see Marín López, *Música y músicos entre dos mundos*, ii, pp.57–65.

21 There are three concordances for the 1582 revised version of Guerrero's Requiem Mass in Puebla: MEX–Pc, Ms. 3, ff.6v–16r, 19v–28r, Fran^{co}. Guerrero; Legajo 11, Guerrero; Legajo 34, Fran^{co}. Guerrero.

22 ACCMM, *Actas Capitulares* 3, f.218r (13 December 1585): 'Mandarónse dar 50 pesos al maestro Guerrero por el libro de canto. Este día se proveyó que se le envíen al maestro Guerrero 50 pesos de oro común por el libro de canto que envió a esta Santa Iglesia y se dé libranza para que los dé el mayordomo de fábrica y el libro se entregue al señor racionero Juan Hernández para que lo haga encuadernar'. Payment was made on 4 February 1586. It is likely that Guerrero's Vespers book was not the only one to have been left out of the 1589 inventory.

23 See W. C. Lengefeld, 'Colin, Pierre', *New Grove II*, vi, pp.106–7. For a description of the copy preserved in the Vatican Library, see J. M. Llorens Cisteró, *Capellae Sixtinae Codices* (Vatican City, 1960), pp.232–3.

24 Moll, 'Libros de música e instrumentos musicales de la princesa Juana de Austria', pp.11–23.

25 MEX–Msmc, 199-D-IV-9, ff.100v–108r. The other work by Colin transmitted to Hispano-American sources is the Mass *Pere de nous* (GU–Gc, Ms. 1, ff.43v–54r), which was originally printed in his *Liturgicon musicarum duodecim missarum* (Lyon, 1546; c3310).

26 See Snow, *A New-World collection*, pp.5–6. This is the *Liber Quindecim Missarum* (Rome, 1516; 1516¹). The only copy preserved in Spain is held in the collegiate church in Pastrana; see D. Preciado, 'Una curiosidad musical y cuatro atmosféricas en un libro polifónico de la Colegiata de Pastrana', *Revista de Musicología*, iv (1981), pp.133–6.

27 See Ros-Fábregas, 'Libros de música en bibliotecas españolas del siglo XVI',

Pliegos de Bibliofilia, xv and xvi (2001–02), i, p.43, ii, p.18; and Ruiz Jiménez, *La librería de canto de órgano*, p.182.

28 For a description of the contents of these volumes, see H. Lincoln, *The Latin motet, indexes to printed collections, 1500–1600*, Musicological Studies, lix (Ottawa, 1993), pp.729–30 and 732–3.

29 Lincoln's study dedicated to the motet in 16th-century printed anthologies does not list any collection of Masses and motets in five partbooks, from which it might be deduced that these partbooks contained works by a single author rather than several.

30 See Knighton, 'Morales in print: distribution and ownership in Renaissance Spain', p. 166.

31 A. Sas Orchassal, *La Música en la Catedral de Lima durante el Virreinato*, 3 vols. (Lima, 1971–2), i, p.183, published a notarial protocol in which Victoria granted power of attorney to two Sevillian residents (probably merchants) to take 100 pesos out of 9 reales sent by a lawyer called Solís, resident in Lima; and see G. Bourligueaux, 'Géry de Ghersem, sous-maitre de la Chapelle Royale d'Espagne (documents inédits)', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, ii (1966), pp.169–202, at pp.173 and 177.

32 AVCA, *Actas Capitulares* 6, f.9v, 23 May 1606: '100 pesos al racionero maestro Alonso Lobo. Que por cuenta de fábrica se libren al canónigo Francisco de Paz cien pesos para que en esta flota se envíe al maestro Alonso Lobo, racionero de Sevilla, por el libro de canto de misas que se compró para esta Iglesia'. I am grateful to Omar Morales for this information. On the books sent by Clavijo del Castillo and López de Velasco, see Marín López, *Música y músicos entre dos mundos*, iii, pp.21–2.

33 M. P. Martínez López-Cano, 'Estudio introductorio al Tercer Concilio', *Concilios Provinciales Mexicanos. Época colonial [CD-ROM]* (México D.F., 2004), pp.1–27, at p.18.

34 The unique nature of the Tarazona inventory was discussed by J. J. Carreras, 'Un inventario de libros de polifonía de la Catedral de Tarazona', paper presented at the Congreso 'La

música Española del Renacimiento' (Zaragoza, 21–3 November 1986). I am grateful to him for allowing me to read his paper. For an edition of the inventory, see P. Calahorra Martínez, 'Los fondos musicales en el siglo XVI de la Catedral de Tarazona. I. Inventarios', *Nassarre. Revista Aragonesa de Musicología*, viii (1992), pp.9–56.

35 México D.F., Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México (AHAM), Fondo Cabildo: Museo Catedral/Catedral Metropolitana, Caja 183, Expediente 34 (6 June 1578). From their contents (motets and songs) it is probable that the *cuadernos* (208) were also intended for use by the instrumentalists, who were active in the cathedral from at least 1543; see México D.F., ACCMM, *Actas Capitulares* 1, f.58r, 10 April 1543.

36 There are settings by Pierre Colin, Jean Mouton, Giovanni Continio and Jacques du Buisson, among other 16th-century composers. Another copy of this motet is found at entry (110). I have not yet found any polyphonic setting of this text in Mexican sources.

37 Jacob Obrecht composed a four-voice Mass with this title which was published in 1539. There is also a Mass with this title by Gaspar Fernandes, although this cannot be the work listed in the inventory since the composer did not reach the New World until 1599 and his Mass is for five rather than four voices.

38 According to Lincoln, *The Latin motet*, p.493, there is no motet with this textual incipit in published collections of the 16th century. It may well be a work by a local composer to be sung by the choirboys, as other equal-voiced works were.

39 See Ruiz Jiménez, *La librería de canto de órgano*, p.133; F. A. Barbieri, *Biografías y documentos sobre música y músicos españoles (Legado Barbieri)*, ed. E. Casares Rodicio, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1986), i, p.73. Palestrina, whose works are surprisingly absent from the inventory, was one of the few composers known to have composed a 12-voice setting of *Ad te levavi*, although it was never published; see N. O'Regan, *Giovanni Pierluigi da*

Palestrina. Three pieces for triple choir (Edinburgh, 1994).

40 See ACCMM, *Actas Capitulares* 3, f.217r, 29 November 1585. Franco died the previous day at three o'clock in the afternoon.

41 'Libros de canto de órgano que se compraron. En dicho día, mes y año susodicho estando en cabildo se leyó una petición de Juan de Carabantes en que en efecto decía que se le comprasen unos libros de canto de órgano que él tiene que se llaman e intitulan [blanco] y los dichos señores Deán y Cabildo dijeron el canónigo Bartolomé Sánchez y el canónigo Juan de Oliva los viesan y si les pareciese ser necesarios a la Iglesia y los apreciasen y mandasen se le pagase al dicho Juan de Carabantes lo que justamente valiesen y los dichos Bartolomé Sánchez y Juan de Oliva los vieron y apreciaron en 8 pesos de tepuzque todos cuatro y mandaron se le pagasen' (ACCMM, *Actas Capitulares* 1, f.170v, 26 August 1558). On Carabantes, see Snow, *A New-World collection*, pp.9–10 and 229–40.

42 Recently a good deal more has been discovered about Franco's biography and works: see M. Gembero Ustárrroz, 'El compositor español Hernando Franco (1532–85) antes de su llegada a México: trayectoria profesional en Portugal, Santo Domingo, Cuba y Guatemala', *Latin-American Music Review*, xxvi (2005), pp.267–311; and J. Marín López, 'Cinco nuevos libros de polifonía en la Catedral Metropolitana de México', *Historia Mexicana*, ccviii (2003), pp.1073–94.

43 ACCMM, *Actas Capitulares* 5, f.240v (5 July 1611): 'El maestro de capilla [Juan Hernández] hizo presentación ante los dichos señores de un libro escrito y puntado en vitelas en que por su industria se pusieron las diez y seis magnificas de todos los ocho tonos que dejó compuestas el maestro Franco su antecesor ...'. This book, referred to as the 'Código Franco', has survived; see Marín López, *Música y músicas entre dos mundos*, ii, pp.523–45.

44 The anthologies are listed in M. Ham, 'Worklist', in *Cristóbal de Morales. Sources, influences, reception*, no.133.

45 See F. Cervantes de Salazar, *México en 1554 y Túmulo Imperial*, ed. E. O'Gorman (México D.F., 1982), pp.209–11; and G. Wagstaff, 'Cristóbal de Morales's *Circumdederunt me*: An alternate invitory for Matins for the Dead and music for Charles V', in *Encomium Musicae. Essays in Memory of Robert J. Snow*, ed. D. Crawford and G. Wagstaff, Festschrift series, xvii (Hillsdale, 2002), pp.27–45.

46 L. Robledo, 'Questions of performance practice in Philip III's chapel', *Early Music*, xxii (1994), pp.198–220, at p.209.

47 MEX–Pc Leg. 36, pp.57–72.

48 The only Lamentations by Morales were the third lesson for Maundy Thursday, and the three for Holy Saturday. On his Lamentation settings in the New World, see Snow, *A New-World collection*, pp.49–62; and M. Noone and G. Skinner, 'The *nuevo rezado*, music scribes, and the restoration of Morales's Toledo lamentation', in *Cristóbal de Morales. Sources, influences, reception*, pp.3–20.

49 See Calahorra Martínez, 'Los fondos musicales en el siglo XVI de la Catedral de Tarazona', nos.58, 325 and 900–904.

50 Both Lupus Hellinck and Johannes Lupi are represented in 16th-century Spanish inventories.

51 Lassus's works are listed, for example, in Zamora Cathedral (1582) and the Royal Chapel in Madrid (1594) at about the same time as in Mexico; see V. Bécares Botas, 'Los libros de la Catedral de Zamora en el siglo XVI', *Anuario del Instituto de Estudios Zamoranos 'Florián de Ocampo'* (1994), pp.239–54, at p.251; and Barbieri, *Biografías y documentos*, i, p.75. Other references to Lassus are found in 17th-century inventories: for example, in the 1604 inventory of the bookshop of the Barcelona bookseller Joan Lauriet seven printed collections by Lassus are included, and three others in the 1607 inventory of the collegiate church of Lerma; see E. Ros-Fábregas, 'Script and print: the transmission of non-Iberian polyphony in Renaissance Barcelona', in *Early music printing and publishing in the Iberian world*, pp. 299–328, at pp.320 and 328; and D. Kirk, 'Churching the

shawms in Renaissance Spain: Lerma, Archivo de San Pedro MS. Mus. 1', 2 vols. (PhD diss., McGill University, 1993), i, p.95. See also L. Jambou, 'Contribution à l'étude de la réception et de la transmission des oeuvres de Lassus dans la Péninsule Ibérique', *Obstinato rigore*, iv (1995), pp.127–38; R. Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque musical sources in the Americas* (Washington, 1970), pp.110 and 214; and Snow, *A New-World collection*, p.26.

52 According to Lincoln, *The Latin motet*, no setting of *Hoc est corpus* was published in 16th-century motet anthologies; it may have been by a local composer.

53 On the presence of Franco-Netherlandish composers in 16th-century Spain, see E. Ros-Fábregas, 'Foreign music and musicians in sixteenth-century Spain', in *The Royal Chapel in the time of the Habsburgs. Music and court ceremony in early modern Europe*, ed. B. J. García García and J. J. Carreras (Woodbridge, 2005), pp.65–84.

54 On music in Spanish dramatic works, see A. del Río, 'The villancico in the works of early Castilian playwrights (with a note on the function and performance of the musical parts)', in *Devotional music in the Iberian world, 1450–1800. The villancico and related genres*, ed. T. Knighton and A. Torrente (London, 2007), pp.77–98.

55 See Stevenson, 'Mexico City Cathedral: the founding century', pp.143 and 153; A. E. Lemmon, 'Los jesuitas y la música colonial en México', *Heterofonía*, liii (1977), pp.7–10, at p.8; and M. Frenk, 'Poesía y música en el primer siglo de la colonia', in *La otra Nueva España. La palabra marginada en la colonia*, ed. M. Masera (México D.F., 2002), pp.17–39.

56 C. Villanueva Abelairas, 'Villancico', *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, 10 vols. (Madrid, 1999–2002), x, p.921, pointed out that 'chansonetas' were clearly only referred to in Christmas contexts, while the word 'villancico' was used in other contexts. This division is not observed in the Mexican inventory, since it lists *chansonetas* for the feasts of St Michael, the Assumption of the BVM and Corpus Christi. For Cerone, *chansonetas*

were songs in which 'there is no contrapuntal artifice nor variety of invention as in the madrigal, but only well-ordered consonances' ('no ha de haber artificio de contrapunto ni variedad de invenciones como en los madrigales, sino intervalos consonantes, bien ordenados'); see J. M. Llorens Cisteró, 'Chanzoneta', *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, iii, pp.539–40; and López-Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI*, i, pp.260–77.

57 México D.F., Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal (AHDF), vol.2203, f.166v (25 August 1535).

58 ACCMM, *Actas Capitulares* 4, f.46r (26 March 1591); and Fábrica material, Caja 1, Expediente 6 (27 February 1604). On the 'prueba' or rehearsal of *chanzonetas*, see ACCMM, *Actas Capitulares* 6, f.32r (1 December 1617) and f.72r (27 November 1618).

59 The earliest reference I have found to the term 'villancico' in Mexico Cathedral dates from 1586, when the singer Gabriel López was appointed copyist of the villancicos; see ACCMM, *Actas Capitulares* 3, f.219v (14 January 1586).

60 ACCMM, *Actas Capitulares* 1, f.35r (11 January 1541): 'Que a don Diego de Loaysa chantre por el trabajo de las chanzonetas y cantos de esta Pascua de Navidad se le libren 20 pesos de oro de minas'.

61 ACCMM, *Actas Capitulares* 4, f.137r (10 October 1595). On Villalobos, see M. García Luna and J. N. Iturriaga, *Viajeros extranjeros en el Estado de México* (Toluca, 1999), pp.141–43.

62 See ACCMM, *Actas Capitulares* 4 (4 September 1598), *Actas Capitulares* 7, ff.334v–335r (30 July 1624) and *Actas Capitulares* 8, ff.297v–298r (13 December 1630). This last does not mention the feast of St Michael and allowing the chapelmaster four days (instead of three) for the composition of the *chanzonetas* for the feast of St Peter, and for the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

63 See J. Gregori i Cifré, 'Ensalada', *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, iv, pp.684–5.

64 MEX–Mc, Ms. 6, f.39r, includes the text of a sonnet dedicated to St Michael, 'Príncipe de la milicia

celestial', at the beginning of *Puesto en el sol Luzbel*. The theme of this sonnet links it directly with the musical item copied on the previous folios, a Battle Mass by Francisco López Capillas.

65 A. Tello, *Cancionero Musical de Gaspar Fernandes. Tomo primero*, Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México, x (México D.F., 2001), pp.28–41, 245–50 and 291–304. A volume entitled 'Libro de los colloquios' is preserved at Seville Cathedral, although it does not contain works in Castilian but rather Latin-texted motets to be played by instrumentalists; see Ruiz Jiménez, *La librería de canto de órgano*, pp.60–1.

66 See Perdomo Escobar, *El Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Bogotá*, pp.532–3 and 614–16; and B. Illari, 'Polychoral culture: cathedral music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1680–1730', 4 vols. (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2001), ii, pp.389–411 and iii, pp.674–92.

67 The performance of villancicos at the *Aguinaldo* Masses on Christmas Eve was also well established in Mexico, at least from the 1630s (ACCMM, *Actas Capitulares* 9, f.86r–v, 1 December 1634). This practice was transferred from Mexico to Manila; see D. Irving, 'Historical and literary vestiges of the villancico in the early modern Philippines', in *Devotional music in the Iberian world*, pp.363–98, at pp.373–4.

68 See F. González de Eslava, *Villancicos, romances, ensaladas y otras canciones devotas (Libro segundo de los coloquios espirituales y sacramentales y Canciones divinas, México, Diego López Dávalos, 1610)*, ed. M. Frenk (Mexico D.F., 1989), no.1, p. 89, and no.88, pp. 224–8; and F. González de Eslava, *Coloquios espirituales y sacramentales*, ed. O. Arróniz (Mexico D.F., 1998), p. 291. Probably the *ensalada* entitled *Carne, mundo y Lucifer* was by González de Eslava as well, given that among the characters of the fifth *coloquio* entitled *De los siete fuertes que el Virrey don Martín Enríquez mandó hacer* are *Carne, Mundo and Lucifer* (González de Eslava, *Coloquios espirituales y sacramentales*, pp.257–81).

69 The 1542 Guatemala inventory includes one polyphonic book and four partbooks, and that from Cuzco

dated 1553 seven polyphonic books. The 1581 inventory from Ecuador is only known to have included the set of five partbooks of Guerrero motets: see Snow, *A New-World collection*, pp.5–6; R. Stevenson, 'Cuzco Cathedral: 1546–1750', *Inter-American Music Review*, ii (1980), pp.1–27, at p.2; and 'Quito Cathedral: four centuries', *Inter-American Music Review*, iii (1980), pp.19–38, at p.19, n.4.

70 See A. M. Olmos, 'Aportaciones a la temprana historia musical de la Capilla de las Descalzas Reales de Madrid (1576–1618)', *Revista de Musicología*, xxvi (2003), pp.439–89, at pp.466–72; and Calahorra Martínez, 'Los fondos musicales en el siglo XVI de la Catedral de Tarazona. I. Inventarios', pp.9–56.

71 See J. López-Calo, *Catálogo del Archivo de Música de la Capilla Real de Granada*, 2 vols. (Granada, 1993), ii, pp.311–13; and Ruiz Jiménez, *La librería de canto de órgano*, pp.317–18.

72 For the bibliography relating to these inventories, see Ros-Fábregas, 'Libros de música en bibliotecas españolas del siglo XVI (I–III)', *Pliegos de Bibliofilia*. The vernacular-texted repertory from the Royal Chapel at the end of the 16th century can be reconstructed in part from the payments to the copyists Isaac Bertú, Juan Domine and Claudio de la Sablonara, which give the incipits and number of voices for the works copied: see J. Moll, 'Los villancicos cantados en la Capilla Real a fines del siglo XVI y principios del siglo XVII', *Anuario Musical*, xxv (1970), pp.81–96; Barbieri, *Biografías y documentos*, i, pp.70–7 and 178; and L. Robledo Estaire *et al.*, *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la corte de Felipe II* (Madrid, 2001), pp.395–408.

73 Both the Zamora inventory and that of the Descalzas Reales include a similar number of *cuadernos* of repertory in the vernacular: 19 and 18, respectively: see Bécas Botas, 'Los libros de la Catedral de Zamora en el siglo XVI', p.252; and Olmos, 'Aportaciones a la temprana historia musical', p.472. The inventory of Princess Juana de Austria (1573) also lists several *cuadernos* of Spanish-texted works (about 40): see Moll, 'Libros de música e instrumentos musicales de la princesa Juana de Austria', p.16.