indigenous peoples would participate in the different scenes drawn from mythology and contemporary literature that formed part of the dramatized tournament held in the main square. The figure of Bacchus, for example, was accompanied by four caciques and a large number of *indios* 'making a great din and noise . . . with drums'; the entry dedicated to the Knight of the Antarctic involved over a hundred indigenous participants, with the women playing drums and singing *taquies* (native songs): 'the drums alone were so many and made so much noise that the square was drowned.'[84]

As Baker has argued, the participation of ethnic groups in urban festivities testified to successful evangelization and legitimized the unequal power structure in colonial society.[85] It is also clear that on many occasions the different ethnic groups participated as musicians in the ritual, performing European repertory on European instruments.[86] By the mid 1560s, groups of indigenous instrumentalists trained in the outlying and village parishes were brought into Lima on major feast-days, notably Corpus Christi.[87] Others learned within the city itself; the sons of the caciques were taught to play instruments at the Jesuit college founded in the Cercado by the Prince of Esquilache, and they participated in the many plays held there in public.[88] For example, the indigenous students sang 'many different motets with very good music' between the acts of a play performed for the feast of the Conception of the Virgin.[89] How many of the dozens of wind-players who participated in the processions through the streets of Lima were not, in fact, Spanish? The extent to which indigenous musicians were employed by the civic and ecclesiastical institutions of Lima remains to be more fully researched; from the start, a mestizo instrumentalist from Mexico served alongside Peninsular musicians in the household of Gonzalo Pizarro,[90] and indigenous musicians, including harpists, played in the cathedral.[91] While the situation was to change considerably by the eighteenth century, when, as Estenssoro has pointed out, the 'other' cultures were constantly breaking out at the margins,[92] the extent to which this was the case in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries has yet to be ascertained. Waisman is surely right to distinguish between the rich city-courts in the vice-regal capitals of Mexico City and Lima, and most of the other urban centres of colonial Spanish America.[93] Ceremonial, and the written record of it, are more likely to have been developed where the echo of royal authority resounded loudest. Presumably the heterophony found in other urban centres such as Cuzco existed in the streets and squares of Lima, even if the *relaciones* deliberately strove to write it out of history.

3 | A conflicted relationship

Music, power and the Inquisition in vice-regal Mexico City

JAVIER MARÍN LÓPEZ

On 8 June 1536, the first trial of the Holy Inquisition in the New World took place in the episcopal palace in Mexico City.* This trial, for which the judge was fray Juan de Zumárraga, recently appointed Bishop of Mexico City and Apostolic Inquisitor, involved two musicians, Juan Moreno and Cristóbal Barrera, who had refused to play in the foundation ceremony of the Tribunal if they were not paid in advance. For this act of contempt of court, the two trumpeters were imprisoned and condemned to a fine of six libras of wax for the benefit of Mexico cathedral.[1] In this way, the episcopal inquisition was initiated in Mexico, and this would, while in the hands of the Bishop, aim above all else to control the indigenous population. This episcopal phase in inquisitorial history came to an end in 1569, when the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition was established, a body directly dependent on the Council of the Supreme and General Spanish Inquisition, the central institution on which all the tribunals scattered across the Spanish Empire, from Sicily to Manila, depended.

Inquisitorial archives have for many years furnished evidence for the reconstruction of the religious, social and cultural past, yet these sources have been little studied by musicologists up till now. This essay will show that the documentation of the Holy Office can also be considered a useful source for the study of music in a Spanish American city like Mexico. The files held at the Archivo General de la Nación relating to inquisitorial trials afford an idea of the music heard in the squares, streets and private houses of one of the largest, wealthiest and most densely populated cities on the American continent in the colonial period. In this essay, the possible contribution of this documentation to urban music history is approached from three different but complementary angles: the first section provides a glimpse into the musical activities that took place in the main urban spaces of the

* A preliminary version of this study was presented at the International Conference of the Society for Latin American Studies (Newcastle University, 2007). This chapter is part of the results of two wider research projects supported by the Spanish government (HUM2006–11891/Arte and HAR2008–05145/Arte). I am grateful to the directors and librarians of the Archivo General de la Nación de México (AGN), Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal (AHDF) and Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México (ACCMM), as well as Ricardo Miranda, Aurelio Tello and Juan Ruiz for their constant help.

city – activities such as songs and dances that were persecuted by the Inquisition; the second presents examples of musicians who were denounced to the authorities; and the third focuses on the urban profile of the Inquisition as an institution and the involvement of music in its activities. These three sections are preceded by an introduction to the documentation used and to the urban spaces that form the backdrop to this study.

History and memory: The archive of the Mexican Inquisition

The Tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico was one of three founded in the New World, together with Lima (Viceroyalty of Peru) and Cartagena (Viceroyalty of New Granada), and had a wide jurisdiction over the whole of New Spain, the General-Captaincy of Guatemala, and the most far-flung colony of the Spanish Empire, the Philippines. It was officially established in 1569 and began to function from November 1571. Conceived from the outset as having a supporting role to judicial authority, it was concerned with the reglamentation and observance of moral and religious behaviour, and involved the persecution and punishment of crimes against the faith.[2] The tribunals based in the New World were distinguished from those in Spain because of their pre-eminently urban nature, since the indigenous inhabitants of the rural *doctrinas* came under the Diocesan Ordinary Court (*Juzgado Ordinario Diocesano*), so that the priest served as a local inquisitor who dealt with accusations and passed sentence on the indigenous population.[3]

The vast documentation generated by the Novohispanic Inquisition is fairly well preserved in the section entitled 'Inquisición' of the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City. Indeed, the Mexican Tribunal is one of the few in Spanish America to have preserved its inquisitorial records, gathered in 1,555 volumes, each with between 800 and 1,000 folios, complete.[4] This collection affords a great deal of detailed information on the trials held by the Inquisition in every sphere of its activity, and music and musicians make frequent appearances.[5] Throughout the pages of these volumes are found descriptions of popular entertainments in streets and squares, details of professional music-making on the margin of official institutions and information about unstudied performance spaces in taverns and private houses. A further interesting aspect of the collection is the inclusion of musical sources.[6] Although some relevant studies by both Mexican and non-Mexican scholars exist, until now these inquisitorial records have not been used as a source for the study of urban music history in Mexico City during the colonial period.[7]

Before going further into inquisitorial records and their importance for the study of urban music, the limitations of this kind of source material must be taken into consideration. The files consulted so far cover a wide chronological period (1536–1819), although most date from the second half of the eighteenth century, and they are not sequenced and are thus fragmentary – they provide only a web of documentary fragments over a long period of time.[8] The very nature of the Tribunal demands a critical approach to these essentially repressive and official documents and a consideration of the institution and its administrators, the sociology of the crimes and the motives behind the denunciations. On the other hand, the main features that make the inquisitorial records exceptionally rich as a resource should also be borne in mind. First, their orality, which, though indirect in nature and mediated through written records, provides information on oral music-making that otherwise leaves scant trace in historical sources; and second, their marginality, since they afford a glimpse of the important presence of popular culture among the lower classes, whose musical modes of expression were deemed anathema to social order. Paradoxically, the repressive machine of the Inquisition gave a voice to people and oral and marginal activities that would not otherwise have had one, making it possible to know about these practices through the official, written registering of them. The light and shade of Spanish colonization is glimpsed most clearly through these inquisitorial records; detailed analysis of them makes it possible, as modern historians of the Inquisition have proposed, to go beyond the myth of the Inquisition as the worst aspect of the Spanish 'black legend', to analyse the institution in the context of the culmination of the Reconquest, the rise of Protestantism and the fight between Spain and the other powers of Europe for hegemony of the Atlantic.[9]

The Rome of the New World, or vice-regal Mexico City

Founded in about 1325, Mexico City (originally known as Tenochtitlan) was the capital of the Aztec Empire until it was conquered by Hernán Cortés in 1521. It subsequently became the administrative and political capital of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, but also an episcopal city, home to the metropolitan cathedral and a dense network of ecclesiastical and civil institutions that at the end of the eighteenth century numbered more than a hundred, including hospitals, colleges, convents, monasteries, parish churches, sanctuaries and palaces. Because of the high number of churches and its wide streets, Mexico City was called the Rome of the New World,

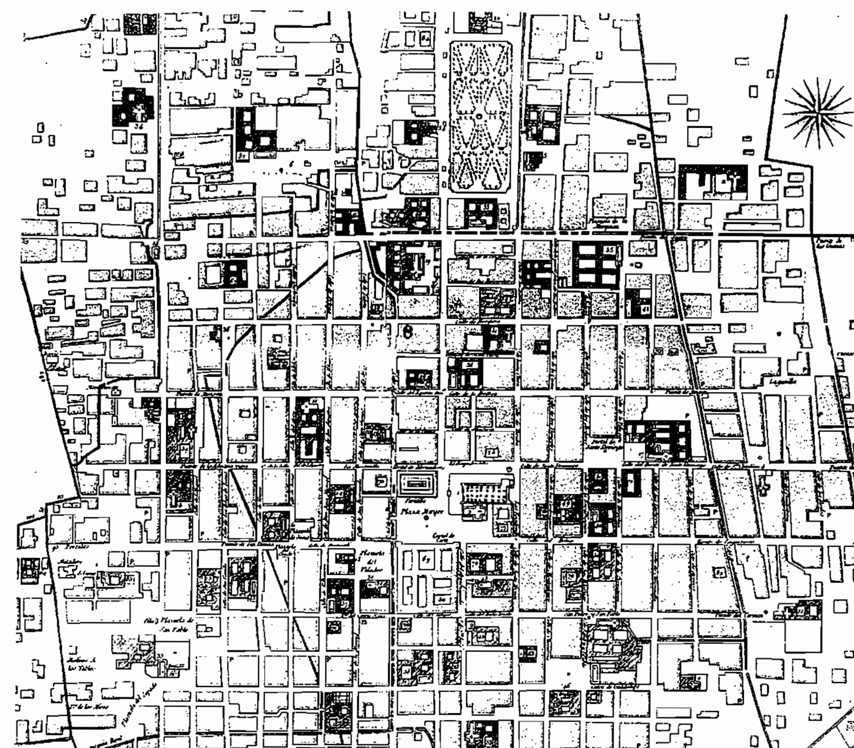
although the *città eterna* was not the only European conurbation compared with the vice-regal capital.[10] However, one aspect of Mexico City set it apart from its European counterparts and ended by shaping the way in which it developed culturally and musically: it was essentially a mixed-race city. Of the 137,000 inhabitants who lived together at the end of the vice-regal period in Mexico City, some 110,000 belonged to the lower classes, made up mostly of blacks, native Mexicans, mestizos and Chinese. Of these, only a third had fixed jobs as artisans, or worked in royal employ or as servants in private houses; the remainder were linked to the world of the market, and most were beggars. The elite was comprised of estate-owners and mine-owners, traders, administrators and priests, almost all of them *criollos*, except for the 10 per cent who were Spanish-born.[11]

All these different people merged in the streets and squares of the city, in ecclesiastical and civic buildings, palaces, neighbourhoods, markets and taverns. However, each and every one of them had their place of residence, and urban order reflected social and ethnic order. The ruling classes resided in the planned part of the city, or *traza*, where the religious and civil powers were based: the metropolitan cathedral and the *Sagrario* parish church, the palaces of the viceroy and the archbishop, the *Real Audiencia*, the town hall, the Royal University, the Inquisition and a whole constellation of ecclesiastical institutions. Those of indigenous and African descent lived in the outlying and peripheral quarters, like that of Santiago Tlatelolco, with their own parishes. Thus Mexico City formed a framework for urban staging, and its streets and squares became the main settings for communication, representation, communal life and social exchange (see figure 3.1).[12]

However, Mexico City was not the well-ordered paradise suggested by the detailed map of 1785. The urban filth, natural disasters (floods, fires), poverty and hunger created a lack of public-spiritedness, vice and delinquency. Juxtaposed with the Mexico of churches and palaces was the Mexico of prostitution, drinking and gambling, despite, as in so many other spheres, the authorities' hard line against such activities. In this urban, social and ethnic context, the Tribunal of the Inquisition sometimes acted merely in a regulatory capacity, and at other times as a weapon of repression.

Indecency, transgression and repression in street songs and dances

Among the urban musical practices that most troubled the Inquisition were the street songs and dances, prohibited through numerous edicts



1 Cathedral
2 Parish church of *Sagrario* (Spanish)
3 Parish church of San Miguel (Spanish)
4 Parish church of Santa Catarina Martyr (Spanish)
5 Parish church of Santa Veracruz (Spanish)
6 Parish church of San José (indigenous)
*7 Church of Santa Ana
*8 Parish church of Soledad de la Santa Cruz
9 Parish church of San Sebastián (indigenous)
*10 Parish church of San Antonio Tomatlan
11 Parish church of Santa María la Redonda (indigenous)
12 Parish church of San Pablo (indigenous)
*13 Parish church of Santa Cruz Acatlán
14 Parish church of Nuestra Señora del Salto del Agua
*15 Parish church of Santo Tomás
*16 Parish church of Santo Cristo de la Palma
17 Monastery of Santo Domingo
18 Monastery of Porta Caeli
19 Monastery of San Francisco
20 Monastery of San Diego
21 Monastery of San Agustín
22 Monastery of El Carmen
23 Monastery of La Merced
24 Monastery of Santa Ifigenia
25 Monastery of San Camilo
26 Monastery of San Juan de Dios
*27 Parish church of San Hipólito
28 Monastery of Espíritu Santo
29 Monastery of Betlemitas
*30 Hospital of San Lázaro

Figure 3.1 The city centre of Mexico and its urban spaces. Tomás López, *Plano geométrico de la Imperial, Noble y Leal Ciudad de México* (detail), 1785 (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, HA/75646). The location of the *pulque* stalls is taken from Viqueira Albán, *¿Relajados o reprimidos?*, map between pp. 210–11 (the numbers marked by an asterisk do not appear on the map).

*31 College of San Fernando
*32 College of Santiago Tlatelolco (indigenous)
33 College of San Pablo
34 Mercedarian convent (Belén)
35 Convent of La Concepción
36 Convent of Regina Coeli
37 Convent of Balvanera
38 Convent of Jesús María
39 Convent of San Jerónimo
40 Convent of La Encarnación
41 Convent of San Lorenzo
42 Convent of Santa Inés
43 Convent of San José de Gracia
44 Convent of San Bernardo
45 Convent of Santa Teresa la Antigua
46 Convent of Santa Teresa la Nueva
47 Convent of Capuchin nuns (San Felipe de Jesús)
48 Convent of Santa Brígida
49 Convent of La Enseñanza
50 Convent of Santa Catalina de Siena
51 Convent of Santa Clara
52 Convent of San Juan de la Penitencia
53 Convent of Santa Isabel
54 Convent of Corpus Christi (indigenous)
55 Church of Santísima Trinidad
56 Casa Profesa (Oratory of San Felipe Neri)
57 College of San Juan de Letrán
58 Colegio de Niñas (Santa María de la Caridad)
59 Hospital of Amor de Dios
60 Royal Hospital of San José (indigenous)
61 Hospital of la Inmaculada Concepción y Jesús Nazareno
62 Church of Montserrate
63 Hospice of Misericordia
64 Hospital of San Antonio Abad
65 Hospice of San Nicolás
*66 Convent of El Calvario
67 College of Vizcaínas (San Ignacio de Loyola)
68 College of San Javier
69 Royal Palace
70 Archbishop's palace
71 Palace of the Inquisition
72 Royal University
73 Town hall (*casa de cabildo*)
74 State houses (*casas de estado*)
75 College of Santa María de todos los Santos
76 College of San Ramón
77 College Seminary of San José
78 College of Cristo
79 College of San Ildefonso
80 Stock exchange (*casa de moneda*)
81 Royal Customs House (*aduana real*)
82 Casa del Apartado
*83 Casa de la Acordada
84 Hospice of the poor
85 Retirement house (*casa de recogidas*)
86 New Coliseum (*Nuevo Coliseo*)
87 Paseo of Alameda
*88 Paseo Nuevo
P *Pulquerías* (taverns)

Figure 3.1 (*cont.*)

and denunciations and persecuted thanks to the involvement of perfidious informers who sometimes availed themselves of duping and false witness. The public spaces of the city, ideal for the display of identity and collective ceremonial expression, also provided the natural setting for the proliferation of licentious dancing, 'of which there was so much that the night that could not boast of at least three or four such dances was considered to be a sad affair'.[13] The presence of these dances can be considered a form of political critique and religious satire, ranging from the comical to the openly erotic; all in all, they attacked colonial power and, at the same time, provided a form of entertainment with its roots in popular culture.[14]

Thanks to the informers and the implacability and precision of the inquisitorial notary's pen, it is clear that there was no space in the city, whether public or private, where these dances did not take place. The inquisitorial accounts reveal not only the names of the dances, but also their texts, the instruments used to accompany them, and even the gestures and physical movements that went with the music, although the music itself was never written down. Some of the denunciations were immediately filed away, so that it is clear from the completed files that the strong punishments proclaimed in the edicts (whippings, fines, excommunication, imprisonment for men and seclusion for women, and so on) were rarely inflicted and often resulted only in simple warnings or penances in the form of praying.[15] What is interesting is that the denunciations show how – in contrast to what happened in the cathedral, where music-making involved European musicians and their direct descendents, the *criollos* – street music flourished in other urban spaces and was performed mainly by marginal ethnic groups (blacks, mulattoes, indigenous Mexicans and Asians, as well as the various mixed-race people, or *castas*).[16] This bears witness to a much richer and more plural mestizo soundworld than that conveyed by documentation in the cathedral archive, or indeed that found in any other European city.

One of the city locations that often featured in the denunciations to the Inquisition were the *tepacherías* and *pulquerías*, open-air stalls where alcoholic drinks were sold at low prices; the most popular drink was undoubtedly *pulque*, a fermented beverage made from maguey juice. In these places – and in 1784 there were some seventy-five scattered through the city (see figure 3.1)[17] – gathered a motley crowd of men and women; they were considered by the civil authorities to be dens of iniquity and crime, and by the ecclesiastical authorities to be places that fostered vice and sin. Successive town councils issued numerous decrees and proclamations to regulate the activities and opening times of these establishments. The best known of these was the decree of 1671, the fifth chapter of which expressly forbade the mingling of the sexes among those present, huge crowds of people, and 'harps, guitars or other instruments, dances and musicians'.[18] It did not stop these open-air drinking dens from continuing their trade, and even cathedral musicians could be seen imbibing there.[19] A century later, the situation showed few signs of improvement: in 1771, the mulatta Manuela Fernández informed the Inquisition that dancing and physical contact between soldiers and women occurred at the *tepacherías* on the bridge of Santo Domingo in Mexico City. In one of these establishments, known as Tepechuhilco, the distinction between sacred and profane was somewhat blurred: two indigenous men were seen singing a *saranguandingo* interlarded with a responsory to St Anthony.[20]

Many of the chroniclers who visited Mexico City in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries singled out the spaciousness of its squares and the width of its streets and canals. The Plaza Principal or Plaza Mayor was the most important of these urban spaces for its symbolic value: gathered round its sides were the buildings of the main colonial institutions, and it served as a centre for relaying information, for business transactions and urban reforms. As the space allotted to civic, ecclesiastical and military

ceremonial, and the point of departure, passing through or arrival of the most important urban processions, music was frequently heard there – the music of the cathedral choir as well as that of indigenous dancers or of black musicians organized in itinerant groups.[21] Another important square was that of Santo Domingo (Portal de Santo Domingo in figure 3.1), which had a strong sense of identity given that it was there that the Inquisition held their *autos de fe*. Further south, the smaller Plazuela del Volador and that of San Pablo were also important urban spaces. Of the avenues, the oldest and most important was the Alameda, built in the sixteenth century in the west of the city, and treated to a major widening by the civic authorities in the Enlightenment. It was a tree-lined space that could be traversed on foot or on horseback, and in which, from 1784, were sited the bandstands of the military regiments.[22] According to some moralists, such as the cleric and musician José de Paredes, the hidden corners and nocturnal darkness made it a place that lent itself to disorder and the performance of obscene dances.[23] Musical activity also occurred on the many canals of the city (which had been founded on a lake). The Neapolitan chronicler Gemelli Carreri, during his visit to the capital in 1697, described how on the renowned Jamaica canal there were canoes 'with many musicians and singers, who rival one another in drawing attention to the perfection of their singing'.[24]

The city authorities' strict regulations as regards entertainment in the various public spaces resulted in the lower classes gathering in private homes and local squares. These private or semi-public meetings, generally held at night, were referred to in different ways over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (*oratorios*, *nacimientos*, *escapularios*, *incendios*, *coloquios*, *juntas*, *posadas*, *jaranas* and *jamaicas*), and there men and women of different social status and ethnic background, friends and acquaintances, gathered together on the pretext of praying or celebrating one religious event or another. At such celebrations there were often altars with images of the saints and virgins. However, they often ended up by treating both the images and the religious authorities to parody and ridicule. Liturgical feasts of this kind organized by laypeople were not only to be found in Mexico City,[25] but a distinguishing feature of them was the prominence of the indigenous and African population and the constant presence of music and dance, spiced with chocolate and *pulque*.[26]

An important example of these private festivities dates from 1691. Juan de Galde, a page to the viceroy himself, confessed to the Holy Inquisition that he had participated in an *escapulario* where, having sung and danced, he had put the scapular on two young women. There were several musicians at the feast, including two by the name of Reina, who made the event more

enjoyable from three in the afternoon until nine at night.[27] So wild were these events that *jamaicas* were banned by two of the viceroy's factions in 1761 and 1780, as were the *coloquios* in 1808.[28] A trial begun in 1796 provides further details about these private gatherings. The priest Juan Francisco Peredo denounced the Andalusian José Gutiérrez, who was wont to sing, at the request of those present, a *son*, or tune, entitled 'El viaje del arriero', which told of the journey of a mule-driver to Seville, with a mule loaded up with papal bulls; the beast ate these along the journey and later defecated the indulgences. This *son* was interspersed with *seguidillas* and *boleras*, which were 'quite obscene and dirty'. The trial was prolonged for ten years and, as with so many other cases, no judgment was reached.[29]

Ecclesiastical institutions did not escape denunciations – not surprisingly, for, as is clear from the prohibition included in the fourth Mexican Provincial Council (1771), it was members of the clergy themselves who allowed, encouraged and even participated in the performance of these profane songs in church.[30] In 1782, in the convent of Santa Isabel in the east of the city, several laymen participated in a fiesta enlivened by *fandangos* and *seguidillas*, and 'even the clergy danced the *pan de jarabe*'.[31] Just as the cleric Paredes stated in his denunciation of 1796, the terrible abuse of 'secular songs composed to arouse sensuality... [with] texts full of the rudest expressions, accompanying the most degrading movements' was to be found in all the churches of the city, from the Franciscan convent to the humblest chapel.[32] Despite their efforts, the inquisitorial authorities were unable to put a stop to these practices. In an edict dated 1813, the cathedral chapter forbade the city's church organists from playing 'toccatas or melodies from the theatre or profane dances, such as contradances, the *minué congó*, *campestre*, allemande, English dance, *pan de jarabe* and other such dances whose names we do not mention out of a sense of propriety';[33] in the Dominican convent, a few yards away from the court of the Inquisition, the dance of San Gonzalo, well known in Portugal and Spain, was performed from 1814 onwards.[34] These disorders sometimes became more serious; on one occasion, the chapelmaster and sacristan of the parish church of Santa Catarina Mártir were knifed by two men who surprised them engaged in illegal sexual practices with two prostitutes within the church grounds.[35]

At least from the mid sixteenth century, Mexico City had a privately owned theatre, initially based in the patios of adjoining houses. A royal decree of 1553 authorized the Hospital Real de los Naturales to stage public theatre performances. A fire destroyed the theatre in 1722, and the so-called Viejo Coliseo was built on the same site; this was replaced, in turn, in 1752, by the Nuevo Coliseo, with seating for over 800 theatre-goers.[36] The Inquisition

also controlled the content of the plays on immoral subjects or those that ridiculed the ecclesiastical establishment, and, of course, the inclusion of indecent songs and dances, which were performed in the entr'actes of the plays, accompanied by satirical *tonadillas* sung by comic actresses.[37]

In 1772, the priest Agustín Roca told how, following the performance of a tragedy and at the audience's request, two comic actresses sang and danced to the tune of the *cosecha*, 'a dance of the worst kind malice could invent... the movements and physical contortions it involves amount to no more nor less than a vivid representation of what decency does not permit me to say'.[38] The 1786 regulations of the Viceroy, the Count of Gálvez, stressed the need for the professionalization and discipline of the actors, dancers and musicians. Concerning entr'actes, the fifth clause of the regulations prohibited 'all indecency and provocation that might lead to the least scandal, especially as regards dances known by the name *de la tierra*', on pain of a month's imprisonment, and with those responsible being arrested *ipso facto* on the stage, 'in front of the audience and members of the company to serve as a lesson and example'.[39] The new regulations did not eliminate the 'scandalous excesses', and in subsequent years similar denunciations continued to occur regarding the nature of the texts, music and costumes.[40] Towards the end of the colonial period, and coinciding with the wars of independence in New Spain, the Inquisition became a strategic weapon in the hands of civil power and in accordance with the new social and political circumstances. The cause for concern, then, was not the indecent movements of the dances, but the protection of state security through censorship of the words of the patriotic songs performed at the Coliseo.[41]

Apart from the many references to unnamed dances, I have found a total of eighty-two seventeenth- and eighteenth-century street dances named in inquisitorial documents; most of these date from 1760 to 1810, when the Holy Inquisition launched a systematic campaign to eradicate these dances (see table 3.1).[42] Of them, only the *danza de San Dieguito*, *chuchumbé* and *jarabe gatuno* were expressly forbidden by inquisitorial edicts. The most denounced of all was the *chuchumbé*, 'the most scandalous, obscene and offensive to pure ears, accompanied by indecent and erotic movements, displays and provocative wiggling'. The renown of the *chuchumbé* spread throughout the viceroyalty, and with it the prohibition; in just one year, 1766, more than 170 edicts were sent all over New Spain.[43] From some of these dances arose mestizo genres such as the *corrido* or *décima*, which are still practised by groups in different areas of the country, especially in the states of Michoacán, Jalisco and Veracruz.[44]

Table 3.1 Dances denounced to the Holy Inquisition (1623–1819)

Abuelo (1819)
Animal (1767–69)
Ánimas (1809)
Baile de San Gonzalo (1814–16)
Baile de Santiago (1774)
Bamba poblana (1804)*
Bendiciones (1785)
Bergantín (1796)
Bolera (1795–1817)
Bonete (1808)
Borrego*
Bureo (1752)
Caña/cañita (1802)
Capona (1649)
Catacumba (1796)
Catiteo (1735)
Chas (1767)
Chimiztlanes (1796)
Chuchumbé (1766–97)
Conejo*
Confesiones**
Cosecha (1767–78)
Cristo del desmayo (1813)
Cristo pacífico (1818)
Cuándo (1799)
Danza de San Dieguito (1769)
Fandango (1779–96)
Gallinaza (1819)
Garbanzos (1796)
Guapo*
Guastala*
Jarabe dormido (1818)
Jarabe gatuno (1801–19)
Jarabe ilustrado (1788)
Jarro (1752–67)*
Juana (1803)
Juégate con Candela (1772)
Lanchas (1782)***
Limonada (1800)
Llorona (1782)***
Lloviznita (1796)
Mambrú (1789–1800)
Mandamientos (1788–1799)

(*cont.*)

Table 3.1 (*cont.*)

Manta (1782)***
Maroma (1719)
Maturranga (1771–78)
Melorico (1796)
Me pica la hormiga (1767)
Olé (1817)
Pan de jarabe (1772–96)
Pan de manteca (1755–96)
Pan girado (1784)
Pan pirulo (1805)
Panaderos (1779–1805)
Paterita (1796)
Perejiles (1796)
Peyote (1776)
Poblanita (1782)***
Polos (1808)
Puerto Rico chiqueador (1645)
Rubí (1782)***
Sacamandú (1778–99)
Sapo (1819)
Saranguandingo (1767–1771)
Seguidillas (1782–1808)
Suá (1796)
Tango (1802)
Temascal/temascalito (1755–82)
Tinga (1819)
Tirana (1779–1808)
Torito (1803)
Toro nuevo (1803)
Toro viejo (1803)
Totochín (1771–75)
Tumteleche (1623)
Vals/balsa (1808–18)
Vecumpé (1767)
Viaje del arriero (1796–1805)
Volador (1783)
Zape (1782)***
Zarabandilla (1737)
Zorongo (1817)

Sources: AGN, *Inquisición*, vols. 303–1446 (1623–1819). The asterisks indicate that the sources for these dances come from (*)Robles Cahero, 'La memoria del cuerpo', p. 29; (**)Viqueira Albán, *¿Relajados o reprimidos?*, p. 163; and (***)León Portilla, *Historia documental*, pp. 416–17.

The Mexican Inquisition also exercised rigorous control over imported books reaching the port of Veracruz, to forestall the introduction of heretical or 'forbidden' volumes. It thus set up a series of periodical inspections of the ships called *visitas*, which included the drawing up of an inventory of the books received. The raids carried out at the port were later repeated, without warning, in the bookshops of Mexico City. These inventories drawn up by booksellers and individuals on the orders of the Inquisition afford valuable information on the circulation and dissemination of music in the urban milieu.[45] An example of a private library is that of Simón García Becerril, which was inventoried in 1620. A great lover of vernacular literature and music, García Becerril had four vihuela books by Luis Milán, Luis de Narváez, Enríquez de Valderrábano and Miguel de Fuenllana.[46] Among the most interesting inventories handed over to the Holy Inquisition was that of Tomás Domingo de Acha, a merchant in Mexico City who, in 1787, asked permission from the Inquisition to collect four boxes of books from the fleet, the last of which included music. The memorandum is ordered by instrumental genre (symphonies, quartets and overtures), with a total of over two hundred works by twenty-six Central European, French and Italian composers, most of whom were alive at the time of the delivery. Although the memorandum is incomplete, it gives an idea of the international profile of the music introduced into Mexico City at the end of the eighteenth century.[47] Two decades later, in 1808, the inquisitors seized 'two small volumes of *seguidillas* and *polos* to sing to the guitar', which can be identified with the *Colección de las mejores coplas, de seguidillas, tiranas y polos que se han compuesto para cantar a la guitarra, por Don Preciso* (Cádiz, 1799–1802; 2nd edn, Madrid, 1805).[48] Villancico texts and music did not escape the control of the inquisitorial bureaucrats, who were suspicious of 'both the style and the music, as well as the mix of profane and sacred'.[49] In 1715 some anonymous villancicos were kept in an inquisitorial file; the music has not survived, but the text has, with its satire of the liturgical service of matins and its criticism of the relatives of the Archbishop-Viceroy Juan Antonio Vizarrón.[50]

Persecution and examination: Urban musicians before the Holy Office

In contrast to the denunciations for unseemly words and deeds (considered to be minor offences) such as dances and songs, denunciations of crimes of a sexual nature (bigamy, fornication, illicit unions, and so on) or of a religious

kind (heresy, sorcery and magic) were pursued more actively and with greater determination by the Holy Inquisition. The procedure was always the same: the investigation began when a person (victim, eyewitness, member of the clergy, and so on) informed on a misdeed to the Tribunal, whether out of fear, repentance, prejudice or simply 'to relieve his conscience'. The complex and bureaucratized inquisitorial machinery, made up of the inquisitor, public prosecutor, investigators, notaries, servants, auxiliaries, examiners and consultants,[51] sprang into action: the notary wrote down the evidence of those involved with a wealth of detail, extracting the proof for the crime. Having heard the statements and the formal deliberation, the Tribunal put forward its sentence and ruled on the punishment, if any, to be imposed. Musicians active in Mexico City, whether as freelances or working for a specific institution, were frequently implicated in inquisitorial trials for a very wide range of crimes, whether they were reporting a crime, accused of a crime, or simply witnesses to the trial. The files, which could be compiled over a number of years and run to many pages, include fascinating accounts, providing not only biographical information (age, address, family and work environment), but also a lively depiction of Novohispanic life of the period.

Several urban musicians were accused of bigamy – one of the sexual failings more often found in inquisitorial trials in the New World than in Peninsular courts. Bigamy was, up to a point, an inevitable part of colonization given the vast number of immigrants from Spain (known as *gachupines*) seeking a new life in Mexico. One of them, Diego Risueño, a vihuela-maker and tailor, was denounced to the Inquisition in 1581. From the interrogation of this musician it is possible to reconstruct his life at first-hand. Born in 1541 in Talavera de la Reina (Toledo), Risueño attended school in his village until he was fifteen, when he went to Seville. After a brief four-months stay, he went to Gibraleón (now the province of Huelva), where, in 1562, he married Marina Franco. Two years later, with his wife and mother-in-law, he travelled from Cádiz to the Canary Islands, where he lived for a year. From there he went to Santo Domingo, where he remained a further three years, before he settled in Mexico City in 1568; he stayed there permanently, except for a brief sojourn of six months in Zacatecas. Risueño even provided information on his musical education, stating that it was his brother, a clergyman, who taught him to play the vihuela. In Spain he also danced and played a little, 'though necessity had meant that he had had to practise the art more over here'.[52]

Tiburcio Sanz de Izaguirre was accused of the same crime in 1694. He arrived in Mexico in 1689 with his brother Félix, to install an organ in Mexico cathedral. Tiburcio, who had already been married in Spain, wedded again in Mexico, his wife being Francisca de Covarrubias, a young girl of fourteen, with whom he had had a premarital relationship.[53] The accuser was Francisco de Villalba, a preacher who resided in the Hospice of San Jacinto, who, at Félix's request, did not hesitate to gather all kinds of information about Tiburcio's past. The Sanz brothers came from Cella (Teruel), although Tiburcio himself said in his statement that his native town was Paniza (Zaragoza). Tiburcio was trained as a carpenter and furniture-maker in Malaga, where he also married, with the name of Lorenzo. From Malaga he went to Valencia, where he made contact with an uncle who was an organ-builder (referred to only as 'Fulano Sanz'), and the opportunity arose for him to travel to Mexico. Being pursued, Tiburcio sought work temporarily in Puebla cathedral, although he later worked as an organ-builder and -tuner in various convents in Mexico City. Having taken statements from the couple and at least six witnesses (two people known to the Covarrubias family and four former apprentices who worked with Sanz in Malaga and Madrid), the case remained open in 1699.

Despite the fact that the different ethnic groups lived alongside each other, racial prejudice towards the indigenous, African and Chinese communities was an integral part of the collective conscience of the authorities, as the case concerning the indigenous violinist Cristóbal Bibián demonstrates. Bibián was a musician from one of the four Spanish parishes of the town, that of San Miguel, and in 1775 he was denounced for saying that he would break the head off a sculpture of Jesus of Nazarus, and other extreme comments that were recorded in detail.[54] José Miguel Estrada's denunciation was supported by the statement of some young boys in the parish, but the accusations were dismissed 'because they could not be substantiated'. In the same year as the denunciation, Bibián asked to be admitted to a vacancy for a contralto in Mexico cathedral, but he was rejected. In 1785, he applied for another vacancy, but his ethnic background ('some said that he was mixed-race or Indian, but that he was not mulatto') meant that the chapter selected another candidate, José Revelo, since he was Spanish.[55]

A case from 1776 reveals a love triangle between two musicians and a woman and their most intimate personal relationships. The tenor Nicolás del Monte was denounced by Josefa Ordóñez Tello de Meneses, wife of the violinist Gregorio Panseco. The file provides interesting information on the biographies of those involved in the trial: Josefa Ordóñez was from Motril (Granada) and was thirty years old; Monte was Flemish and reached Mexico in August 1775 from Cádiz, where he worked in one of the theatres; he had previously 'travelled widely through Europe'. Panseco was Milanese and

about fifty-three or fifty-four, while his pupil José María Ximénez, violone-player in the cathedral, was twenty-three and from Mexico. No sooner than he arrived in Mexico, Monte struck up something of a friendship with Panseco, visiting him at his house in the street of San Jerónimo. During one of these visits, Monte questioned Christ's divinity, and that of the Virgin Mary, in spite of Ordóñez putting forward arguments that conformed to 'the principles and mysteries of our Holy Religion'. The very full case file contains Ordóñez's original denunciation and the statements of Monte and the two witnesses (Panseco and Ximénez), as well as their ratifications, all written in highly colourful language. Ximénez's statement contains the key to the case. Josefa Ordóñez was having an affair with Monte, since 'she gave him a number of presents, ate in his house and even looked after him when he was unwell', and the informer went so far as to say that 'on one occasion they were surprised together in his room, from which he deduced that if she had denounced him it must have been more out of jealousy than zeal for the Holy Faith'.[56]

This story of jealousy and vengeance carried on until 1792, when Josefa Ordóñez ended up denouncing her own husband. This file is an example of how the Inquisition was sometimes used as an outlet for jealousy and personal frustration. Ordóñez was called and, in order to denigrate her husband, presented an account of Panseco's supposed sexual abuse of her granddaughter María Isabel and two other children under ten years old who served the household, an Arab girl ('de nación meca') and an unbaptized black boy. Such was Ordóñez's sequence of tall stories and such the inquisitorial bureaucracy that it took nine sessions and thirty folios to record the account of all the details. Despite the gravity of the accusations, the case was suspended for lack of evidence and the calumny was turned back against the accuser, who found herself to have become the prime suspect. The prosecutor closed the trial, saying that it was 'necessary to consider that [the accuser], having been an actress for many years, incurs the disgrace that is part and parcel of the nature of her profession'.[57]

The Inquisition pursued and inflicted the severest punishments on foreigners. Not surprisingly, one of the main reasons behind the establishment of inquisitorial tribunals in Spanish America was the persecution of judaizing and protestant heresy that travelled with the Portuguese, English and Dutch, and, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the new ideas of the French. Although the Spanish Crown established tight restrictions on travellers to its colonies, some managed to flout the rules and set sail. The Spanish American Inquisition served as a second filter and, in this respect, was extremely efficacious. Some musicians were caught in the inquisitorial nets simply because they were foreigners, as was the case in 1572 with the

English trumpeter referred to as Fulano Lomberto, who was ordered to be taken by the Inquisition to be interrogated so that his intentions might be ascertained. Another foreigner, Juan Baptista, was accused of sorcery and magic in 1720. Roman in origin, Juan Baptista was 'a musician by profession, a tinker, conjurer, who played an archlute and who quite often demonstrated his skill in various ways on the stage and in the public theatre'.[58] Tamaron, a Frenchman, had a dance school in the city, and in 1765 was denounced for reading Voltaire, whose books were prohibited. However, it was the French soldiers who were most often involved in inquisitorial trials. In 1785, the military bandsman José Bruzal was denounced by another musician, José de Mora, under suspicion of being a Jew. In 1794, Pedro Boet, a musician in the regiment of the Royal Dragoons, was imprisoned after a suspicious text was found among his papers: it was a French song that, drawing on the characters of pastoral literature (Phyllis and Thirsis), told the story of a lady parishioner and a priest who offered to be her lover; once the text had been translated and checked for any double entendres, it was censored (see figure 3.2).[59] From the 1790s there is a noticeable increase in the number of trials held against musicians, both foreign and Spanish, for spreading rebellious ideas, whether through pamphlets or through popular songs used for the purposes of propaganda. Both the chapelmaster Antonio Juanas and the violone-player José María Ximénez were denounced in 1794 for having spoken in favour of the French Revolution.[60]

Only a small number of cases (about 6 per cent, according to Alberro[61]) ended with the defendant being imprisoned. The Inquisition's cells below their main building were reputed to be very damp. In the prison itself, the Inquisition set up a network of spies and informers. These spies were placed in cells next to the accused and encouraged them to speak about their supposed misdeeds, having already organized a witness to overhear what they said. This was the case with a prisoner called Gonzalo Váez, who communicated with two women through a song with incoherent words mixed into the text, so as to simulate madness. In the long, tedious days in the cells, there was time for everything, and sometimes the prisoners turned to song as a means of lament, as in a case documented in 1645.[62]

Urban expressions of power: The Inquisition in processions

The expression of power through public festivities and processions was an idea adopted by the Spanish American tribunals from the Inquisition in the Peninsula. This type of ceremonial procession, in which the streets were filled with crowds, served to establish an urban identity for the city.

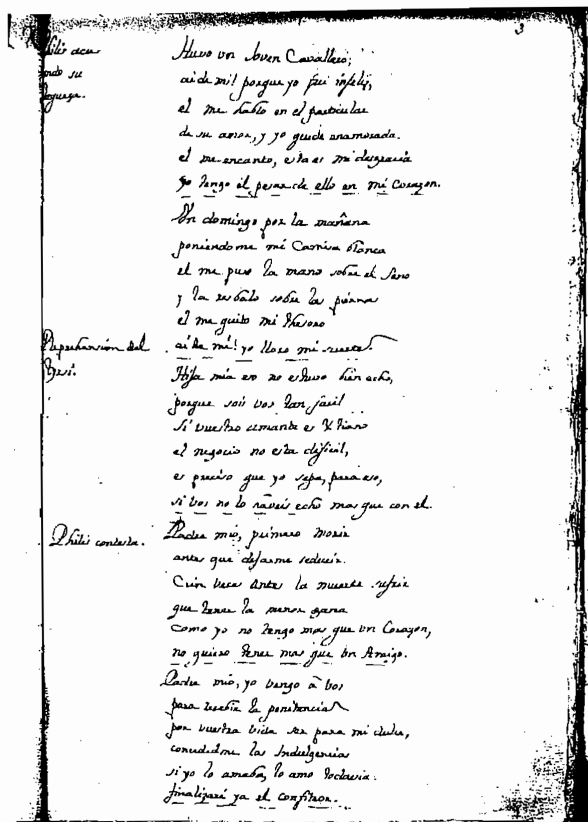


Figure 3.2 French song of Phyllis and Thirsis, translated into Spanish by José Francisco Valdés (Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 1340, exp. 3, fol. 3r, 23 December 1794).

The inquisitorial officials formed part of the party of colonial authorities that processed solemnly through the streets of the city on the major urban feast-days – those that formed part of the regular calendar (San Hipólito, the city's patron saint, or Corpus Christi, for example) and those that were extraordinary (entries of viceroys and archbishops, royal oath-takings and proclamations). But the Inquisition did not only participate in festivities organized by other institutions such as the town council, cathedral, university or vice-regal court; it also mounted its own celebrations and civic processions related to events concerning the royal family, amounting to a specific and differentiated expression of the Inquisition's support for royal power.[63] Two of the ceremonies that most clearly expressed the Inquisition's

power and that involved music were the public *autos de fe* and the feast of the patron saint of inquisitors, Pedro de Arbués.

The *auto de fe* was a public ceremony organized by the Inquisition in which the whole city participated. According to its importance and solemnity, the *auto de fe* could range from being a private or small occasion to the large-scale and most ostentatious ceremonies, which required the building of platforms and steps in the Plaza de Santo Domingo and the procession of bare-footed accused, carrying the symbols of their crimes in front of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the city. The rest of the citizens watched the *auto de fe* as a real spectacle. Because of the expense involved in mounting them, these large-scale *autos de fe* were comparatively rare. On 25 March 1601, a grand *auto* was held in Mexico, and the chronicle of it serves as an excellent example of the complex ceremonial that had to be organized and the importance of music in the celebration of the event.[64] The involvement of music began on 15 February, when the celebration of the *auto de fe* was announced in the streets of the city to the sound of trumpets and drums. Platforms covered in carpets and velvet were built for the authorities, and a large scaffold bearing the arms of the Inquisition was erected so that 'the people could see and enjoy everything that happened there'.

One of the most important events of the large-scale *auto de fe* was the procession that took place on the previous evening, which, departing from Santo Domingo, went round all the main streets of the city. Immediately after the banner went the inquisitorial authorities and servants, followed by members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and, last in the procession, the cathedral musicians 'singing psalms appropriate to the occasion; they sang in polyphony, while a separate choir of clergymen and the religious orders responded in a contrasting style with melodious plainchant'. Another procession took place early on the morning of the *auto de fe*, and the entourage included, in this order: the bailiffs of the court and city, the knights and their families, the civil and cathedral chapters, members of the university, the secretary, head bailiff and principle office-holders of the Inquisition, the jailer of the prison, the inquisitorial prosecutor and consultants, the officials of the *Audiencia* in order of seniority and the viceroy with his pages and servants. Following the oath of loyalty and sermon came the reading of the sentences of the 124 penitents, some of whom would end up being burned at the stake. The musicians responded to the absolution 'in polyphony with the marvellous voices to be found in this cathedral, and with a highly skilled chapelmaster', who at that time was Juan Hernández. It is not clear if all the major *autos de fe* involved music, but it is possible that they did, as would seem to be confirmed by an *auto* celebrated in Lima in 1625.[65]

The other main urban festivity held by the Inquisition was that of Pedro de Arbués, organized by the confraternity of the same name annually on 29 April, and involving the officials and servants of the Inquisition. The organization of this celebration, which was different in nature to the *auto de fe*, adds an extra dimension to the Inquisition as an urban institution, so that it can be seen not only as an instrument of repression. The confraternity was formally instituted in 1656 and its constitutions were published three years later.[66] Like all confraternities, its aims were both religious and to provide a benefice system to protect its members under the advocation of a patron saint. A particularly important occasion in the confraternity's calendar – and one that reflected very clearly the Inquisition's power in the city – was the annual feast in commemoration of the patron saint, during which a procession with a banner was held, a sermon was given and the church of Santo Domingo was decorated with 'fireworks, candles, music, fronds, palms and all the other things required to celebrate it with devotion and lustre'. The Head Brother of the confraternity was responsible for organizing the festivities and all the decorative elements, including music and dance; somewhere between 200 and 800 pesos were set aside to cover the costs. Thanks to a detailed file, it is clear that the musical chapel of Mexico cathedral participated in the festivities every year between 1667 and 1741. The cathedral musicians received a fixed amount (30 pesos) for performing the music at vespers on 28 April and Mass the following day; the receipts signed by the chapelmaster (or whoever was responsible for agreeing the external activities of the musicians) survive. At these festivities, a wide variety of instruments were used: bugles (at an early date, 1681), shawms, drums, bowed instruments and trumpets, sometimes played by indigenous musicians.[67]

The participation of the cathedral musicians in the feast of San Pedro Mártir was abruptly interrupted in 1741, when it was decided to cut back substantially on expenditure. Nevertheless, they must have been involved soon afterwards, since music was again suppressed in 1772 and then re-established the following year with singers from the Dominican church. From time to time, it was decided to call once more on the services of the cathedral musicians, as in 1786, but it would appear that in the last years of the Tribunal's existence, the musicians of the collegiate church of Guadalupe were hired to participate in the festivities, according to the evidence of the administrator of that chapel.[68]

Inquisitorial files thus offer a rich seam of information for the study of the complex relationship between music and power in Spanish American cities. Mexico City was the capital of the viceroyalty, and, in the final analysis, it was the powerful vice-regal institutions – headed by the Tribunal of the Inquisition – that controlled and governed the interests of the city and its people. From this perspective, inquisitorial documentation can offer a vivid example of the control of urban musical practices by colonial authorities. However, the same files can also be taken to represent the voices of those 'people without history' who, despite the authorities' best efforts, were never completely silenced.

The documentation of the Holy Office has thus proved to be a source of great richness and originality for the re-creation of the urban musical environment of Mexico City, going well beyond the exclusively institutional perspective studied up till now. Despite its fragmentary nature – not all periods of vice-regal history can be covered with the same depth – the perspective offered by inquisitorial sources is fairly comprehensive, since the Tribunal intervened everywhere and in all sectors of urban society. From the inquisitorial files it is possible to gain a glimpse of the musical practices of the city and its various spaces, both public and private, spaces that are difficult to document through other sources.

The view of Mexico that emerges from the inquisitorial documentation is of a city with a wide range of musical activities and a sound spectrum rather different from that of European cities. The huge proliferation of popular songs and dances of all kinds performed by those on the margins of society (socially, racially and geographically) calls into question, at least in part, the possibility of a direct application to the situation in Spanish America of the received idea of the baroque as a controlled culture in which the urban population conformed exclusively to the rules laid down by the ruling classes. Equally, a new and highly interesting kind of reality is outlined for the social history of musicians through a fascinating glimpse into his (or her) social and geographical origins and way of life, as well as attitudes, beliefs and ambitions. This use of new sources and methodologies affords a reorientation of the urban studies carried out to date, in which the urban musical life of a specific town or city can be compared with the sum of its institutions, and allows the spotlight to fall on the musical experience of ordinary people who, when all is said and done, formed the majority of the population in a city like Mexico. This is, in essence, to rewrite the history of urban music from what the *nouvelle histoire* calls 'the bottom up'.[69]

58 The *relación* concludes with the amounts spent by the council on the platforms, the wood used to burn the condemned, and the meal for the magistrates and aldermen in attendance: *Ahorcados, quemados y robados*, pp. 207–8.
59 Medina, *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición*, vol. II, pp. 18–32.
60 At the 1559 *auto* in Valladolid, the *Vexilla Regis* was performed by the singers of Charles V's chapel *in alternatim* with shawms, and both the *Miserere* and the hymn *Veni creator* were performed polyphonically by the musicians of the royal chapel of Charles V: *Ahorcados, quemados y robados*, p. 184.
61 Medina, *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición*, vol. II, p. 31.
62 *Ibid.*, p. 22.
63 Carvajal y Robles, *Fiestas de Lima*, pp. xv–xvi.
64 *Diario de Lima*, pp. 90–116.
65 *Ibid.*, pp. 91–2.
66 *Ibid.*, p. 116.
67 Carvajal y Robles, *Fiestas de Lima*, p. xvi.
68 *Ibid.*, p. xvii.
69 *Ibid.*, p. 28, ll. 307–23.
70 *Ibid.*, p. 30, ll. 365–75.
71 *Ibid.*, pp. 124–6.
72 Durán Montero, *Lima en el siglo XVII*, p. 155.
73 In 1617, Paul V had published a decree that forbade anyone to teach publicly that the Virgin Mary was conceived in original sin; the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception had been supported by the Spanish monarchy from the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, and was particularly favoured by Philip III, as Cano Gutiérrez, a royal chaplain, acknowledges in his dedication to the king: 'Three years ago news and *relaciones* reached these kingdoms from Spain and Your Majesty's court of the fiestas and celebrations held in honour of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, the Virgin Mary' (Cano Gutiérrez, *Relación de las fiestas*, fol. 1). Festivities had already begun in Spain around 1615, and about a dozen *relaciones* were published there between 1616 and 1618; see Castillo Ferreira, 'Música y ceremonia', vol. I, pp. 293–310.
74 Cano Gutiérrez, *Relación de las fiestas*, fol. 3r.
75 *Ibid.*, fol. 5r.
76 *Ibid.*, fol. 7r; on this 'unprecedented sociological phenomenon', including a transcription of the melody, see Castillo Ferreira, 'Música y ceremonia', vol. I, pp. 295–301.
77 Cano Gutiérrez, *Relación de las fiestas*, fol. 12v.
78 *Ibid.*, fol. 23v.
79 *Ibid.*, fol. 28v.
80 *Ibid.*, fols. 41r–43v.
81 Lohman Villena, *El arte dramático*, p. 10. This decree is reiterated in other years, such as 1585 (*ibid.*, p. 59).
82 Bermúdez, 'Urban musical life', pp. 172–9.
83 Antón Priasco, 'El *Quijote* en una celebración cortesana', p. 153.

84 *Ibid.*, p. 166.
85 Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, p. 53.
86 The *indios* were responsible for a wide range of activities associated with the preparation of the fiestas; for the 1544 vice-regal entry, for example, they decorated the streets with flowers and helped to prepare the triumphal arches: see Ramos Sosa, *Arte festivo*, pp. 49–51.
87 Waisman, 'La América española', p. 513.
88 Cobo ('Fundación de Lima', p. 355) describes how 'in the college the caciques were taught to behave well, our Castilian language, to read and write and help at Mass, and some who had the talent for it are taught music and to play some instruments'. The plays performed at the Jesuit college would also have involved indigenous musicians: see Lohman Villena, *El arte dramático*, p. 52. See also Waisman, 'La América española', p. 528 and Bermúdez, 'Urban musical life', p. 177.
89 Egaña, *Monumenta peruana*, vol. I, pp. 348–9. See also Fülöp-Miller, *The Power and Secret*, pp. 411–12.
90 Lohmann Villena, *El arte dramático*, p. 6. Generally, however, the viceroys brought their household musicians with them from Spain (Quezada Macchiavello, 'La música en el virreinato', p. 79).
91 Sas, 'La vida musical', p. 23.
92 Estenssoro, *Música y sociedad coloniales*, p. 63.
93 Waisman, 'La América española', p. 546. See also Latasa, 'La corte virreinal'.

3 A conflicted relationship: Music, power and the Inquisition in vice-regal Mexico City

1 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 42, exp. 3, fols. 28r–33r, 8 June 1536.
2 On the Mexican tribunal, see the important studies by Greenleaf, *The Mexican Inquisition*; Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad*; Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio*; Quezada, Rodríguez and Suárez (eds.), *Inquisición novohispana*.
3 Cruz, 'Inquisidores virtuales'.
4 Herrera Huerta and San Vicente Tello (eds.), *Archivo General de la Nación*, p. 112.
5 To date, I have located more than a hundred inquisitorial trials related to music.
6 Mendoza, 'Páginas musicales'; Robles Cahero and Escorza (eds.), *Juan Antonio Vargas y Guzmán*.
7 Among those who have drawn on inquisitorial records are Saldívar, *Historia de la música*; Stevenson, *Music in Mexico*, pp. 183–5; *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory*, pp. 232–4; Lemmon, 'El Archivo General de la Nación', pp. 13–18; Robles Cahero, 'El archivo de la Inquisición', pp. 5–34; Robles Cahero, 'Inquisición y bailes populares'. Further bibliography is cited below.
8 Lucas, 'Rio de Janeiro 1670–1720'.

9 Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, pp. 305–20. An insightful summary of the notion of the 'Spanish black legend' can be found in the preliminary study by Molina Martínez, in Carbia, *Historia de la leyenda negra*.
10 See Rubial García, *La plaza*, p. 11.
11 Viqueira Albán, *¿Relajados o reprimidos?*, pp. 132–3.
12 Recchia, 'La teatralización', p. 143.
13 Lozano Armendares, 'Lo furtivo', p. 210.
14 Rivera Ayala, 'Lewd songs', p. 33. Popular dance has also been studied by Robles Cahero, 'La memoria del cuerpo'; Baudot and Méndez, *Amores prohibidos*, pp. 25–107; Sánchez Fernández, *Bailes y sones*; Méndez, *Secretos del oficio*, pp. 151–61; Ramos Smith, 'Que esa canalla se abstenga'.
15 See Robles Cahero, 'Cantar, bailar', p. 53.
16 For illustrations of the different ethnic groups and combinations of them – in some of which guitars and harps are shown – the paintings of the Spanish American *castas* are very useful; see Katzew, *La pintura de castas*.
17 See 'Informe sobre pulquerías', pp. 203–6.
18 Viqueira Albán, *¿Relajados o reprimidos?*, p. 190.
19 Several warnings by the cathedral chapter to various musicians for frequenting these places are found in the chapter acts: Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México (ACCMM), *Actas capitulares*, vol. 23, fols. 188v–189v, 12 June 1693; vol. 39, fol. 139r, 10 October 1747.
20 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 1168, exp. 19, fols. 244r–245r, 1 October 1771.
21 AHDF, *Actas capitulares*, vol. 15, pp. 331–2, 5 April 1604, and ACCMM, *Actas capitulares*, vol. 11, fols. 33v–34r, 2 May 1651.
22 See 'Informe sobre pulquerías', p. 201. For the proclamation of Ferdinand VII as king in 1808, there was a markedly collective celebration in the city. Many of the events took place in the Alameda and the music was organized by the military bands; see Hernández Dávalos, *Colección de documentos*, doc. 207, pp. 7–8, 16–21.
23 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 1312, exp. 17, fols. 149r–150v, n.d. [1796].
24 Rubial García, *La plaza*, p. 49.
25 See Río Barredo, 'Cofrades y vecinos'.
26 As early as 1609, Viceroy Luis de Velasco was forced to impose regulations by way of edicts on the dances of the Africans, authorizing them only on feast-days, in the main square and between midday and six in the evening; see Saldívar, *Historia de la música*, p. 264; Aguirre Beltrán, 'Bailes de negros'.
27 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 526, exp. 24, fols. 569r–573v, 15 May 1691.
28 Viqueira Albán, *¿Relajados o reprimidos?*, pp. 163–9.
29 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 1362, exp. 14, fols. 122r–133r, 3 August 1796.
30 Members of the clergy were expressly forbidden from dressing up in disguise, using masks, singing indecent songs, playing instruments in public and dancing; see Martínez López-Cano (ed.), *Concilios provinciales*, Cuarto Concilio, Título VI, nums. 9–10, pp. 198–9.

31 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 1310, exp. 8, fols. 81r–82r, 1782.
32 *Ibid.*, vol. 1312, exp. 17, fols. 149r–150v, n.d. [1796]. The denunciation made by Paredes, a cathedral musician, ended with a list of the most sinful *sones* (see table 3.1).
33 ACCMM, *Edictos*, box 6, exp. 39, 26 February 1813.
34 See Robles Cahero, 'Nadie se engaña'.
35 AGN, Mexico, *Criminal*, vol. 705, 8 November 1777, cited in Lozano Armendares, 'Lo furtivo', pp. 216–17.
36 Viqueira Albán, *¿Relajados o reprimidos?*, pp. 58–9, 72–3.
37 On this subject, see Olavarría y Ferrari, *Reseña histórica*, vol. I, pp. 127–9; Mendoza, 'La música en el Coliseo'.
38 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 1162, exp. 32, fols. 382r–382v, 19 May 1772.
39 AHDF, *Diversiones públicas*, vol. 1, exp. 5, fol. 3r, 11 April 1786.
40 See, for example, AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 1413, fols. 25, 27, 5 October 1803.
41 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, box 191, 2 May 1817, includes the text of a patriotic song, realistic in nature and entitled *A la arma, a la arma, muera Mina por traidor*; it was dedicated by José María de las Casas to Ferdinand VII.
42 Table 3.1 duplicates the forty-one dance titles identified by Robles, 'La memoria del cuerpo', p. 30. Dances found in Spanish American instrumental sources, such as Sebastián de Aguirre's zither method or the Códice Saldívar IV, have not been included in the table.
43 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 1075, exp. 14, fols. 280r–368r, 31 October 1766; vol. 1178, exp. 1, fols. 1r–23v, 27 February 1779. The first historian to mention this dance was Saldívar, *Historia de la música*, pp. 271–4. Saldívar did not transcribe the text in full 'because most of the words are too rude'. On this widely known song, see Baudot and Méndez, 'El "chuchumbé"'; Rivera Ayala, 'The street dance'; Robles Cahero, 'Cantar, bailar', pp. 72–4 (facsimile edition of the text at pp. 197–9).
44 See Mendoza, *Panorama de la música*.
45 See Leonard, *Los libros del conquistador*, pp. 164–77. This subject has also been studied from a musical point of view by Gembero-Ustárroz, 'Circulación de libros', and Marín López, 'Música y músicos', vol. I, pp. 405–528.
46 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 289, fols. 379r, 388r, 1620, cited by O'Gorman, 'Bibliotecas y librerías', pp. 703–4, entries 24–7.
47 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 1118, fols. 272r–273v, 17 July 1787.
48 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 1438, exp. 10, fols. 69r–74v, 8 March 1808.
49 See Rey, 'Weaving *ensaladas*', pp. 22–3; Picó Pascual, 'Música, músicos e Inquisición'.
50 See the transcription of the text in Saldívar, *Historia de la música*, p. 359.
51 Two major chapelmasters of the mid eighteenth century worked for the Inquisition: José Laso Valero and Francisco Martínez de la Costa, chapelmasters of

the cathedrals of Puebla and Oaxaca respectively; see AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 847, part 2, fol. 343v, 1 July 1760; vol. 1061, exp. 10, fols. 246v–256r, 25 February 1767.

52 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 125, exp. 20, fols. 57r–58v, 1 August 1581.

53 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 693, exp. 7, fols. 453r–479v, 31 August 1694. Other sources confirm that Tiburcio was a controversial character. In 1693, the cathedral chapter complained that he sold *pulque* in the cathedral college; see ACCMM, *Actas capitulares*, vol. 23, fols. 188v–189v, 12 June 1693.

54 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 1179, exp. 18, fols. 211r–230v, 7 April 1775. According to his file, Bibián was dark-skinned, with a black beard, blind in his left eye and 'of a voracious and desperate nature'. According to another file, it is clear that Bibián was married in 1766 when he was nineteen to a free Christianized Arab girl, or *morisca*, of fifteen called Margarita Castañeda, and that their two sons, José Mariano and Simón, were also musicians; see AGN, Mexico, *Matrimonios*, vol. 34, exp. 83, fols. 396r–399r, 29 June 1766; ACCMM, *Correspondencia*, box 24, exp. 6, 8 November 1799.

55 Bibián was finally appointed in 1786, and served there until after 1809; see ACCMM, *Actas capitulares*, vol. 55, fol. 200v, 10 January 1785; fol. 206r, 19 January 1785; fol. 212r–212v, 4 February 1785; Mexico City, Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, *Fondo cabildo: Haceduría/Jueces hacedores*, box 158, exp. 8, 12 January 1809.

56 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 1136, exp. 3, fols. 465v, 469r–472r, 24 and 30 April 1776, José Ximénez's statement.

57 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 1391, exp. 2, fols. 1r–31v, 1 October 1792/19 June 1793.

58 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 75, exp. 51, fols. 427r–428r, 7 October 1572; vol. 725, fols. 156r–157r, 24 July 1720.

59 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 1070, exp. 5, fols. 153r–154r, no day, January 1765; vol. 1032, exp. 7, fols. 128r–130r, 8 November 1785; vol. 1340, exp. 3, fols. 1r–3v, 11 October 1794.

60 On Juanas and Ximénez, see AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 1294, exp. 12, fols. 1r–16v; vol. 1373, exp. 10, fols. 82r–103v, 14 May 1794; Saldívar, *Historia de la música*, p. 365.

61 Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad*, p. 194.

62 See Saldívar, *Historia de la música*, pp. 356–7; Masera, 'Literatura y canción popular'.

63 In 1600, 1622 and 1667, the Inquisition organized exequies with funerary tombs for the deaths of Philip II, III and IV, respectively. Chronicles of two of these events were printed; see Ribera Flores, *Relación historial*, and Uribe and Núñez de Miranda, *Honorario túmulo*. The manuscript chronicle of Philip III's exequies confirms the participation of the cathedral music chapel: 'oficiolas [vespers] la capilla, cantando en voces diversas las convenientes vigilias' (AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 918, fol. 390v, 16 September 1622).

64 The chronicle *Relación muy verdadera del triunfo de la fe, y auto general* was published by Payno and Riva Palacio, *El libro rojo*; for references to music see pp. 209, 218–19, 226.

65 At a public *auto* held in Lima in 1625, the hymn 'Vexilla regis prodeunt' and Psalm 108 were sung in polyphony; see Medina, *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición*, vol. II, pp. 22, 31, and the essay by Tess Knighton in this volume (page 21).

66 Méndez, *Secretos del oficio*, pp. 27–39; Greenleaf, 'The Inquisition Brotherhood'.

67 See AGN, Mexico, *Cofradías y archicofradías*, vol. 17, exp. 2, fols. 73r–312v, 1668–1741, cited in Russell, 'Musical life'. I have been able to backdate the collaboration of the cathedral musical chapel with the Tribunal to 1667; see AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 513, exp. 1, fols. 2r–2v, 31 October and 3 November 1667. That year, which would appear to have been the first in which the cathedral musicians participated in the festivities of the tribunal, they received the exceptional amount of 100 pesos.

68 AGN, Mexico, *Inquisición*, vol. 1190, exp. 10, fols. 161r–204v, 17 December 1773; vol. 1225, exp. 13, fol. 196r, 27 January 1786; vol. 1466, fol. 48r, 22 November 1819.

69 Sharpe, 'History from below'.

4 Making music, writing myth: Urban Guadalupan ritual in eighteenth-century New Spain

1 Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*; Kendrick, *Sounds of Milan*; Feldman, *City Culture*; Marín, *Music on the Margin*; Baker, *Imposing Harmony*.

2 The basic literature on music in New Spain tends to fall into three categories: (1) chronicles of church music and musicians presented as metonymic of the larger society (e.g. Estrada, *Música y músicos*); (2) editions of church music with biographical commentary about composers (e.g. Tello (ed.), *Cantadas y villancicos*); and (3) preliminary catalogues of archival holdings (e.g. Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque*).

3 On early New Spanish prints with notated chant, see Stevenson, *Music in Mexico*. The secular dance repertoire known to have been performed in New Spain tends to be Peninsular Spanish in origin, such as Russell (ed.), *Santiago de Murcia*.

4 Curcio-Nagy, 'Giants and gypsies'; Pedelty, *Musical Ritual*; Nesvig (ed.), *Local Religion*; Torres and Galí (eds.), *Lo sagrado y lo profano*.

5 Monroy Castillo and Calvillo Unna, *Breve historia*, p. 108.

6 Curcio-Nagy, *Great Festivals*, p. 3.

7 Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe*; Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*.

8 Taylor, 'The Virgin of Guadalupe'. Taylor also notes that the name 'Guadalupe', for both females and males, rapidly gained in popularity during the second half of the eighteenth century.