



# Baroque Music in Oaxaca Cathedral

## Mexico's Most Memorable Indian Maestro

MISSIONARY CHRONICLERS FROM MOTOLINÍA (1490?-1565) to Torquemada (1565?-1624) unite in praising the creative ability of certain exceptional converts.<sup>1</sup> However, they uniformly leave anonymous the Indian composers whom they laud. Not until Francisco de Burgoa (1604-1681)<sup>2</sup> does a chronicler give us a thumbnail biography of an Indian composer. Twice in his *Geográfica Descripción* (Mexico City: Juan Ruyz, 1674), Burgoa outlines the career of Juan Matías—who because sufficiently profiled by the Dominican chronicler now rates an encyclopedia article in both Porrúa and Mayer-Serra.<sup>3</sup>

At the close of chapter 39, "Concerning the Zapotec Nation," Burgoa writes thus: "San Bartolomé, called Zaaepeche in their [Zapotec] tongue,<sup>4</sup> is famous for its inhabitants' liveliness and its great church musicians. Here was born an Indian with such a fine voice and musical ability that an [Oaxaca Cathedral] chapelmaster was on the verge of visiting the court to exhibit the twenty-year-old Indian before the now deceased king [Philip IV (1605-1665)]. However, there being no fleet for Spain that year, they had to return from port. Once the chapelmaster died, the Indian was by universal acclamation elected his successor despite the competition of renowned musicians from Mexico City and Puebla who came to try out for the [Oaxaca Cathedral] post. The musical compositions of this Indian combined such exquisite art and mellifluousness that none could exceed him. During the fifteen or so years that he was in charge of the cathedral music, it reached an apogee both vocally and instrumentally. From organ to the smallest, he himself played each and every instrument as if that one alone were his chief speciality. He died before reaching fifty, to the sorrow of all. During the four years since his death, his pupils have continued in the paths that he trod. Among his large repertory—much of it composed

<sup>1</sup>*Musica in Aztec & Inca Territory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 158, 172.

<sup>2</sup>Esteban Arroyo, *Fray Francisco de Burgoa. O.P. (Cronista Oajaqueño del Siglo XVII)* (Oaxaca: Imprenta Camarena [Mexico City], 1954 [1955]), pp. 15 (born at Oaxaca in early July 1604), 99 (died at Zaachila=Teozapotlan in 1681). See also Baltasar de Medina, *Chronica de la Santa Provincia de San Diego de Mexico de Religiosos Descalços de N.S.P.S. Francisco en la Nueva-España* (Mexico City: Juan de Ribera, 1682), fol. 247.

<sup>3</sup>*Diccionario Porrúa de historia, biografía y geografía de México* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1971), II, 1284; Otto Mayer-Serra, *Música y Músicos de Latinoamérica* (Mexico City: Editorial Atlante, 1947), II, 609.

<sup>4</sup>Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Papeles de Nueva España*, segunda serie [Geografía y Estadística], IV (Madrid: Est. Tipográfico "Sucesores de Rivadeneyra," 1905), 193: "Cuyotepec que arriba dixere quiere dezir 'pueblo de cuyotes o lobos', en *çapoteca* se llama *Zabeche*, cuya denominacion no saben dar los yndios; no tienen corregidor porque es pueblo de encomendero." This quotation comes from Fray Juan de Mata's "Relación de Teozapotlan" dated November 11, 1580.



for his own village, he left Kyries, Glorias, and Credos for Masses, Salves for vespers, and numerous villancicos and chanzonetas for festivals."<sup>5</sup>

Burgoa again returns to Juan Matías in his chapter 77 entitled "Concerning the zeal with which ministers should preach the gospel." Among praiseworthy fruits of the Dominican mission program in villages around Oaxaca, he dwells particularly on musical results—Matías being cited as the prize product. "A wideawake observer cannot but admire the affectionate knowledge and loving skill in both plainchant and polyphony shown by [Indian] singers and players of every instrument who assist at divine services in villages of even a mere 40 households. Larger villages counting up to 200 households abound in fine organists, bass players, cornettists, and shawmers, who unite in admirably delicious consonances. Also they boast maestros sufficiently consummate to compose the music of the liturgy and the vernacular pieces for two and three choirs heard in many a church. In [Oaxaca] Cathedral a youth from a dependency of the T[h]eozapotlan [= Zaachila] doctrina became chapelmaster and persevered more than ten years in the post. So polished was his style that the finest composers of the realm united in admiring him."<sup>6</sup>

On his own testimony, Burgoa wrote his monumental *Geográfica Descripción* at T[h]eozapotlan in 1670.<sup>7</sup> From the two just quoted excerpts, at least this much can be deduced: Juan Matías was born at what is now San Bartolo Coyotépec or Cuyo-tepec (in Zapotec: Zaaepeche or Zaabeche), he lived from about 1618 to 1666 or 1667, he started for Madrid in the company of the Oaxaca cathedral chapelmaster around 1638<sup>8</sup> but got no farther than Veracruz, he was himself elected Oaxaca cathedral chapelmaster in approximately 1655, he died in office. Can any of these data be

<sup>5</sup>*Geográfica Descripción* (Mexico City: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1934 [Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación, XXV]), I, 416: "el un lugar se llama San Bartolomé, por su patrón, y en su lengua zaapeche, muy conocido por la viveza de sus vecinos, y grandes músicos eclesiásticos; aquí nació un indio de tan grande voz, y destreza, que por cosa rara le llevaba un maestro de capilla a presentar al Rey nuestro Señor, que Dios tiene, aún siendo el indio de veinte años, y por no haber aquel año flota, se volvieron del puerto, y muerto este maestro de capilla de la Catedral, por común aclamación, lo concertaron por Maestro, habiendo grandes y eminentes músicos de México, y de la Puebla, que habían venido en pretensión del oficio, y se reconoció en el indio ventaja tan grande en componer música de tanto arte, y tan suave, que ninguno halló medio para oponerse a él, y duró en el gobierno del coro de esta Catedral, tocante al canto, cerca de quince años en que floreció con eminencia en voces, y ministriles, porque desde el órgano hasta el menor instrumento, tocaba él como si fuera músico de aquel sólo, murió antes de llegar a los cincuenta años, con sentimiento general de todos, y de cuatro años que há su muerte, sus discípulos sustentan la música, y a su pueblo dio mucha, así para los oficios de las misas, kiries, glorias y credos, como para las vísperas, y salves, con muchos villancicos y chanzonetas de que se aprovechan en sus fiestas."

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 422: "admírese la razón más despierta de ver en los pueblos pequeños de cuarenta vecinos la suficiencia, y destreza en el canto así llano, como de órgano, para administrar el oficio divino, con armonía de voces e instrumentos de todas formas a que son muy inclinados, y en los pueblos grandes, que hoy lo son los que tienen doscientos casados, y en ellos se hallan, excelentes organistas, extremados bajones, cornetas y chirimías, con admirable suavidad y consonancias, tan diestros maestros de canto que, en muchas iglesias componen ellos la música de los oficios, tonos y villancicos a dos y tres coros, en esta catedral fue maestro de capilla un muchacho que se llevó de un pueblo de esta doctrina de Theozapotlán, y perseveró más de diez años en el oficio, con tanta aprobación que los maestros más diestros de las catedrales de este Reino admiraban los términos de metro tan suave a que redujo la música."

<sup>7</sup>Arroyo, p. 92, citing *Geográfica Descripción*, II, 56 for the year; I, 395, and II, 348 for the place.

<sup>8</sup>Manuel B. Trens, *Historia de Veracruz*, II (Jalapa [Veracruz: Talleres Gráficos del Gobierno del Estado], 1947), 366: "en 1638 se dispuso por el gobierno virreinal que las compañías del batallón del

confirmed from Oaxaca cathedral records? Book I of the Oaxaca cathedral capitular acts (*Del 7 de Enero de 1642 al 17 de Mayo de 1673*) first mentions him in the act of March 27, 1642: "Conformable with the statement of Juan de Ribera, [cathedral] chapelmaster that he is needed, the chapter this day appointed Juan Matías as *bajón* player with an annual salary of 60 pesos."<sup>9</sup> How crucial the *bajón* was just then in other Mexican cathedrals can be judged from the appointment only three months earlier (December 17, 1641) of the great Francisco López Capillas to be the *bajón* player and organist at Puebla Cathedral.<sup>10</sup>

The loss of prior books of Oaxaca capitular acts<sup>11</sup> prevents our knowing how long Juan de Ribera had been Oaxaca chapelmaster before recommending Matías for the post of *bajonero*. Was it he who around 1638 proposed exhibiting Matías before the music-loving Philip IV? Strong evidence points in that direction. Since Ribera was sufficiently the chapter's man of confidence for the Oaxaca cathedral authorities to entrust him with tithe collecting from no later than June 29, 1644, until his forced retirement for bad health shortly after February 6, 1654,<sup>12</sup> he can have been no cathedral parvenu in 1642. On June 9, 1645, Bishop Bartolomé de [Benavente] Benavides y Lacerda—ruler of the see of Antequera from 1639 to 1652—proposed sending him to collect tithes in an area which Ribera "knew intimately," the northern valley of Yetla.<sup>13</sup> Again July 3, 1649, the chapter sent Ribera back to Yetla on the same tithe-collecting mission.<sup>14</sup> By February 17, 1652, Ribera was both chief tithe collector for the entire diocese and majordomo of the cathedral.<sup>15</sup> Whereas in 1652 his commission for collecting tithes was six percent, on August 23, 1652, the chapter raised from six to fifteen percent his commission on certain specially difficult types of tithe collections in Exutla valley.<sup>16</sup>

Much earlier than 1652 Ribera obviously enjoyed sufficient personal wealth to have contemplated a trip to Spain, taking along Juan Matías as a curiosity object.

obispado de Puebla estuviesen listas para socorrer al puerto en caso de ataque, pues se habían avistado naves sospechosas en el Golfo."

<sup>9</sup>Oaxaca Cathedral, *Actas 1642 a 1673*, fol. 3: "Reçibiose en este Caui<sup>do</sup> a Jhoan mathias para baxon de la capilla rrespecto de tener neçesidad que insinuo el maestro Jhoan de Ribera señalaronsele sesenta pesos en cada vn año de salario—"

<sup>10</sup>Puebla Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, XI (1640-1647), fol. 118<sup>v</sup>: "Que se reçiue al B<sup>e</sup> fran<sup>co</sup> lopes por organista y que este a la voluntad del maestro de capilla con cargo que a de tocar bajon con salario de quatro çientos pessos."

<sup>11</sup>Woodrow Borah, "The Cathedral Archive of Oaxaca," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXVIII /4 (November, 1948), 641: "The first surviving volume [of cathedral *actas capitulares*] covers the years 1642-1673 while the last volume filed in the archive contains the proceedings of the cathedral chapter during the years 1856-1877. The series is complete for the years listed above."

<sup>12</sup>Oaxaca, A. C., I, fol. 28 (June 29, 1644): "Remate de diesmos en el maestro Johan de Ribera (diesmos de algunos cordilleros, no estaban rrematados ni vendidos y no havia ponedor p.<sup>a</sup> ellos)."; fol. 136<sup>v</sup>: "Y lo que se debiere delos años atrasados . . . la cobranza la rremittan al mfo Ju<sup>o</sup> de Riuera Coletor gen'."

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 40: "su parecer [the bishop's] es q vaya a la dicha cobrança el maestro Ju<sup>o</sup> de Rivera, por la mucha noticia q tiene delos pegajales y se le den a seys por çiento, sin otra ayuda de costa ni chocolate." Antequera diocese contained both a Yetla and an Etlá valley. See Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 88-91; also *Diccionario Porrúa*, I, 743.

<sup>14</sup>A. C., I, fol. 63.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 85: "el mfo Ju<sup>o</sup> de Riuera coletor. y mayordomo desta santa ygleçia." On March 4, 1652 (fol. 89), he was named "ecónomo (ecclesiastical administrator) p.<sup>a</sup> la curata vacante."

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 103. Exutla is spelled Yxutla in this act mentioning tithes on *potros y mulas*.



That he had money is proved by the slaves that he owned. On January 9, 1652, his mulatto slave Pedro de Ribera was appointed as a second bajón player at 50 pesos annually.<sup>17</sup> On February 21, 1653, the yearly pay of the cathedral cornettist, Francisco de Ribera, "black slave of the chapelmaster," was raised from 25 to 50 pesos.<sup>18</sup> On February 17, 1652, he proposed for some other type of cathedral service (perhaps bellows blowing) his slave then working in the mill of Diego de Jiménez (this offer was declined).<sup>19</sup>

The notices thus far collected from cathedral capitular acts combine in picturing Ribera as that *rara avis*—a maestro de capilla who was simultaneously a trusted business agent, a forceful administrator, and a widely respected tithe collector throughout the whole diocese. Better still, he used these abilities to maximize music in the cathedral. Matías was but one Indian whom he favored. On January 9, 1652, the cacique Don Josephe Coloma was hired as a singer for 80 pesos annually,<sup>20</sup> Marcos Núñez was hired as a singer at 60 pesos on February 8, 1645, and raised to 80 on September 6, 1650.<sup>21</sup> Tomás de Cárdenas, after serving as both organist and singer, was raised to 120 pesos annually on January 8, 1647.<sup>22</sup> The act of February 21, 1653, mentions as the cathedral *vos de contra alto*, Gabriel Ruiz de Morga. After studying with the Puebla chapelmaster Gaspar Fernandes (died 1629), Ruiz de Morga brought with him to Oaxaca the 284-folio manuscript of Fernandes's mostly vernacular compositions dated 1609 to 1620<sup>23</sup> that still today ranks as one of the most spectacular musical treasures in any Western Hemisphere cathedral.<sup>24</sup> Ribera's own competence as a composer is attested by his Ascension villancico *a 8. Quien puebla de delicias las esferas*, a work that was still being performed at Guatemala Cathedral as late as 1746.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 82. His 50 pesos were to be deducted from Matias's salary: "y que los ciento y cinquenta pesos que Ju<sup>o</sup> Mathias tiene de salario se le den cada año. ciento. y los cinquenta. que son demas. se le den cada año. a pedro de Riuera pardo esclauo del m<sup>o</sup> Ju.<sup>o</sup> de Riuera por que toque. el bajon y que le rreciuen por siruiente con el salario de dichos cinquenta p.<sup>s</sup>" Pedro de Ribera continued a cathedral bajonero 35 years. At the close of his career he earned an annual 80 pesos. *A.C.*, II (1673-1693), fol. 205 (April 4, 1687) announces his death.

<sup>18</sup>*A.C.*, I, fol. 112<sup>v</sup>: "dan de salario. a fran<sup>co</sup> de Riuera, negro esclauo del mro. por la corneta cinquenta p<sup>s</sup> cada vn año ="

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 85: "y trataron los dichos señores que el m<sup>o</sup> Ju<sup>o</sup> de Riuera coletor. y mayordomo desta santa yglecia. trate de traer el, esclauo questa en el trapiche de diego de imenes y que pide el salario del tiempo que a seruido." However a marginal note reads: "mandan los sres que traygan a luiz esclauo de la yglecia."

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 82: "tambien dixeron que por q<sup>to</sup> hauia neçesidad de cantores; rreciuan por cantor a D. [expanded to 'Don' in the margin] Josephe Coloma y le señalan de salario en cada un año. ochenta pesos."

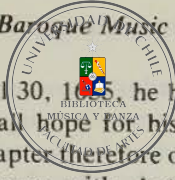
<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, fols. 33, 73<sup>v</sup>. On May 6, 1667 (fol 251<sup>v</sup>) his *buena voz. y destreza* netted him a further raise, despite his not being a priest. On that date he was "very poor and loaded with family responsibilities." On November 9, 1669 (fol 276<sup>v</sup>) he was named interim succentor at 200 pesos annually, after the resignation of the priest Manuel de la Mota who had been succentor since January 8, 1666 (fol. 233<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 50.

<sup>23</sup>In the middle of folio 23 of this manuscript he penned the following note for posterity: "Este libro es de gabriel Ruiz de morga [rubric] / quien selo allare le dara su Mas goya dios / que nos beamos" ("This book belongs to Gabriel Ruiz de Morga; God, whom we hope to see, grant him blessing who finds it").

<sup>24</sup>See transcriptions in *The Musical Quarterly*, LIV/4 (October, 1968), 490-495; *Latin American Colonial Music Anthology* (Washington, D.C.: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1975), pp. 113-148; *Vilancicos portugueses* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1976 [Portugaliae Musica, Série A, XXIX]), pp. 35-48.

<sup>25</sup>*Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington, D.C.: General Secretariat,



According to the Oaxaca act of April 30, 1655, he had on that date been gravely ill many months.<sup>26</sup> By June 1 [1655] all hope for his eventual recovery had been abandoned. On June 1 the cathedral chapter therefore officially replaced him as chief tithe collector and cathedral majordomo with Antonio Fernandes Machuca.<sup>27</sup> Matías's replacing of Ribera as titular chapelmaster added *de jure* to what had previously been a *de facto* status during Ribera's protracted absences and illnesses.

Four Oaxaca bishops fomented Matías's career: (1) Bartolomé de Benavides y Lacerda (died February 12, 1652);<sup>28</sup> (2) the Benedictine prelate who governed the see from July 1654 to his death December 6, 1656, Diego de Evía y Valdés;<sup>29</sup> (3) the native of Mexico City who ruled from 1658 to 1664 (when he was promoted to be archbishop of Mexico), Alonso de Cuevas Dávalos; and (4) the Dominican friar Tomás de Monterroso who began ruling April 24, 1665.<sup>30</sup>

On December 13, 1649, the chapter minutes record an instance of Bishop Benavides's patronage: "Since His Excellency the Bishop has promised to give a bajón player in the capilla 100 pesos annually and because the best player, who is Matías [margin: "Juan Matías"], agrees to perform at chief cathedral festivals for 150 pesos, the cathedral *fábrica* will make up the difference [of 50 pesos]."<sup>31</sup> A little over two years later, when Bishop Benavides was near death, the chapter reduced Matías to only the 100 being heretofore paid out of the episcopal exchequer.<sup>32</sup> Matías had the Benedictine bishop Evía y Valdés to thank for endorsing him as learned enough to qualify for chapelmaster. Evía y Valdés, who had spent 1640 to 1653 as bishop of Durango, broke precedent by thus allowing Matías to become the first known Indian maestro de capilla of a Mesoamerican cathedral.

During Cuevas Dávalos's tenure of the see, the chapter added personnel—the most distinguished newcomer being Mateo Vallados, Matías's successor-to-be (Vallados's first instrument was like his the bajón<sup>33</sup>). Also, the chapter decided to

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Organization of American States, 1970), p. 96: "Although lacking a first name, Mfo Rivera is identified as chapelmaster of Valle de Antequera = Oaxaca. The second text (added later) begins: Quien llena de armonias las esferas."

<sup>26</sup>A.C., I, fol. 147: "el coletor gen.<sup>l</sup> que oy se halle ynposiuitado. Y lo a estado muchos meses."

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 148. The cathedral *arcediano* Antonio de Cárdenas y Salazar, persuaded the canons to wait no longer. Without an officially appointed tithe collector who travels everywhere cathedral dues will stop being paid, he warned them.

<sup>28</sup>Eutimio Pérez, *Recuerdos históricos del episcopado oaxaqueño* (Oaxaca: Imprenta de Lorenzo San-German, 1888), portrait opp. p. 20, incorrectly cited July 28 [1652] as his death date. A native of Madrid, he became a canon of Lima Cathedral in 1620. After lengthy valuable service there, he was promoted to the see of Oaxaca (took possession in June 1639). In 1649 he started an unsuccessful campaign to secularize Dominican mission parishes (Arroyo, p. 77).

<sup>29</sup>Biography in Eutimio Pérez, pp. 22-23. He was born at Oviedo, Spain, October 4, 1598. Philip IV presented him for the see of Durango, Mexico, May 17, 1639. His attempt to secularize Dominican missions was baffled by Burgoa's trip to Rome in 1656 (Arroyo, p. 83).

<sup>30</sup>Another native of Madrid, he started the Oaxaca *colegio seminario* authorized at Madrid April 12, 1673, and at Rome February 20, 1677, but died January 25, 1678, before the building was completed.

<sup>31</sup>A.C., I, fol. 67: "que atento a que Su S.<sup>a</sup> Ill.<sup>ma</sup> Sr. Obpo tiene prom[eti]do dar cien p<sup>s</sup> en cada un año p<sup>a</sup> un bajón que sirua a esta capilla y porque mathias [margin: Ju.<sup>o</sup> Mathias] el bajon es el mejor y se ofrese a seruir en su ministerio las fiestas principales desta S.<sup>ta</sup> Yg.<sup>a</sup> que son en las que ay capilla por ciento y çinq<sup>ta</sup> pessos que le señala esta fabrica menos lo que su Ill.<sup>ma</sup> tiene prom.<sup>do</sup>"

<sup>32</sup>For text of the act, see note 17.

<sup>33</sup>A.C., I, fol. 192 (April 27, 1663). On February 21, 1653, Bartolomé Vásquez [basques] was hired as bajón player at 80 pesos annually. On January 15, 1660 (fol. 184<sup>v</sup>), Nicolás de la Cueva (later referred to as Nicolás Cuevas) was admitted as bajonero at 40 pesos annually. On April 27, 1663, the same day that



start an archive containing Matías's *Opera omnia*. The act of August 16, 1660, reads: "The undersigned chapter secretary is charged with informing the maestro de capilla Juan Matías that he shall place in the archive all Masses, Salves, vespers, and villancicos that he and his predecessors have composed. These archived works are committed to his care so that they can be retrieved when needed. Experience shows that the works of salaried and stipended cathedral officials are being lost or devoted to other purposes [than those for which they were written]."<sup>34</sup> Next day the chapter secretary José de Espina went armed with stronger ammunition: "Espina shall allow Juan Matías, maestro de capilla, three days to place in the cathedral archive all the Masses, vespers, and villancicos hitherto composed by him while maestro, so that they can be there safely guarded as cathedral property. Otherwise he shall be fined 100 pesos."<sup>35</sup> The act of August 17 [1660] goes on to say that in compliance Matías is already gathering not only all his previous compositions but also that he promises to place every future work in the archive.<sup>36</sup>

The two acts of August 16 and 17 can be variously interpreted. No doubt Matías was just then being constantly importuned by Indian maestros from near and afar who wanted a slice of his cathedral pie. By requiring him to place in the newly established music archive everything that he had written since 1655, the cathedral chapter acted to disinfect him from a plague of would-be borrowers. At the same time, the chapter hoped to preserve for posterity his works and those of his predecessors. True, nothing by him has come to light in the present-day Oaxaca Cathedral archive. But who is to say that none will ever turn up in that archive? Despite the chapter's desire to keep musical treasure at home, his works did obviously continue circulating —as his "Ocho al Santísimo" at Guatemala Cathedral entitled *Quien sale a queste dia disfrazado* proves.<sup>37</sup>

Matías's mensuration sign in the estribillo of this Sacrament villancico *a 8* at Guatemala Cathedral is deceptively simple: C. But the sign could equally well have been C3 up to the last cadence of the estribillo. So far as phrase structure and word placement go, Matías masterfully constructed the entire estribillo to express the idea of "disguise" inherent in the text. Music that can equally well be parsed in either common or triple meter splendidly symbolizes the Bread of Life visible under a common sign but embodying the uncommon mystery of the Trinity. The entire villancico must be reproduced as an accompanying example to illustrate Matías's skill.

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Mateo Vallados was hired as a bajonero at 50 pesos annually, the chapter named as *ministril* at 60 pesos annually the priest Antonio Zurita, whose competency as an instrumentalist Matías had certified: "resolvio que con aprouasion del maestro de capilla de estar suficiente se le señalan a Antonio Zurita Pre-suitero sesenta p<sup>s</sup>. . . por el exercisio de ministril."

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 186: "ytem determinaron que el infrascrito secrett.<sup>o</sup> haga que el Maestro de Capilla Juan Mathias ponga en el archiuo desta secretaria todas las missas visperas salues y villancicos, que el y los demas maestros hubieran conpuesto. Y paren en su poder paraque del dicho archiuo se saquen quando fueren nesarios. por la esperiensa de que Componiendose todas las dhas Cossas por ministros asalariados de dha yglesia y con estipendio della se pierde o se aprouechan para otros fines."

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.* (fol. 186): "notifique a Juan Mathias maestro de capilla que dentro de tres dias pena de sien p<sup>s</sup> trugesse al archiuo desta S<sup>ta</sup> yglesia todas las misas visperas villancicos que se uuiere conpuesto. desde que es maestro para que esta alli con seguridad como bienes pertenecientes a dha yglesia."

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*: "y q asimismo lo ejecuataria en toda la demas musica que fuere conponiendo y asi lo respondio de que doi fe / Don Joseph de Espina / secrett.<sup>o</sup>"

<sup>37</sup>*Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas*, p. 90. On the Alto 1<sup>o</sup> Choro part are listed the ten adult and two boy singers, the two bajón players, and the cornettist who performed this *ocho* (at Guatemala).



# Quien sale aqeste dia disfraçado &c

Ocho al Santissimo

Juan Mat[h]ias

1<sup>o</sup> Tiple 1<sup>o</sup> choro estri<sup>o</sup> AS

2<sup>o</sup> Alto 2<sup>o</sup> choro estri<sup>o</sup> AS

3<sup>o</sup> Baxo 3<sup>o</sup> choro estri<sup>o</sup> AS

4<sup>o</sup> Tiple 4<sup>o</sup> choro estri<sup>o</sup> AS

5<sup>o</sup> Alto 5<sup>o</sup> choro estri<sup>o</sup> AS

6<sup>o</sup> Baxo

quien sale

Quien sa - lea - ques - te di - a dis - fra - ça - do, ves - ti - do de en - car -

Quien sa - lea - ques - te di - a dis - fra - ça - do, ves - ti - do de en - car -

Quien sa - lea - ques - te di - a dis - fra - ça - do, ves - ti - do de en - car -

Quien sa - lea - ques - te di - a dis - fra - ça - do, ves - ti - do de en - car -

quien

quien

quien sale

5

- na - do y de blan - co se ve lle - no de go - zos que ma - ges - tad que ma - ges - tad

- na - do y de blan - co se ve lle - no de go - zos que ma - ges - tad que ma - ges - tad

- na - do y de blan - co se ve lle - no de go - zos que ma - ges - tad que ma - ges - tad

- na - do y de blan - co se ve lle - no de go - zos que ma - ges - tad que ma - ges - tad



2

10

que ma-ges-tad es es-ta

que ma-ges-tad es es-ta

que ma-ges-tad es es-ta

que ma-ges-tad es es-ta

y se lle-ba dos o-jos y en al-ter-na-dos

y se lle-ba dos o-jos y en al-ter-na-dos

y se lle-ba dos o-jos y en al-ter-na-dos

y se lle-ba dos o-jos y en al-ter-na-dos

15

que cau sa ad-mira çion

que cau sa ad-mira çion

que cau sa ad-mira çion

que cau sa ad-mira çion

co-ros çie-lo y tie-rra çe-le-bra vi-sa rra con-fu zion vi-

co-ros çie-lo y tie-rra çe-le-bra vi-sa rra con-fu zion vi-

co-ros çie-lo y tie-rra çe-le-bra vi-sa rra con-fu zion vi-





3

25

que cau-sa ad mira cion

que cau-sa ad mira cion

que cau-sa ad mira cion

que cau-sa ad mira cion

- sa rra con fu-zion que cau-sa ad mi-ra cion oi que en blan coes fe-ra

- sa rra con fu-zion que cau-sa ad mi-ra cion oi que en blan coes fe-ra

- sa rra con fu-zion que cau-sa ad mi-ra cion oi que en blan coes fe-ra

30

un cor-de ro man-so que a to-dos rre-crea

un cor-de ro man-so que a to-dos rre-crea

un cor-de ro man-so que a to-dos rre-crea

un cor-de ro man-so que a to-dos rre-crea

un Dios a-sis te en e-lla por que el ga-lan

un Dios a-sis te en e-lla por que el ga-lan

un Dios a-sis te en e-lla por que el ga-lan

\* Missing



4

Dando a to dos Vi - da con gran - de fi - ne - ça

Dando a to dos Vi - da con gran - de fi - ne - ça

Dando a to dos Vi - da con gran - de fi - ne - ça

Dando a to dos Vi - da con gran - de fi - ne - ça

de los cie - los que sa - le Dando a to - dos

de los cie - los que sa - le Dando a to - dos

de los cie - los que sa - le Dan do a to - dos

[20] con gran - de fi - ne - ça

con gran - de fi - ne - ça

con gran - de fi - ne - ça

con gran - de fi - ne - ça

vi - da con gran - de fi - ne - ça con gran - de fi - ne - ça

vi - da con gran - de fi - ne - ça con gran - de fi - ne - ça

vi - da con gran - de fi - ne - ça con gran - de fi - ne - ça

• D

Coro I

1. Que nue - bas di - chas a - nun - cia al am - bi - to de la se -  
 3. pues sies co - mun es - te di - cha, y por las puer - tas se

1. Que nue - bas di - chas a - nun - cia al am - bi - to de la se -  
 3. pues sies co - mun es - te di - cha, y por las puer - tas se

35

tie - rra, por - que ces - sen es - te di - a tan - tas des - di - chas y pe - nas  
 en - tra A - ya mu - cha re - go - çí - xo A - ya dan - ças a - ya lies - ta

tie - rra, por - que ces - sen es - te di - a tan - tas des - di - chas y pe - nas  
 en - tra A - ya mu - cha re - go - çí - xo A - ya dan - ças a - ya lies - ta

tie - rra, por - que ces - sen es - te di - a tan - tas des - di - chas y pe - nas  
 en - tra A - ya mu - cha re - go - çí - xo A - ya dan - ças a - ya lies - ta

Coro II

40

2. es el Rey que dis - fra - ça - do va - xa del cie - lo a la tie -  
 4. Al - ter - nan los nue - ue - co - ros y al que es del glo - ria pren -

2. es el Rey que dis - fra - ça - do va - xa del cie - lo a la tie -  
 4. Al - ter - nan los nue - ue - co - ros y al que es del glo - ria pren -

2. es el Rey que dis - fra - ça - do va - xa del cie - lo a la tie -  
 4. Al - ter - nan los nue - ue - co - ros y al que es del glo - ria pren -

45

- rra A dar su cuer - po y san - gre en u - na es - plen - di - da me - sa  
 - da Re - pi - tan dul - çes mo - te - tes y so - no - ras chan - ço - ne - tas

- rra A dar su cuer - po y san - gre en u - na es - plen - di - da me - sa  
 - da Re - pi - tan dul - çes mo - te - tes y so - no - ras chan - ço - ne - tas

- rra A dar su cuer - po y san - gre en u - na es - plen - di - da me - sa  
 - da Re - pi - tan dul - çes mo - te - tes y so - no - ras chan - ço - ne - tas



Before the 1967 discovery of his "Ocho al Santísimo" the only work circulating under Matías's name was a *Stabat Mater* found among papers of a nineteenth-century Oaxaca folkloric composer, Cosme Velásquez. Guillermo A. Esteva described the source manuscript in *La Música Oaxaqueña* (Oaxaca: Talleres Tipográficos del Gobierno, 1931), page 10, as a "dirty, discolored parchment signed Juan Matías at the bottom." Arcadio Ortega Domínguez told Esteva (page 9) that Matías was a native of Zaapeche, now Coyotépec, which is correct—adding that Matías composed it to be sung in processions of the Virgin of Solitude, most popular among local Oaxaca devotions. *Music in Mexico* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1952), page 136, included some characteristic measures from this *Stabat Mater*.

The last bishop under whom Matías served was the reforming Dominican, Fray Tomás de Monterroso. Three months after his entry the chapter on July 10, 1665, voted to tighten choir discipline by adopting at Oaxaca the same regulations on deportment currently enforced at Mexico City and Puebla cathedrals.<sup>38</sup> When the chapter lagged in inviting competitors to try out for the post of chapelmaster left vacant at Matías's death, it was again Monterroso who according to the act of May 6, 1667, urged the chapter to advertise the vacancy at both Mexico City and Puebla, so that suitable applicants could enter the contest.<sup>39</sup>

The proof that Burgoa indeed rightly credited Matías with pupils able to fill his shoes was his successor ultimately picked on March 23, 1668 (after lengthy advertisements for competitors from afar)—Mateo Vallados, hitherto best known as the native-born Oaxaca chapelmaster who composed the music for Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz's Saint Catherine villancicos sung November 25, 1691, in Oaxaca Cathedral.<sup>40</sup>

#### *Matías's Successors: 1668-1740*

Nothing in Burgoa's eulogy<sup>41</sup> (*Geográfica Descripción*, chapter 39) redounds more to Matías's credit than his pupils' successes. During the past quadrennium—wrote Burgoa in 1670—his disciples have been the pillars holding cathedral music up.

<sup>38</sup>Thrice issued in colonial times, the Puebla Cathedral *Reglas y ordenanzas del Coro* were credited to Juan de Palafox y Mendoza when first printed there by Juan Blanco de Alcázar in 1649. See José Toribio Medina, *La Imprenta en Puebla de los Angeles 1640-1821* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Cervantes, 1908), p. 15. The archdeacon who propped following Puebla rules contended that all the Mexico City rules were contained in those adopted by Puebla Cathedral (fol. 225<sup>v</sup>): "le parecia que era conbeniente en atension que todo lo contenido en la de la yglesia Metropolitana de Mexico esta comprehendido en la de la S<sup>ta</sup> yglesia de la Puebla . . ."

<sup>39</sup>A. C., I, fol. 251<sup>v</sup>: "Itt Propuso su ilustrissima que es mui neçess<sup>o</sup> nombrar M<sup>o</sup> de Capilla, no solo porq<sup>e</sup> la Musica este en el Orden, y punto q<sup>e</sup> se debe, sino tambien para la enseñanza delos muchachos, que se crien, y adiestren, desde luego en el ministerio, y serv<sup>o</sup> dela Ygleçia, y nunca aya falta de ellos = que se ponga edictos en este Obispado, en el dela Puebla, y Arzohispado de Mex<sup>co</sup> paraq<sup>e</sup> vengan a oponerse al off<sup>o</sup> de M<sup>o</sup> de Capilla, y se pueda escoger el q<sup>e</sup> mejor pareçiere ="

<sup>40</sup>See E. Abreu Gómez, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz Bibliografía y Biblioteca* (Mexico City: Imprenta de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1934 [Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas, 29]), pp. 239, 442 (facsimile of title page of 1691 villancicos).

<sup>41</sup>Among other Indian musicians scattered through the province, Burgoa lauds two youthful Yanhuítlán composers of Latin and vernacular music for as many as three choirs (chapter 24 [I, 287]). "The inhabitants of Yanhuítlán (=Yanguítlán) are extremely apt in church music. Their present-day capilla [1670] enrolls a pair of youths so accomplished that they compose for three choirs the vernacular festival music (villancicos and tonos), the feast-day offices, and the Kyries, Glorias, Credos, and Salves sung on major occasions. Yanhuítlán instrumentalists playing bajón, shawm, and cornett, are unexcelled anywhere." Yanhuítlán, 75 miles northwest of Oaxaca, was so crucial a Mixteca Alta center that as late as 1506 this cacicazgo had to provide 1000 sacrificial prisoners for Tenochtitlan. For a sketch of the baroque organ

Who were these disciples? The most conspicuous was obviously his successor confirmed March 23, 1668, Mateo Vallados. Inasmuch as Vallados joined two other adolescents in being appointed a cathedral *monacillo* April 19, 1661,<sup>42</sup> he cannot have been born much earlier than 1646. On April 27, 1663, conformable with Matías's recommendation, he was advanced to *bajonero* at 50 pesos—double what he had been paid as *monacillo*. His distinction March 23, 1668, in being elevated to the post of *maestro de capilla* at the mere age of 21 or 22 shines all the more brightly when the cathedral's bias in favor of an outsider is taken into account.

Bishop Monterroso definitely preferred an outsider: as the act of May 6, 1667, plainly reveals. Nor did the chapter permit a quick decision after *edictos* at both Mexico City and Puebla. For their trial, the chapter required both finalists, *bachiller* José Pérez from afar and Vallados, to compose within 24 hours a polyphonic lamentation based on designated plainchant. The chapter then asked each to critique the other's submission. Still not satisfied, the bishop next required that the lamentation of each be sent to Mexico City for judgment by recognized experts in the capital.<sup>43</sup> Their reply settled the case: "What both candidates composed conforms with artistic principles; but Mateo Vallados's lamentation exceeds the other in sonority and suavity, and better suits the assigned plainchant."<sup>44</sup>

After thanking the bishop for his zeal in obtaining expert testimony the chapter appointed Vallados at a starting salary of 260 pesos annually. His duties were thus itemized: "to play cornett, arrange for other necessary instrumentalists, compose villancicos for all festivals customarily celebrated in this cathedral, write Masses and whatever else is needed. He shall furthermore deliver to the chapter secretary all his compositions, so that they can be safeguarded. Without certification that he has done so, his salary shall be withheld. Finally, he shall every day teach plainchant and polyphony to not only the choirboys but anyone else in the choir who needs instruction."<sup>45</sup>

in the ruined monastery, formerly one of the most magnificent in Mexico, see Ross Parmenter, *Week in Yanhuiltán* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1964), p. 192.

<sup>42</sup>A.C., I, fol. 188r: "señalen salarios a los monacillos. a Juan de Mena. y Manuel Giron. y Matheo Ballados a los quales les señalaron a veinte y cinco p.<sup>s</sup> en cada un año."

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 262v (March 23, 1668): "resulto auer solo uno opositor que fue el B<sup>r</sup> Joseph Perez y desta ciud<sup>d</sup> Matheo de Ballados y Nicolas Perez, a quienes paraque nos constasse la suficiensia que tenian seles señalo una lamentacion paraque la letra della la pusiessen en canto de organo siguiendo el canto llano en que estava i ajustandose a ella, y determinado que los dhos opositores se fuesen inmediatam<sup>te</sup> a la sala Capitul<sup>r</sup> a executar cada uno su oposision, i que dentro de veinte i quatro oras se trugese como con efecto y asistencia del secrett<sup>o</sup> deste Caui<sup>do</sup> se hizo, y visto dhas conposissiones se dio la de Matheo Ballados al B<sup>r</sup> Joseph Perez paraque le pusiessse los obstaculos que en ella hallase y la de el dho Joseph Perez a Matheo Ballados paraque hisiessse la mismo, i vistar con los alegatos i defectos que cada uno represento i no aber en esta Ciud<sup>d</sup> quien pudiesse decir en consiensia Su SS<sup>a</sup> Ill<sup>ma</sup> para la determinassion dela matheria la remitio a Mex.<sup>co</sup>"

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*: "y el paseser delos maestros de Capilla ombres peritos dijeron que los defectos de cada uno delos dos opositores se auian puesto eran mui conformes al arte pero que la Conposission de dha Lamentacion que auia echo Matheo Ballados era mas sonora suaue y conforme a la letra del canto llano que se dio para la conposission del canto de organo."

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 263 (March 23, 1668): "que es de parecer sea Maestro de Capilla desta S<sup>ta</sup> Yglesia Matheo Ballados con obligassion de tocar la corneta y demas ministriles necessarios a la musica componer billansicos en todas las festiuidades que en esta yglesia se acostunhra cantar en el año las missas y lo demas que se ofresca, y que toda la musica que isiere en cada una de las festiuidades del año las a de entregar al secrett<sup>o</sup> del cauildo paraq las tenga en custodia y paraque le paguen el salario a de lleuar



No less than Matías before him, Vallados set great store by his teaching. Once they were ready, his pupils could count on his support for cathedral appointments. As an example, on March 13, 1685, he petitioned the chapter to accept two singers and a bajonero. "Because the ranks have been thinned by deaths and for other causes, the capilla needs some intelligent musicians to adorn it. [Vallados] therefore nominates three whom he has taught gratis, the two singers Juan de León and Juan Carrasco, and a most able bajonero, Lorenzo Rodríguez."<sup>46</sup>

On April 4, 1687, Vallados certified another bajonero, one who simultaneously qualified as a singer, Francisco de Herrera y la Mota.<sup>47</sup> Because singers' salaries were meager, Vallados successfully petitioned for a speedup in payments June 7, 1690.<sup>48</sup> Meantime he had somewhere qualified himself as a licenciado—as he is called on the title page of the villancico booklet containing Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz's eleven villancicos<sup>49</sup> sung in Oaxaca Cathedral on Saint Catherine's day 1691. For the choice of saint, neither Sor Juana nor Vallados deserves credit. Fray Francisco de Reyna, to whom the cathedral chantre dedicated the set, was at one and the same time prior of Santo Domingo and spiritual governor of the oldest convent (1576<sup>50</sup>) in Oaxaca, that of Saint Catherine. The villancicos pay tribute to Catherine of Alexandria who before martyrdom reputedly confounded wise men of Egypt with her learning. Sor Juana's verse charmingly intermingles Biblical and profane history with bagiography in a set obviously the dearer to her because Saint Catherine presaged her own erudition.

Six weeks after the triumph of the Saint Catherine villancicos, the chapter on January 8, 1692, rewarded Vallados with a pay raise from 260 to 300 pesos annually.<sup>51</sup> On that same day the chapter accepted his recommendation that Licenciado

sertificacion de auer cunplido con esta obligasion y la de la ensenanza todos los dias de canto llano y de organo assi a los niños como a los que necesitaren de aprender dela misma Capilla."

<sup>46</sup>A. C., II (*Del 6 de Septiembre de 1673 al 17 de Junio de 1693*), fol. 181: "pondera la necesidad que tiene la Capilla de Musicos inteligentes que la adornen por auer muerto y faltado algunos q la Conponian, y para ello nomina Tres, que a su Costa a enseñado los dos musicos de Voz llamados Juan de Leon, y Juan Carrasco; y el Bajonero sufficientissimo llamado Lorenzo Rodriguez."

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 205: "Para ver vna petición q ha presentado fran<sup>co</sup> de la Mota vajonero [*margin*: cantor] en que pide sele señale Renta por el exercicio de Ministro Vajonero." The deceased Pedro de Ribera whose place Mota took at 80 pesos "con certification del M<sup>ro</sup> de Capilla en que dice es auentajado Ministro en el Bajon, con aprobacion de el S<sup>r</sup> Chantre" was the Negro slave admitted at 50 pesos January 9, 1652. For fear that other senior players would resent the 80 pesos promised a newcomer, the chapter forbade Mota's now divulging his salary.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 226: "sobre que a todos los cantores se les pague el medio año, que tienen seruido atento a la pobreza que padesen."

<sup>49</sup>"Pusolos en metro mvico el Licenciado Don Matheo Vallados Maestro de Capilla." Facsimile of title page in Abreu Gómez, p. 442. See also Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Obras Completas*, ed. Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, II (México-Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952), 431. Dr. Jacinto de Lahedesa Verastegui, who commissioned the Saint Catherine villancicos and dedicated them to the Dominican provincial, prefaced Sor Juana's verse with a eulogy calling her "Oracle of the New World, woman without par, prudigy of nature, prototype of the sciences." Alas, for the loss of Vallados's music setting her poetry.

<sup>50</sup>José Antonio Gay, *Historia de Oaxaca*, II (Mexico City: Dublan y C<sup>a</sup>, 1881), 33.

<sup>51</sup>A. C., II, fol. 250: "En quanto a la peticion q presento el Ma<sup>o</sup> de Capilla Matheo Ballados, pidiendo sele aumentase el salario por las Rasones q en ella alega, y q se admitiese, en la Capilla a el Lic<sup>o</sup> Juan de Gusman por ser esensial en ella, unanimes y conformes dichos señores dijeron q añadian y añadieron a dichu Matheo Ballados quarenta pesos mas para q con dos sientos y sesenta q tenia tenga tres sientos."

Juan [Pérez] de Guzmán (brought up as a chorboy in Mexico City Cathedral<sup>52</sup>) be hired. Due to Vallados's deteriorating health, the chapter promoted Francisco de Herrera y la Mota—now in minor orders—from bajonero to choirboy instructor on September 9, 1694.<sup>53</sup>

On September 7, 1708, after lengthy preliminaries the chapter named Herrera y la Mota maestro de capilla. When doing so, the chapter appointed not only another local product but also the first maestro in Oaxaca history whose works could still be found in the cathedral archive in 1967. The preliminaries to his appointment involved sending him to Puebla to be examined and certified by the acting cathedral chapelmaster there. Vallados himself must have died several months earlier, perhaps in the fall of 1707. (Vallados's last known work is an A minor villancico for two triples and continuo, *De los cinco señores canto*, the parts of which at Guatemala Cathedral are dated 1706.<sup>54</sup>)

Miguel de la Riva y Paz, the Puebla master who certified Herrera y la Mota, did so in a letter dated at Puebla August 24, 1708. Copied verbatim into the Oaxaca capitular act of September 7, 1708, it here deserves summary: "Commissioned by the Oaxaca Cathedral treasurer Dr. José Valero Grajera to do so, I examined Francisco de Herrera y la Mota in theory by asking him various questions to which he replied satisfactorily. Next I tested him in composition by allotting him a text to set for four voices (on my own authority limiting his time for doing so to 24 hours). After careful inspection I must commend what he wrote as proof of great musical talent aided by diligent study of published authorities. True, composing style has recently changed both in Spain and here at Puebla. But mere stylistic considerations do not justify condemning or disdaining what he has heretofore written. Quite the contrary. His talent and industry give every reason to believe that exposure to the new style plus my explanations will quickly and easily make him an adept in it. When I asked him to improvise counterpoint to given melodies (which composition teachers consider valuable exercise, particularly for writing villancicos), the books that he has studied enabled him to do so at once. In view of all this, I confidently recommend him to you gentlemen as fit for the post."<sup>55</sup>

<sup>52</sup>If this is the same Pérez de Guzmán who studied with Antonio de Salazar in 1696, he was reported in the Mexico City Cathedral act of February 28, 1708 (A.C., XXVI [1706-1710], fol. 157<sup>v</sup>) to have been recently named chapelmaster at Oaxaca. If so, he resigned soon thereafter, leaving the post for Mota who was appointed September 7, 1708.

<sup>53</sup>A.C., III, fol. 21: "Determinaron y mandaron q entrase Por ministril bajonero en la Capilla de esta S<sup>ta</sup> yglesia Francisco de Mota, clerigo de Menores hordenes, con el salario de ochenta p.<sup>s</sup> en cada un año y que de Ruego y encargo de su SS<sup>a</sup> Dean y Cauildo ensseñe los niños de el choro, mientras mejora el M<sup>o</sup> de Capilla q esta achacoso."

<sup>54</sup>*Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources*, p. 103.

<sup>55</sup>A.C., III [1693-1708], fol. 344<sup>v</sup>: "Mandaron leisse la sertificaz<sup>on</sup> de el M.<sup>o</sup> de Capilla dela Ciu<sup>d</sup> de los Ang<sup>s</sup> que a la letra es como se sigue=Yll<sup>mo</sup> S<sup>or</sup>, D. Mig.<sup>l</sup> de Riva M<sup>o</sup> de Capilla dela S<sup>ta</sup> Ygl<sup>ia</sup> Cath<sup>l</sup> dela puebla delos Ang<sup>s</sup> Certifico en la mexor forma que puedo y deuo que de encargo de el S<sup>or</sup> S<sup>r</sup> D Joseph Valero grajera Thess<sup>o</sup> dela S<sup>ta</sup> Yglecia Cath<sup>l</sup> de oax<sup>a</sup> E examinado â D Fran<sup>co</sup> de Herrera y la mota, ministro de dha S<sup>ta</sup> Ygl<sup>ia</sup>. Y auriendole hecho algunas Preguntas, en lo theorico dela mucica me satisfiso sufisientemente Y pazâdo a examinarlo el modo de Conponer, para Cuiro Efecto le di Vna letra p<sup>a</sup> que la puciese en metro mucico, â Cuatro Vosses quelo Ejecuto, en termino de beinte y Cuatro Oras, aunque no fue de precis<sup>on</sup> por no tener Orden p<sup>a</sup> Ello. Digo que auiendo Visto Con todo Cuidado y Reconosido, la obra, que es porlo de su mucha inclinaz<sup>on</sup> ala mucica i aplicaz<sup>on</sup> a lo que dictan los libros de n<sup>ro</sup> Arte, que aunque lo aora se practica en españa Y en esta Ygl<sup>ia</sup> es modo nuevo, no por esso se deue despreciar.



Having heard his letter read, the Oaxaca chapter waited no longer to appoint Herrera y la Mota maestro de capilla "with the obligation to give lessons mornings or afternoons to the choirboys and all other musicians needing instruction in plain-song, polyphony, and whatever else that the art of music comprehends, so that this cathedral may excel." The chapter also entrusted him with "carefully and honestly dividing tips for special events among his subordinates."<sup>56</sup> To his salary of 300 pesos annually, another 12 was to be added "for paper and pens." Lastly he was entrusted with the itemized cathedral music archive and told to deliver to the chantre his newly composed works, especially August 15, September 8 and December 8 *maitines*.<sup>57</sup> A few weeks later, on February 12, 1709, the chapter authorized his buying the bajones, cornett, and other instruments that he said were needed. Further to encourage him, the cathedral next hired an imported organist at 100 pesos.

On December 2, 1718, or shortly before, Herrera y la Mota died.<sup>58</sup> As interim maestro, the dean proposed the veteran singer Luis Gutiérrez. *Edictos* sent to Mexico City and Puebla stipulated an 80-day limit. On March 22, 1719, youthful José Gabriel Gavino Díaz y Leal won the post: thus giving Oaxaca her first known maestro de capilla brought from afar.<sup>59</sup> His annual salary matched his predecessor's, 300 pesos annually. But he did not last long. Unable to adjust, he petitioned on Septem-

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ni desestimar lo que obra dho D. Fran<sup>co</sup> antes si se puede esperar que con mucha aplicazion E inclinaz<sup>on</sup> a nra Profecion, se instruirá en el Estilo que se practica aora Y mas Cuando a mis explicaciones E instrucciones, Y modo de observar y ejecutar; a adquirido sin trauxo ninguno, antes si con mucha Vigilanzia Y puntualidad; Y asi tengo Por cierto que con mucha facilidad, Ejecutara lo que oi se practica, sin atajarle a Ello Cossa alguna, pues Su auilidad y aplicasion asi lo manifiesta, Y asi lo infiero no solo delo que lleuo dho sino tanuien por que auriendole preguntado algunos Conciertos de Contra Puncto, que son los que enseñan a los Maestros Conpossi<sup>on</sup> particularmente para Villancicos, Satisfisso con puntualidad, en Virtu<sup>d</sup> delos libros que a leido, p<sup>a</sup> lo Cual, di el modo que tener en estos tiempos, este es mi sentir, â que no me muebe pazion âlguna. VS Con su grandessa podra Ejecutar lo que mejor le pareciere Y mas Conueniente. Dios g<sup>e</sup> a VS<sup>a</sup> muchos años. Ang.<sup>s</sup> Y agosto beinte y Cuatro de mil setecientos y ocho."

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 345: "a de ser oblig<sup>do</sup> a dar liz<sup>on</sup> por tarde, o mañana a los niños monacillos de el choro, de el Canto llano y Canto de Organo y lo demas que contiene el Arte de la mucica; Y asi mes.<sup>mo</sup> a de dar liz<sup>on</sup> â los demas mucicos que quisiera Aprehender Las clases de Contrapunto y Conpossi<sup>on</sup> Esplificandoles, p<sup>a</sup> Su aprobecham.<sup>to</sup> y el lustre de esta dha S<sup>ta</sup> Ygla; Y por que es de Su oblig<sup>n</sup> el Concertar todas las obneciones q ocurrieron dentro y fuera a de repartilas Con todo Cuidado Esmero y fidelidad."

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*: "Y asimesmo el dho M<sup>o</sup> receuia todos los libros de mucica, Papeles Efectos Ynstrum<sup>tos</sup> que ay en esta dha S<sup>ta</sup> Ygla Cate<sup>l</sup>. Por inventario, Y delos que asi Hiziere nuevos Como son maitines al Natiuidad Assump<sup>on</sup> y Concep<sup>on</sup> y lo demas de obliga<sup>n</sup> sea oblig<sup>do</sup> a entregarlos al S<sup>or</sup> Chantre q es o fuere en esta dha S<sup>ta</sup> Ygla."

<sup>58</sup>A.C., IV (1709-1736 [Libro de Cavildo que comenzo El día, 1, de Enero de 1709 . . . Acaba el 16 de Enero 1736]), fol. 141. Both his Marian motets *a 4* seen at Oaxaca in 1967—*Beata Mater et intacta Virgo* and *Regina caeli laetare*—attest his retrospective style. Cantus and tenor of the antiphon contain obsolete longas. A cappella polyphony in which incises of the plainsong serve as head motives (throughout a series of imitative points) bespeak the sixteenth, not the eighteenth century.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 145<sup>v</sup>. The following Gavino Leal works were catalogued by Miguel Bernal Jiménez in *Morelia Colonial: El Archivo Musical del Colegio de Santa Rosa de Santa María de Valladolid (Siglo XVIII)* (Mexico City: Editorial "Cvltvra," 1939 [Ediciones de la Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás]): *Ay que velleza*, villancico a 4 con violines Al Nacimiento de Ntro. Redentor Jesu Christo, 1742; *El zenit y el Oriente*, villancico a 4 con violines, 1747; *Missa a 8* con violines [date of copy, 1768]; *Paz gilgueritos. paz* [for December 8, 1732]; *Silencio que duerme Joseph*, duo con violines, al Ssmo. Patriarcha Sr. Sn. Joseph, 1732; *Mi dulce Dueño* [Christmas villancico, copied 1761]; *Zagales dichosos*, [Christmas] villancico a duo.



ber 26 (1719) for two months leave to ~~disappear~~ some private business in Mexico City.<sup>60</sup> Four months later, January 26, 1720, the chapter received his letter of resignation from the capital.<sup>61</sup> Luis Gutiérrez ~~now~~ again became interim maestro. By September 9, 1721, he was titular maestro, on which date Juan Valentín Díaz was assigned 100 pesos annually for singing plainchant and another 50 for "conscientiously" guarding the cathedral choirbooks.<sup>62</sup>

Whatever his good will, Gutiérrez lacked the requisite ability to teach the boys, maintain discipline, and prepare Latin works. On April 9, 1723, the chapter reprimanded him for failing to provide music for Masses and vespers and for poor teaching. "The choirboys do not even know which verses to sing, and the one or two that do sing, bawl,"<sup>63</sup> the canons complained. That same day they gave him four months to shape up the boys and report back on improvements. On July 16, 1726, the chapter again complained of bad voices, and this time also of bastards whose presence deterred respectable families from enrolling their sons in the choir.<sup>64</sup> Seeing no hope for better days to come, the chapter replaced Gutiérrez on December 6 of the same year, 1726, with Tomás Salgado<sup>65</sup>—victor among a group of five candidates for the post.<sup>66</sup>

Just as in 1668 and 1708 when Vallados and Mota were appointed, so again in 1726 outside opinion was solicited on the merits of the contenders' compositions. The two judges were Mexico City musicians, Juan Francisco Orense and Juan Téllez Xirón (the latter, chief organist of Mexico City Cathedral). Both having awarded Salgado the palm, he was appointed at 340 pesos—25 of which were for paper and pens, 40 for teaching the choirboys. Obviously he was more up to date than any of his Oaxaca predecessors. His four frolicking villancicos in the Guatemala Cathedral archive dated 1726 to 1738<sup>67</sup> prove how far removed he was from Mota's seriousness, by reason of their barlined 6/8 bounciness, perky string accompaniments, figured continuo, operatic vocal solos, and dynamics markings.

The first Oaxaca maestro to require violin obbligatos, Salgado typified the kind of ebullient composer against whom Feijóo y Montenegro (1676–1764) railed.<sup>68</sup> A good example of Salgado's frisky style is his C Major "Negro de Navidad A Quatro Vozes," *Que también como gente la Nengla*. In the string-accompanied estribillo the tenor soloist calls on his friends to join him in celebrating black pride. To the call of his "golgeos, tinaros, y gulguritos" (warbles, trills, and other ornaments),

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 151.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 173: "Y en quanto â vna cartta que escriue el Mro de Capilla don Joseph Gauino Diaz, y Leal, residente en Mex.<sup>co</sup> renunciando el Magist<sup>o</sup> se le admittio la renuncia que por ella haze."

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 199<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 235: "de ninguna manera se âtropellase el Canto de Visperas y Missas, sino q se pusiese el mismo esmero q sea poçible . . . assi mismo, se le encargô el Cuidado delos monaçillos . . ."

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 286<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>65</sup>Around 1720 Antonio Vázquez Salgado, a native of Oaxaca and a possible relative, was rector of San Bartolomé colegio, master of ceremonies in the cathedral, and a published author. See Gay, *Historia de Oaxaca*, II, 283–284.

<sup>66</sup>A.C., IV, fol. 292.

<sup>67</sup>*Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources*, p. 99.

<sup>68</sup>*Theatro Crítico Universal* (Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, 1773 [1st ed., 1726]), I, 299–300. For easy access, see *Christmas Music in Mexico*, p. 43, notes 4–9.



they bravely respond with uh-one, uh-two, uh-three, uh-four, uh-five beat refrains, "zalambà, zalambà, zalambà, zalambà, zalambà." The same African refrain word, "zalambà," serves for the group response to the call in each of the five coplas. The message of the coplas, despite the dialect, comes across clearly: (1) If the Child had been born in Angola, work would have been his lot, but not cold; (2) No snow there in December; (3) Had he been born black, he would still have been divinely white; (4) I am amazed that being who he was, he consented to be born between two beasts, an ox and a mule; (5) Our Child refused to be born in a palace.

Salgado directed Oaxaca music during a transitional epoch when salaried woodwinds were being phased out to make way for salaried strings.<sup>69</sup> On February 10, 1733, the chapter reprimanded him for failing to schedule rehearsals and the resulting slovenliness of the polyphony.<sup>70</sup> Although in service until at least January 11, 1745, his own yearly salary was on that date reduced from 300 to 200 pesos, in order to make room for his successor, Manuel de Zumaya. The previous four years cannot have been altogether happy for him, because from no later than May 18, 1741, Zumaya had been acting maestro de capilla.

### *Manuel de Zumaya*

Zumaya's paramouncy among colonial composers was recognized as long ago as 1821.<sup>71</sup> All Mexican encyclopedias of any pretension now include him.<sup>72</sup> In 1970 Jesús Estrada even went so far as to qualify him as the greatest Mexican-born composer of all time.<sup>73</sup>

In 1738, after 23 years as maestro de capilla of Mexico City Cathedral, the then approximately 58-year-old Zumaya followed the newly elected bishop Tomás Montaña to Oaxaca. According to Zumaya's first biographer, it was Montaña—previously dean of Mexico City Cathedral and his lifetime personal friend—who prevailed upon him to make so drastic a move. Montaña, the seventh bishop of Oaxaca to have been born at Mexico City entered the see December 21, 1738,<sup>74</sup> and died October 24, 1742.<sup>75</sup> Not willing to disturb Salgado in the post of Oaxaca chapelmaster Montaña at first temporized by allowing Zumaya to serve merely as his personal chaplain,<sup>76</sup> from which post he was promoted to interim cura of the cathedral parish

<sup>69</sup>A. C., IV, fol. 429<sup>v</sup> (February 14, 1736).

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 380: "Y assimismo se mando que el M<sup>o</sup> de Capilla, y los musicos en conformidad de lo prevenido en el Paragrafo seg<sup>do</sup> cap. 18 parte prima de los estatutos de esta S<sup>ta</sup> Yg<sup>a</sup> los Jueves del año asistan despues de Missa a executarse en la Musica de Canto de Organo, y repasar las ôbras que proxiam<sup>te</sup> se hubieran de Cantar eu las festividades solemnes."

<sup>71</sup>José Mariano Beristain de Souza, *Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional*, III (Mexico City: A. Valdés, 1821), 362.

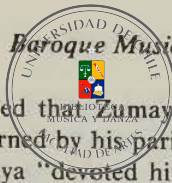
<sup>72</sup>*Diccionario Porrúa*, II, 2352; *Gran Diccionario Enciclopédico Ilustrado (Selecciones del Reader's Digest)*, VIII (1972), 373; Otto Mayer-Serra, *Música y músicos de Latinoamérica*, II, 945. See also *Grove's Dictionary*, 5th ed., IX, 428; *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, XIV, 1423-1424; *Riemann Musik Lexikon Ergänzungsband Personenteil L-Z* (1975), 739; *The Encyclopedia of Opera*, ed. Leslie Orrey (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), 197.

<sup>73</sup>"Rescate de 300 Años de Música Virreinal," *Excelstor*, March 23, 1970, p. 11-A: "Los mayores elogios del maestro Estrada son para quien llama 'el gran músico de México,' Manuel de Sumaya."

<sup>74</sup>Eutimio Pérez, p. 45.

<sup>75</sup>Pérez erred in citing September 18, 1742. For confirmation of 8:45, morning of October 24, 1742, see A. C., V (1736-1753), fol. 124<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>76</sup>A. C., V, fol. 120<sup>r</sup> (July 30, 1742): "siendo testigos los B.<sup>res</sup> D<sup>o</sup> Manuel Sumaya, y Don Gabriel Joseph Vatiño, Capellanes de su S<sup>a</sup> Ill<sup>ma</sup>.



church.<sup>77</sup> Beristáin de Souza presumed that Zumaya continued *cura del Sagrario* until death, after which he was "mourned by his parishioners."<sup>78</sup> Also, Beristáin de Souza asserted that at Oaxaca Zumaya "devoted himself exclusively to the sacred sciences and pastoral care." As an example of his "exclusive devotion to the sacred sciences" Zumaya's first biographer cited in 1821 his translation from the Italian of a biography of the Italian Jesuit, Sertorio Caputo = Caputi.<sup>79</sup>

On the testimony of the Oaxaca capitular acts, Beristáin de Souza certainly erred in supposing that Zumaya spent the last nine years of his life as a *cura del Sagrario*. But what of the translation? Did he do that at Oaxaca? As early as *La Partenope* (translated from Silvio Stampigla's libretto and published at Mexico City in 1711) Zumaya had already in his salad years proved his mettle as a translator from Italian. However, his "translating" a 539-page book so alien to music as *Della Vita del P. Sertorio Capvto della Compagnia de Giesv* (Naples: De Bonis, 1691) by Antonio Barone (1632-1713)—more particularly when a translation of the same profuse panegyric had already been undertaken by a Mexican Jesuit who was Zumaya's contemporary, Juan Antonio Mora<sup>80</sup>—presupposes a motive. Until Beristáin de Souza's claim that Zumaya's translation differed from Mora's can be settled one way or another by finding the two manuscripts, the likelier guess is that Zumaya simply finished on request (or paid commission) a task left incomplete at Mora's death July 12, 1737.

Zumaya begins being mentioned as a musician in the Oaxaca cathedral act of April 21, 1741. On that day the chapter confided to him the examination of Don Manuel Baltasar de Azevedo, Indian cacique of the pueblo of San Juan Chicomexuchil.<sup>81</sup> Zumaya's report, read at the meeting of May 18 (1741), endorsed the cacique as competent in both vocal and instrumental music—whereupon he was appointed contralto in the *segundo coro* at 100 pesos annually.<sup>82</sup> On November 16, 1742, now called *cura interino del Sagrario*, Zumaya was asked to examine a newcomer from Málaga (Spain) applying for the post of assistant succentor. Twelve days later Zumaya's favorable report on Diego Félix de Zavala's voice quality and musicianship caused the chapter to hire the *malagueño* at 150 pesos, with another 50 to buy robes.<sup>83</sup> To avoid outright dismissal of the previous succentor, the chapter made Zavala's predecessor music librarian.

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 129<sup>v</sup> (November 16, 1742): "el Mro. B D.<sup>n</sup> Manuel de Sumaya cura inter<sup>o</sup> del Sagrario de esta S.<sup>ta</sup> Ig.<sup>a</sup> Cathedral . . ."

<sup>78</sup>Beristáin de Souza, *Biblioteca Hispano Americana Septentrional*, V (Mexico City: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1948): "Allí dedicado exclusivamente al estudio de las ciencias sagradas y al cumplimiento de su ministerio pastoral, murió en paz llorado de sus feligreses."

<sup>79</sup>Born at Cosenza (Calabria) November 25, 1566, Caputo professed at Naples November 4, 1590, and died there September 11, 1608. While at Aquileia, he assisted at the rebirth of the moribund Accademia dei Fortunati under the new name of Accademia dei Velati. Barone (1632-1713) dedicated his 1691 biography of Caputo to Christine Gambacorti, marchioness of Brienza.

<sup>80</sup>Beristáin de Souza, III (1947), 274.

<sup>81</sup>San Juan Chicomexuchil = Chicomezuchil belonged to Itztepexi jurisdiction, north central Oaxaca. According to Gerhard, p. 159, the language spoken was "Zapoteco serrano de Ixtepeji."

<sup>82</sup>A. C., V, fol. 101: "Para Veer el parecer y sentir de el B.<sup>r</sup> D.<sup>n</sup> Manuel de Zumaya, sobre la remission de examen en Musica, y voz q se le hizo de D. Manuel Balthazar de Azevedo, Cacique de el Pueblo de S<sup>n</sup> Juan Chicomexuchil, pretendiente de lugar en la Capilla de esta dha S.<sup>ta</sup> Yglesia: y el salario, q se le pueda asignar, caso de su Recepcion . . .". The chapter agreed to 100 pesos annually, beginning June 1 "por hallarlo suficiente en voz, y Musica, en el examen, q le hizo el B.<sup>r</sup> D.<sup>n</sup> Manuel de Zumaya: y ser necessario, por su Contralto, para llenar los segundos Choros."

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 129<sup>v</sup> (November 16, 1742): "Y en quanto a la presentacion de dho D.<sup>r</sup> Diego Philix de Zabala,



By May 2, 1743, the chapter had decided that a permanent cura del Sagrario, rather than an interim appointee, was needed. Not being himself a speaker of any of the four native languages listed in the act of May 2 as prerequisite to diocesan curacies (Mixteca, Nexitza, Zapoteca, and the language spoken at Comaltepeque) and not holding a theological degree, Zumaya failed to qualify for a permanent curacy either in or out of Oaxaca.

Still, however, he preferred staying at Oaxaca to returning to Mexico City Cathedral. But on what salary? Salgado despite having been deprived of all authority could not be dismissed outright. The solution was found January 11, 1745, on which day the chapter unanimously voted to pay the now mid-sixtyish Zumaya a yearly 400 pesos for conducting on feast days and Sundays, teaching the boys, and composing. At the same time the chapter paid high tribute to Zumaya's sobriety and virtue.<sup>85</sup> Unable to fire Salgado, the chapter that same day cut his pay from 300 to 200. Joseph Castillo's 40 pesos, previously earned for teaching the boys, were applied to Zumaya's salary. Also 100 of the 125 being previously earned by a retiring cornettist were applied to Zumaya's anticipated 400. By various other expedients the chapter managed to eke out 330 of the 400 promised Zumaya for staying in Oaxaca.

On April 27, 1750, the chapter named to the post of cathedral harpist Juan Matías de los Reyes,<sup>86</sup> who was himself a decade later to become maestro de capilla of Oaxaca cathedral. Meantime Manuel de Velasco was being paid 150 pesos annually for keeping the two cathedral organs in tune.<sup>87</sup> On October 5, 1754, Zumaya died suddenly, after having signed a will before the notary public Agustín Tomás de Jiménez only two days earlier. In his will he left as executors and heirs the mother and daughter living in Oaxaca, María Michaela and Josefa Gonzales. For his burial site he chose the Oaxaca church of the Virgin of Guadalupe.<sup>88</sup>

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determinaron dhos S.<sup>tes</sup> que el Mro. B.<sup>r</sup> D.<sup>n</sup>. Manuel de Sumaya . . . lo examine, y exponga su dictamen sobre el tino de su voz, y si será conven.<sup>te</sup> el admitirle en la Capilla del Choro"; fol. 130 (November 28, 1742): "Y visto el parecer del B.<sup>r</sup> D.<sup>n</sup>. Man.<sup>l</sup> Sumaya, sobre la voz y Canto del dho D.<sup>n</sup>. Diego Zabala, dhos S.<sup>tes</sup> de comun consentimiento, y voto le admitieron . . ."

<sup>84</sup>On May 23, 1737, Juan José Ortiz de Velasco was appointed "Cura interino de el Sagrario" (A.C., V, fol. 33). He was the successful candidate for the permanent appointment May 2, 1743.

<sup>85</sup>A.C., V, fol. 181: "Y aviendo conferido sobre la quedada en esta Ciudad de el Maestro B.<sup>r</sup> Don Manuel Sumaia para la enseñanza de los Niños seises, composicion de Musica y Cuidado de los musicos para el maior divino culto y reconocer ser mui util para dichos efectos assi por la destreza en la Musica como por la virtud, y prendas de un bien eclesiastico que le asisten y se tiene experimentado en todo el tiempo que en esta Ciudad ha estado unanimes y conformes en el voto y parecer determinaban y determinaron se quedasse dicho B.<sup>r</sup> Don Manuel Sumaia . . ."

<sup>86</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 235. Estrada identified Juan Matías de los Reyes as another "indio oaxaqueño" in his *Excelsior* interview cited in footnote 73.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 220 (April 1, 1748). Five years earlier December 7, 1743, the chapter learned that the large organ was so battered as to be almost useless: whereupon the canons laid on the chantre's shoulders the responsibility for overseeing its reconstruction.

<sup>88</sup>Oaxaca, *Libro de Difunctos del Sagrario de la S<sup>ta</sup> Yglesia Cathedral de Anteq<sup>a</sup> Valle de Oaxaca: Comenzado en Veinte y nueve de Julio de mil setecientos quarenta y siete a* [Defunciones, Vol. 11 (July 29, 1747–December 29, 1756)], fol. 146: "En la Ciu.<sup>d</sup> de Antequera Valle de Oax.<sup>ca</sup> en cinco de Oct.<sup>o</sup> de mil setesientos cinquenta y quatro a<sup>o</sup> fallecio, en Obediencia de Ntra Santa Madre Yglesia el B.<sup>r</sup> Don Manuel de Sumaya, Presbitero; otorgo testam.<sup>to</sup> por ante Don Aug.<sup>n</sup> Thomas de Ximenes Escrivano Publ.<sup>co</sup> en esta Ciu.<sup>d</sup> su fecha de tres de Oct.<sup>o</sup> de mil setecientos cinquenta y quatro, dejando por Albaceas, Herederos a Doña Josepha Gonzales, y a D.<sup>a</sup> Maria Michaela su madre, recivio los santos sacram.<sup>tos</sup>, y se sepulto, en la Yglesia de N<sup>tra</sup> S<sup>ra</sup> de Guadalupe de Religiosos Bethlemitas, y porque consta lo firme / Nicolas de Barba."



Zumaya's compositions in the Oaxaca Cathedral archive include one of the earliest known villancicos honoring the Virgin of Guadalupe. To prove that his music was popular at Oaxaca a decade before Bishop Montaña's elevation to the see, the dates inscribed on a dozen villancicos range from 1714 to 1728. His *Missa Te Joseph celebrant Cum 6 Vocibus*—dated 1714 (the year before he became Mexico City chapelmaster)—survives in one of the most sumptuous manuscripts at Oaxaca. All told, he was still represented in 1967 by at least two dozen villancicos in the archive—ten dedicated to St. Peter (June 29), five for Christmas, and one for Easter. Some third of his Oaxaca villancicos call for paired violins in the accompaniment. A catalogue of his works at Oaxaca follows:

- Al Alva, que brilla.* Vill<sup>co</sup> a 4. con violines a la Gloriosa Apparicion de N. S. de Guadalupe de Mexico. "Son 12 pap<sup>s</sup>." At the close of each of the four coplas (as usual, these follow the estribillo), the soloist (Tenor Bajete) praises the plumage and pinions of the beautiful birds, the petals and the buds in the sweet-smelling gardens, and the other delights that surround Our Lady of Guadalupe. D minor, 4/4. Gaudy marchlike rhythmic figures predominate. The soloist's roulades ripple through cascades of sequences.
- Albricias mortales, que viene la Aurora y la noche triste parte.* Ti A Te B, Ti A Te, 2 violins, clarin (at pitch), AComp<sup>to</sup> a 7. D Major, 3/4. An Easter villancico, estribillo followed by coplas a duo.
- Al empeño, a la lucha.* A 4. Año de 1729. Ti Ti A Te, Ac. B $\flat$  (one-flat signature). Estribillo followed by coplas a 4.
- Al ver que las ondas a Pedro obedescan el Juicio acredita.* Vill<sup>co</sup> â 4 a N. P. San Pedro. A, Te, Ac. Although tipples are lost, the remaining parts define this as a stentorian B $\flat$ , C3 proclamation.
- Atencion q en la Nave que Rige Pedro.* A 12. Ti A Te B, Ti A Te B, Ti A Te B. Marching piece in C Major. High tessitura. Tipples hover among g<sup>1</sup> and a<sup>1</sup>.
- Aunque el sueño.* Vill<sup>co</sup> â 3 al Principe de los Ap<sup>s</sup> N. P. S. Pedro. "Son 4 pap<sup>s</sup>." Alto 1, Alto 2, AComp<sup>to</sup>. Form: traditional estribillo-coplas D minor (no signature), ternary followed by common meter.
- Celebren publiquen entonen y canten.* Con Violines y Clarin. A 7. Another bright D Major marching piece (estribillo followed by four coplas). Ti Ti A Te Te B B, 3 violins (Violin 3 = Clarin), Ac.
- Como aunque culpa.* Cantada â solos de Naudidad, con Violines y Viola. Alto, Tenor, 2 violins, viola, Ac.
- Como glorias el fuego, de Pedro canta.* Solo Con Violines Al Principe dela Yglesia. Año de 1729. Alto solo, 2 violins, Ac. Estribillo (C3) followed by coplas (4/4). G minor (one flat).
- Corred corred zagales.* Vill<sup>co</sup> â 4 de Navidad. Año de 1728. Ti Ti A Tenor Bajete, AComp<sup>to</sup> al 4. C Major, estribillo in ternary, four coplas (labeled Quintillas) in common meter. Accompaniment descends to low C<sub>1</sub>. Any singers able to negotiate "correr, correr, correr" at top speed and all the other runs demanded of them were virtuosos of the first rank.
- Del Vago Eminente,* A 6. Al Principe dela Yglesia, El S,<sup>r</sup> S,<sup>n</sup> Pedro. Año de 1729. Tenor Solo, Ti A Te B. Acomp<sup>to</sup> apparently lost. However, the other parts define this as a brilliant F Major villancico evincing Zumaya's usual flair for rhythmic and harmonic contrasts.
- Donde estais que no os enquentro.* Vill<sup>co</sup> Gracioso de Navidad. A 7 y a 8. Año de 1725. "Son 9 papeles." Te B, A Te B. Only five voice parts extant. Plan: Introduction-Estribillo-Coplas.
- El de Pedro solamente se ha de llamar fino amor.* Tiple Solo con Violin, y Viola. F Major, flowing common meter (both estribillo and coplas).
- Los Niños de aquesta Yglesia.* Villancico a 8. Navidad. The Choirboys insist that Christmas celebrates a Child. Therefore they ought to do the celebrating, not any imported professional merry-makers like "Vn Morisco vna Gitana Vn Gallego y vn Negrillo." Leave it to us,



they insist, "porque donde ai muchachos nunca puede faltar ruydo" (where there are boys, noise will never be lacking). The *estribillo* starts next: "Canten y baylen con alegres mudanzas firmes compases los Niños al Niño, que gracias reparte."

*Missa Te Joseph Celebrant* Cum 6 Vocibus. 1714. Exquisite copy.

*O cielo dichoso*, Cantada con Violines. Area preceded by recitative. Accompaniment is sole extant part.

*O Muro mas q humano*. Cantada a solo a N. P. San Pedro con Violines. "Son seis papeles." Tenor solo. Recitative-da capo Aria (Bb, middle section G minor) beginning: Pedro celeste muro-another Recitative-Coplas (G minor, five of these built over an ostinato).

*Pedro es el Maestro que sabe echar oy el Contrapunto*. Villan.<sup>o</sup> a 4.<sup>o</sup> a N. P. San Pedro En metaphora musical. Año de 1719. "Son 5. papeles." Ti Ti A Bajete. Ac. Because of its musical relevance, this attractive piece—surviving complete—would be well worth reviving.

*Pescador soberano*. Cantada a solo con Violines Al Principe dela Yg<sup>la</sup> Nuest<sup>o</sup> P. S. Pedro. "Son 6. papeles." Recitative-Aria (A minor)-Recitative-Aria (A minor)-Recitative-Coplas (E minor).

*Pues que nace a 7 voses*. "Son 10. papeles." Ac is the only extant part.

*Si yâ â aquella Nave que calman los vientos*. Cantada a solo [Alto] Con Violines Al Sr San Pedro. Chiastic seven sections. Preludio (Largo, 6/4, G minor) corresponds with final Largo, 6/4, G minor. Sections 2 and 6 (Recitados) tally. Sections 3 and 5 (Areas) correspond. Aria 1 = Prosigue al mismo correr. Area 2 = Y assi no pares. Both are in F Major. Heart piece is a Recitado.

*Ya la Naturaleza redimida*. Cantada de Navidad a Solo [Alto] con Violines. "Son 6 papeles." After introduction comes D minor da capo Area ending Grave, then a fast Area beginning in G minor with title words on the cover of the cantada: Alegres luces. After a dramatic piano ending, and a transitional Recitado, come four Coplas in Eb (two-flat signatures) headed Seguidillas.

Other villancicos dated 1719, 1725, 1728.

The chapter moved slowly to replace him. On May 6, 1756, nineteen months after his decease, the chapter was still being importuned for his salary arrears.<sup>89</sup> On the same day the canons debated whether to announce a competition. For the nonce they preferred to name as interim maestro a musician already at hand, Juan Guapamundi. Without raising his 120-peso salary, the chapter now permitted him to double his share of the tips. As if being interim maestro were not enough, the chapter also asked Guapamundi to substitute on the organ bench for the ailing titular organist.<sup>90</sup>

Juan de Dios Filio became cathedral violinist on September 15, 1757.<sup>91</sup> On September 13, 1760, the chapter asked him to teach violin and cello, but without a pay raise. That same day Juan Matías de los Reyes, now maestro de capilla, was raised 50 pesos annually on condition that he teach youths desirous of learning how to play the harp and organ.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>89</sup>A. C., VI (1753-1770), fol. 40<sup>r</sup>: "Los escriptos presentados por los SS<sup>tes</sup> Doctor! [Miranda] y echeverría, el uno sobre pedimento de lo servido, y suplido al B.<sup>r</sup> D.<sup>n</sup> Manuel Zumaya, M<sup>ro</sup> de Capilla q<sup>e</sup> fue de esta dha S<sup>ta</sup> Yg<sup>a</sup> . . ."

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., fol. 41: "Sobre el magisterio de capilla, que por aora suspendiendo los edictos, corra interino en el, el musico Juan Guapamundi, añadiendola a su annual renta, que es de ciento y veinte p.<sup>s</sup> cumplimiento a doscientos y cinquenta que goze de toda ovencion como dos Musicos, cnn el cargo tambien de suplir de Org.<sup>a</sup> todas las aucensias, y enfermedades del Propietario Manuel; y las fallas de punto de este, se le apliquen a dho Juan ="

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., fol. 51<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., fol. 79<sup>r</sup>: "al M<sup>fo</sup> de Capilla Juan Mathias se le aumentan cinquenta p.<sup>s</sup> con la obligacion de enseñar a tocar, Harpa y Organó a los Ynfantes que quisieren. Y mandaron que Juan de Dios Filio tenga tambien la obligacion de enseñar vinlon y violin sin aumento de salario."



Juan Matías de los Reyes's works circulated at least as far as Guatemala.<sup>93</sup> At Oaxaca he is represented by a *Te Deum laudamus a 4* and an Italianate "Cantada con flautas trauerseras, Al Principe de los Apostoles." *Llega mostrando*—cross flutes moving mostly in parallel thirds supply a delicious obbligato in the da capo aria (preceded by continuo-accompanied recitative).

On June 11, 1768, after at least two years of service, the *gachupín* Francisco Martínez y la Costa petitioned for a year's leave in Spain to take care of some urgent business left unresolved at his father's death.<sup>94</sup> Although granting a year counted from the day of his embarkation, the canons foresaw that he might never return and therefore stopped his handsome 600-peso yearly salary. To fill in as interim maestro, they again appointed old faithful Guapamundi September 25, 1768.<sup>95</sup> Two years later, May 9, 1770, they assigned Martínez y la Costa's salary to a newly elected successor, Manuel Verón<sup>96</sup>—still however extending the maestro's leave. Obviously Martínez y la Costa had breathed such fresh air into Oaxaca music that they wanted him back. His five villancicos and *aria a duo* seen at Oaxaca in 1967 are transitional works of great charm.

*Llegad moradores.* Villancico a 8 Con Violines y Clarin A S' S<sup>n</sup> Pedro. D Major.

*Los celestes Parainfos.* Villancico a 6 Con Violines y Trompas A la Assumpcion de N<sup>ra</sup> S<sup>ra</sup>. Confused parts.

*Un reñidísimo pleyto, tiene la Mula y el Buey.* Ti A Te B, Ti A Te B, 2 violins, Ac. D minor (no signature), 3/4. Strings marked "punteado" = pizzicato in section taking the place of the customary coplas (La mula es echo constante).

*Venid litigantes.* Villancico de Pastorela a 6. Con Violines y Trompas. Ti, Ti A Te, Ti A Te, B. Violins, horns sounding an octave above notated pitch, organ. "Pastorela" exploiting musette idea (drone) intervenes where coplas usually come. 6/8, pastorale rhythm.

*Venid Zerafines.* Vill<sup>co</sup> con Violines y Cla.<sup>s</sup> al Org.<sup>o</sup> al N<sup>to</sup> de N<sup>ro</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Jesu Christo para el año 1766. "Son 16 papeles. y 6 mas Duplicados."

*Yo me quemó yo me abraso.* Aria a Duo, Con Violines A S.<sup>t</sup> S.<sup>n</sup> Pedro. Alto, Tenor, 2 violins, Ac. The flaccid bass, the sighing appoggiature in the upper parts, and the anemic harmonic scheme, identify this cantata as transitional between Baroque and Classical.

After a decade of musical decline and uncertainty, the chapter again resorted October 6, 1779, to the time-honored system of *edictos*.<sup>97</sup> Unfortunately no worthy candidate offered himself. At last on October 24, 1780, Padre José Filio, relative of the violinist Filio appointed September 15, 1757, was inducted as "interim" maestro.<sup>98</sup> By January 13, 1781, both organs were well-nigh unplayable. Nonetheless, the parsimonious chapter refused the following April 20 to pay the 1500 pesos asked by an unnamed organ repairman. That same day the chapter disqualified Domingo Filio who wanted to be first violinist. Instead the canons named Marcos Matos June 8,

<sup>93</sup>*Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources*, p. 96.

<sup>94</sup>A.C., VI, fol. 281<sup>v</sup>: "sobre un pedim<sup>to</sup> presentado por D<sup>n</sup> Fran<sup>co</sup> Martinez en q pide licencia al v<sup>o</sup> Cauildo para pasar a los Reynos de España por el tño de un año para evacuar varios negocios urgentes, q por fallecimiento de su Padre han quedado pendientes. A cuyo pedim<sup>to</sup> combocados los señores Capitulares . . . se determinó en la forma siguiente con Decreto de hoy día . . . concedemos n<sup>ra</sup> licencia, y beneplacit . . . un año q se contara desde el día de su embarque . . . cesa la renta asignada . . . Cumplido el tño del año q pide, y le esta concedida, se dara la providencia correspondiente."

<sup>95</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 291<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 329.

<sup>97</sup>A.C., VII (1770-1792): fol. 225: "Que se pongan edictos p<sup>a</sup> la Maestria de Capilla. Que el Organista siga enseñando a los Niños Ynfantes, y q a estos se les haga ropa de dormir."

<sup>98</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 238<sup>v</sup>.



1781.<sup>99</sup> On December 7, 1786, the chapter engaged Juan Martines to keep the organs tuned for 50 pesos annually and teach the choirboys for 100. Padre José Filio died shortly before June 6, 1785, on which date the cathedral also lacked a succentor. Economy remained however the cathedral watchword. The canons concluded by naming as governor of his erstwhile colleagues the mere singer, José Gris, at no more pay than what he had heretofore earned for singing.<sup>100</sup>

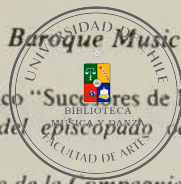
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<sup>99</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 247. Matos belonged to a family of cathedral musicians: in 1781 his father who was organist tested candidate singers; on August 17, 1782, his brother José Domingo Matos was hired as "Músico de los Ynstrumentos" (player of several instruments) at 75 pesos annually.

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 275.





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