

**Copyright**

**by**

**Jesús Alejandro Ramos Kittrell**

**2006**

**The Dissertation Committee for Jesús Alejandro Ramos Kittrell certifies that this is  
the approved version of the following dissertation:**

**DYNAMICS OF RITUAL AND CEREMONY AT THE  
METROPOLITAN CATHEDRAL OF MEXICO 1700-1750**

**Committee:**

---

Lorenzo Candelaria, Supervisor

---

Rebecca Baltzer

---

Luisa Nardini

---

Susan Deans-Smith

---

Virginia Garrard Burnett



**DYNAMICS OF RITUAL AND CEREMONY AT THE  
METROPOLITAN CATHEDRAL OF MEXICO 1700-1750**

**by**

**Jesús Alejandro Ramos Kittrell, B. M.; M. M.**

**Dissertation**

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**The University of Texas at Austin**

**May 2006**

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank first of all Professor Lorenzo Candelaria for his continuous support throughout my doctoral studies. Also, I would like to thank individuals who facilitated the completion of research for this study: Lic. Salvador Valdez, Professor Lucero Enríquez, Lic. Berenice Bravo Rubio, and Lic. Marco Antonio Pérez Iturbe. Most importantly, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to Professor Charles Roeckle for his mentorship and continuous advice. Also, Professor Adam Holzman, because without his help perhaps I would not be writing this today. Charles Clark, for his eternal patience and uplifting comments. Thanks are also due to the Professors members of my committee, Rebecca Baltzer, Luisa Nardini, Virginia Garrard Burnett, and Susan Deans-Smith for their candid support and input.

In a more personal manner I want to thank my friends Dr. Alfredo Colman, Mónica Pérez, Thalía Velasco, Alberto Compeani, and Nelson Hurtado for allowing me to collaborate with their research efforts and for sharing their experiences with me. To my good friends Jorge García, Jaime Marroquín, and Justyna Chesy-Parda for helping me release steam during the writing process. Thanks to my siblings, Sofi and Marco, for being the best thing that happened to me while growing up. And to my beautiful Agi—kicsi Csillag—for her unrelenting support and patience during times when I was in a very bad mood. I want to thank all of these individuals because, in one way or another, they provided for the emotional needs one has during this long and lonely dissertating process, finally arriving to completion. But any achievements or merits that I might have accomplished thus far are nothing but a true testimony of gratitude towards my parents, Sofía Kittrell Guzmán and Jesús Gilberto Ramos Vega, for teaching me to always get up one more time.

# **Dynamics of Ritual and Ceremony at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico 1700-1750**

Publication No. \_\_\_\_\_

Jesús Alejandro Ramos Kittrell, Ph. D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2006

Supervisor: Lorenzo Candelaria

The explosion of research on Mexican colonial polyphony has consistently stressed the grandeur of sacred music performance at the Cathedral of Mexico City. These studies, however, have failed to account for the social dynamics embedded in colonial religious practices to which music performance was essential. Important liturgical celebrations, like the feast of Corpus Christi, featured an elaborate production for the observance of ceremonies such as the mass, the Divine Office, the general procession, as well as other privately sponsored rituals. Far from magnificent, religious festivities during the eighteenth century were dearly impacted by political and economical forces surrounding the Metropolitan See. Problems in the internal economy of the cathedral accentuated a recession that invariably affected religious celebrations. The meager collection of tithes along with the downfall in value of real estate investments curtailed income sources necessary to cover expenses for religious celebrations. The necessity to pay salaries for chaplains, musicians and priests, as well as

debts incurred by a poor administration of internal capital, forced the cathedral to use funds from private endowments originally allocated for the celebration of specific ceremonies during the Corpus Christi octave, thereby jeopardizing ritual celebrations in this important occasion. In some cases, the deteriorated finances even presented the cathedral with the possibility of canceling the celebration of some rituals during the octave, such as the Mass of Renovation of the Holy Sacrament.

The aim of this study is to examine archival information thus far neglected in order to derive a critical contextual assessment for the performance of ritual and ceremony at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico City during the first half of the eighteenth century. In light of newly uncovered evidence, this study argues that the imagined splendor and magnificence of religious celebrations, and thus, of sacred musical practices in New Spain, has fallen short of an earnest appraisal of historical fact.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Chapter 1</b>	<b>Description of Ritual and Ceremony for the Feast of Corpus Christi.....</b>	<b>1</b>
	I. A Liturgical Calendar for Mexico City, 1700-1750.....	2
	II. Description of Ritual and Ceremony during the Octave.....	15
	An Interpretation of the Ordinal's Description.....	16
	III. Music played by the Music Chapel.....	32
	Repertory.....	34
<b>Chapter 2</b>	<b>Organization and Religious Apparatus for Religious Celebrations.....</b>	<b>38</b>
	I. <i>Capellanes</i> and <i>Capellanías</i> .....	38
	II. The Music Chapel.....	46
	III. Administrators.....	62
<b>Chapter 3</b>	<b>Foundations and Anniversaries.....</b>	<b>78</b>
	Foundations and Anniversaries and Ritual Performance.....	106
<b>Chapter 4</b>	<b>The Treasury of the Cathedral.....</b>	<b>118</b>
	I. Administration of the Treasury: The <i>Mayordomos</i> I.....	119
	II. Assistance from the King: The Royal Ninths.....	127
	III. Economic Antecedents: Inception of the Secular Church.....	131
	IV. Brief Recovery, 1720-1740: The <i>Mayordomos</i> II.....	138
	V. The Relapse, 1740-1750: The <i>Mayordomos</i> III.....	142

<b>Chapter 5</b>	<b>The Economics of Ritual and Ceremony: Impact on Religious Practices.....</b>	<b>156</b>
	I. Economic Impact on the Music Chapel and the <i>Capellanes</i> .....	162
	II. Economic Impact on Festivities: Ceremonies for Corpus Christi.....	174
	III. Further Impact on Foundations and Anniversaries: 1720-1740.....	183
<b>Chapter 6</b>	<b>Further Considerations.....</b>	<b>196</b>
	<b>Tables and Figures.....</b>	<b>225</b>
	<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>264</b>
	<b>Vita.....</b>	<b>271</b>

## **Chapter 1**

### **A Description of Ritual and Ceremony for the Feast of Corpus Christi**

On any given day in the liturgical calendar religious practices include different ceremonies in addition to the individual ritual for a specific saint or dogmatic mystery (e.g. the celebration of the Holy Trinity). In New Spain the octave of Corpus Christi celebrated Mass and Divine Office in commemoration of the Holy Sacrament—the veneration of a wheat wafer transformed through sacramental actions into the Body of Christ during the Eucharist—and observed other rituals as well. While some of these rituals venerated martyrs others were performed to venerate apostles. In any event, the octave of Corpus Christi was a week that featured a diverse array of ceremonies in addition to those for the Holy Sacrament itself. Therefore, in order to understand the dynamics of ritual celebration during the Corpus week it is necessary to account for all festivities that occurred during the octave.

Following the conclusion of the Council of Trent (1545-1563), in 1568 Pope Clement VIII issued a revised version of the Roman breviary to be used in all Catholic territories. As it was customary in any locality, the liturgical calendar of the Roman breviary was taken as a guideline for ceremonies observed throughout the year, to which celebrations reflecting local customs were added. In the case of the Cathedral of Mexico City these additional celebrations sometimes substituted certain festivities in the Roman breviary. As a result, the substituted Roman feasts were either observed on some other day, if possible, or disregarded.

The liturgical calendar consists of fixed and movable celebrations. Fixed celebrations are those that are observed in the calendar on the same day every year without variation (e.g. the celebration for Saint Peter occurs every year on June 29<sup>th</sup>). Movable feasts, on the other hand, are those without a fixed day in the calendar. The octave of Corpus Christi is the last of the movable feasts in the liturgical calendar and is observed every year during the months of either May or June.<sup>1</sup> It is important to note that, being a movable feast, the octave of Corpus Christi coincided with feasts for other saints that had fixed days. In this way, the rituals for other saints were sometimes incorporated into the celebrations of the Corpus week.

#### **I. A Liturgical Calendar for Mexico City, 1700-1750**

To this day the archival work of scholars has not produced a comprehensive calendar for ritual celebrations at the Cathedral of Mexico City. For the eighteenth century, however, it is possible to piece together an informed version of such calendar with the aid of extant archival documents from this time. In this respect, acts, letters, directories of ceremonies, ordinals, and chantbooks offer vital information on ceremonies observed at the cathedral throughout the year, some of which were different from feasts featured in the Roman breviary. In an effort to produce an index of ceremonies that was

---

<sup>1</sup> As a movable feast the date for the celebration of Corpus Christi in any given year (as is the case of other movable feasts like Pentecost and Holy Trinity) depends on the date for the celebration of Easter, which is usually observed on the first Sunday after the first full moon after the spring equinox. In this way, the Octave of Corpus Christi is celebrated on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday.



likely to have been observed in Mexico City I will confront the archival testimony of the sources mentioned above with two editions of the Roman breviary from 1697 and 1733.<sup>2</sup>

This comparison will enable us to form a map of celebrations during the months of May and June from 1700 to 1750, months when the octave of Corpus Christi took place. Since May 26<sup>th</sup> is the earliest date for the Corpus octave during 1700 through 1750 I have therefore limited this chronological outline of ceremonies to days between May 26<sup>th</sup> and June 30<sup>th</sup> (see Table 1.1).<sup>3</sup>

This table shows that the calendars of both Roman editions are identical except for a change in celebrations on June 12<sup>th</sup>, a variation also observed in the Spanish and Mexican *Proprium Sanctorum*. The columns for Spain and Mexico in this table only show saints of Hispanic devotion whose feasts replaced celebrations for saints in the Roman breviary of lesser local devotion (as in the case of King Ferdinand in Spain) or

---

<sup>2</sup> By using these two editions by no means do I intend to focus on sources from the period of 1697-1733 and project my study to the entire first half of the eighteenth century. A methodological problem to overcome while doing research was to learn on what day the octave of Corpus Christi began each year from 1700 to 1750. After much searching in the cathedral archive, as well as in the archive of the archbishopric, I was able to find two breviaries that were not mutilated and that included a calendar for the celebration of movable feasts from 1700 to 1750. Thus, the edition from 1697 provided dates for the years 1697-1739 while the edition of 1733 provided dates for 1733 through 1777, thus allowing me to know the dates for the beginning of the octave from 1700 to 1750. *Breviarium Romanum ex Apostolica Auctoritate Pii V, Gregori XIII, Sixti V, Clementis VIII, et Urbani VIII*, Antuerpiae, ex Typographia Plantiniana apud Viduam Balthasaris Moreti, 1697; and *Breviarium Romanum ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Trident. Restitutum Pii V Pontificis Maximi jussu editum Clementis VIII primum, nunc denuo Urbanis Papae VIII*, Antuerpiae, ex Typographia Plantiniana, 1733.

<sup>3</sup> The earliest date is actually May 22<sup>nd</sup>, occurred in 1722, a starting date for the octave that only occurs once between 1700 and 1750. I chose May 26<sup>th</sup> for being the next earliest and most repeated date after 1710. As I will explain later, in 1710 an endowment was made to celebrate all Matins Offices within the corpus octave. All dates for the octave between 1700 and 1709 are repeated between 1710 and 1750 so no matins offices for saints coinciding with the octave during the first ten years will be missed from our discussion.

introduced altogether new rituals (as in the case of San Felipe de Jesús on February 5, not shown).

It is important to note that the Cathedral of Mexico City, as directly connected to the Spanish church, inherited the Spanish calendar. The Metropolitan See in Mexico, however, accentuated the feasts of saints that had more of a local devotion. Examples were San Vito and San Primitivo, of whom the cathedral had relics. In addition to rituals by the Spanish church substituting some celebrations observed in Rome, Mexico City also favored ceremonies that became part of its local *sanctorale*. And although Mexico City mainly adhered to the Hispanic calendar (which already contained Roman and Hispanic festivities) adding just a few ceremonies archival documents show that local customs had a more pronounced devotion for certain feasts than others. In order to have a clearer image of an index of ceremonies for the Cathedral of Mexico City it is therefore necessary to confront the information provided by the Roman, Hispanic and Mexican *sanctorale* with information from letters, the directory of ceremonies and ordinals from that cathedral specifically.

The most detailed information on rituals and ceremonies comes from an ordinal from 1751 containing “everything that is practiced and observed” at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico City.<sup>4</sup> The index of celebrations for the entire year is arranged by month from folio 66v to 119v. The description for celebrations in the month of May

---

<sup>4</sup> *Diario Manual de lo que en esta Santa Iglesia Catedral Metropolitana de México se observa en su Altar, Choro y demás que se es debido hacer en todos y en cada uno de los Días del Año*, Archivo del Cabildo, Ordo, book 4, fol. 1r. As I draw information from this volume I will be referring to books 2 and 4, both copies of the same ordinal, due to the fact that parts of the text are more visible in book 2 than 4, and vice versa. Thus, although I will be citing different books I will be referring to the same *Diario Manual*.

begins on folio 78v. Moving down to May 26<sup>th</sup> on folio 90v descriptions for festivities include the following (the text is cited as it appears in the ordinal):

May 26<sup>th</sup> – San Felipe Neri

May 27<sup>th</sup> – Santa María Magdalena de Pazis

May 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> – Saints that occur according to their rites, nothing special.

May 30<sup>th</sup> – San Fernando, King of Spain

May 31<sup>st</sup> – Santa Petronila

These are festivities that coincide with Table 1.1 for the month of May. Here archival evidence shows that Hispanic and Mexican ceremonies were locally favored over Roman rituals, like the feast of Juan Pope and martyr, and Felix Pope and martyr, except for Santa Petronila, in which day no saints of local devotion were celebrated. The month of June proves to be a similar case. A description for this month begins on folio 81r as follows (the text is cited here as it appears in the ordinal):

June 1<sup>st</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> – Saints that occur according to their rites.

June 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> – NOT INCLUDED<sup>5</sup>

June 10<sup>th</sup> – San Primitivo, martyr (relic in cathedral)

June 11<sup>th</sup> – San Bernabé (apostle)

June 12<sup>th</sup> – San Juan de Saagún, nothing special to note.

---

<sup>5</sup> The Roman breviaries of 1697 and 1733 feature Saints Primi and Feliciani martyrs on June 9, see Table 1.1.

June 13<sup>th</sup> – San Antonio de Padua

June 14<sup>th</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup> – Saints that occur according to their rites, nothing special to note.<sup>6</sup>

June 24<sup>th</sup> – San Juan Bautista

June 25<sup>th</sup>-27<sup>th</sup> – Saints that occur according to their rites.

June 28<sup>th</sup> – San León (Pope)

June 29<sup>th</sup> – San Pedro y San Pablo (apostles)

June 30<sup>th</sup> – Conmemoración de San Pablo (apostle)

It is interesting to note that, although the Roman breviary shows festivities for saints on June 2<sup>nd</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> the cathedral's ordinal makes no specific note on the ritual for these days mentioning only the celebration of "saints according to their rites." The same occurs from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 23<sup>rd</sup>, and 25<sup>th</sup> to the 27<sup>th</sup>, periods in which saints of strong local devotion—as San Vito, of whom the cathedral possesses a relic, and San Juan Francisco—were also celebrated.<sup>7</sup> It is fair to acknowledge, therefore, that rituals for the days and saints cited in the ordinal were especially important at the cathedral, given the detailed account for their manner of celebration. It is tempting to conclude that the festivities cited in the ordinal were the only rituals celebrated at the cathedral, and

---

<sup>6</sup> Although the breviary shows feasts for saints during these days the ordinal does not mention their rituals. For a list of feasts for these days see Table 1.1.

<sup>7</sup> This was the case of San Vito, of who the cathedral had a relic. Also, it is noteworthy the fact that the Hispanic sanctorale (see Table 1.1) features saints like Luis Gonzaga and Santa Juliana (June 21<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>, respectively) on days when the Roman calendar favors feasts for other saints (Saint Gervasii and Protasii, June 19<sup>th</sup>).

therefore, the information in this document would prove enough to deduce a local index of ceremonies.

Nevertheless, the casual mention of celebrations for saints “according to their rites” suggests that ceremonies were also observed during these days, perhaps deferring to the Hispanic or Roman calendars. On the one hand, these days contain feasts for saints mentioned in the Hispanic calendar (as San Juan Francisco on June 16<sup>th</sup>), which were observed in Mexico City. On the other, at least one of the omitted feasts was for San Vito (June 15<sup>th</sup>), of whom the Metropolitan Cathedral has a venerated relic. To suppose that festivities during these days were altogether disregarded seems a problematic argument. We need, therefore, to gather further information for ritual celebration, for which directories, letters and the chantbooks, especially, are basic tools for a reconstruction of a possible index of ceremonies.

We must concentrate our attention on the month of June since ritual activities in the Roman, Hispanic and Mexican *sanctorale* for the last week of May (26<sup>th</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup>) seem to be confirmed by the ordinal. It is in June where we encounter two gaps: from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup>, and from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 23<sup>rd</sup> (see Table 1.1). In the first instance we find that there are only two festivities, namely, San Norberto (June 6<sup>th</sup>), for whom no information was found regarding the celebration of Mass or Office; and San Primo and Feliciano (June 9<sup>th</sup>), for whom we find that chantbook 46 contains a proper Mass for this day.<sup>8</sup> For the

---

<sup>8</sup> The number provided for the chantbook comes from an inventory of the chantbooks from 1749. Before the monumental inventorial task of Thomas Stanford in 1964 there had been no initiative to catalogue these books. A current project for the study of these books is part of MUSICAT, a comprehensive cataloguing project headed by Nelson Hurtado, part of the Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, for which this author was invited as resident scholar. *Inventario de los*

second omission—June 14<sup>th</sup> to 23<sup>rd</sup>—there are eight different celebrations in the Roman and Hispanic *sanctorale*, of which we found information for six in Mexican sources. An undated document from the late sixteenth-early seventeenth century mentions the Office celebration for San Basilio (June 14<sup>th</sup>).<sup>9</sup> For June 15<sup>th</sup> (which celebrates San Vito) the 1749 inventory shows that chantbook 46 features a proper Mass, which is corroborated by a ceremonial directory from 1785.<sup>10</sup> For June 18<sup>th</sup>, day of San Ciriaco and Paula, both the 1749 inventory and the 1785 directory mention the festivity.<sup>11</sup> The same applies to June 19<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup>, days for Santa Juliana and San Luis Gonzaga, for whom chantbook 58 holds the hymn (Santa Juliana) and proper Mass (San Luis) according to the 1749 inventory.<sup>12</sup> For San Silverio (June 20<sup>th</sup>), even though the chantbook inventory shows inclusion of a Mass in book 46 we do not find any other archival notice regarding that celebration.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, we do not find any information whatsoever for San Juan Francisco and San Paulo Episcopo (June 16<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> respectively).

Based on the information above we can suggest that from June 14<sup>th</sup> to 23<sup>rd</sup> rituals were celebrated at least for San Basilio, San Vito, San Ciriaco and Paula, Santa Juliana, and San Luis Gonzaga. Given this information by no means do I intend to assert what the

---

*Libros de Choro de esta Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de México* 1749, Archivo del Cabildo, *Inventarios*, box 1, document 6, fol. 3v.

<sup>9</sup> Approximate dating is based on calligraphic analysis, which shows a scribal hand prominently used during the sixteenth century and seems to have fallen from use in documents from around the second decade of the seventeenth century. Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, book 30, without foliation.

<sup>10</sup> *Inventario*, 1749, fol. 3v. Also, *Directorio para saber en que Libros se hallan los Oficios Propios de los Santos que se rezan en esta Santa Iglesia*, 1785, Archivo del Cabildo, Biblioteca, book 121, fol. 28v.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Inventario*, 1749, fol. 4v; also, *Directorio*, 1785, fol. 28v.

<sup>13</sup> *Inventario*, 1749, fol. 4v.

official liturgical calendar for the Cathedral of Mexico City was during the eighteenth century. Rather, by piecing together this fragmentary archival information I attempt to show which feasts were more likely to be celebrated in May and June, and thus, likely to have occurred during the octave of Corpus Christi.

Not all feasts were ranked equally, as some were considered to be more important than others. According to their solemnity feasts were divided in three main categories since the thirteenth century: simple, semi-double, and double. The last category is subdivided into double minor (usually just called “double”) and double major, this last division introduced by Pope Clement VIII (1598) and reserved for the most solemn festivities with octave.<sup>14</sup> As in the case of Corpus Christi, most first class days—some celebrated with octave, like Corpus—had proper offices. The majority of the other festivities we have enumerated thus far were either double (major or minor) or semi-double, for which the offices known as “Common offices” in the breviary were used as part of their Divine Office ritual.<sup>15</sup> These included the Common of Apostles, Common of Confessor Bishops, Common of Confessor not Bishops, Common of many Martyrs, Common of one Martyr, and the Common of Virgins. Based on the information

---

<sup>14</sup> F. G. Holweck, “Ecclesiastical Feasts,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 6, September 1909, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06021b.htm>, (31 March 2006).

<sup>15</sup> The Cathedral of Mexico received the reformed breviary of Clement VIII in 1608, as this act shows: “This day the [canons] approved a release from the treasury to pay canon Alonso de Ecija eight breviaries he brought for the service of the choir, of the reformed ones by the holiness of our very holy father Clement VIII...” Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 5, December 23, 1608, fol. 108r. No copies of such breviaries survive today at the cathedral. Therefore, my account of the Common offices included in the Roman breviary are based on the editions from 1697 and 1733 cited earlier.

interpreted thus far, a feasible index of ceremonies for the months of May and June at the Cathedral of Mexico is given in Table 1.2 along with the category for each feast.

As mentioned before, it is important to acknowledge all feasts that might have occurred during the week of Corpus Christi. Archival evidence from the first decade of the eighteenth century shows that a generous endowment was made by a private patron in order to secure the celebration of all Matins Offices during the Corpus octave. As a response to this endowment the Cabildo urged the compilation of all Matins Offices that were to occur during the octave in three chantbooks referred to as *Libros de Corpus* or Books of Corpus (a thorough account of the Corpus endowment and manufacture of the chantbooks will be covered on Chapter 3.) Here it will be necessary to give a table of dates for the beginning of the octave of Corpus Christi beginning on 1710, the decade when the Corpus Matins Offices were endowed (see Table 1.3).

In addition to the Matins Office for Corpus Christi these chantbooks also contain the Matins Office of San Juan Bautista, along with the Common of Apostles, Common of many Martyrs, Common of one Martyr, Common of Confessor Bishops, Common of Confessor not Bishops, and the Common of Virgins. The chantbooks do not make mention of the use of these offices for specific days. However, the fact that most of the celebrations for May and June listed on Table 1.2 use one of the Common offices for Matins suggests that at least this portion of the Office was performed during the Corpus octave when these celebrations occurred in that week.

The inclusion of the Common offices in the Books of Corpus is rather significant. It reflected an idealized situation that may not have been realized every year. As I will



explain in Chapter 4, economical problems caused the partial cancellation of other celebrations during the liturgical year. Financial stress affected even first class feasts, although those with a secured endowment were less likely to be cancelled. In any event, the inclusion of the Common Matins Offices in the Books of Corpus suggests that the endowment for the celebration of the octave included Matins ceremonies for saints whose rituals used these Common offices. On the other hand, the inclusion of these offices alone is not factual evidence that all festivities included in the calendar were actually celebrated during the Corpus octave, if they were to occur in that week. Some of these celebrations were of semi-double or simple category. Were all feasts, even of lesser importance than double feast days, observed during the octave? Let us consider further archival information.

Cabildo acts from the eighteenth century show that the Books of Corpus were originally designed to contain all Matins Offices for the feasts of saints likely to coincide with the Corpus octave at any given year. In an act from 1711 a canon named Costela mentioned that given the endowment received to celebrate the Matins Offices of Corpus Christi it was necessary for the chapel master, Antonio de Salazar (1688-1715), to write the Matins Offices in plainchant for the saints that coincided with the octave that year, to which Salazar complied, according to a later act.<sup>16</sup> It is important to note that in 1711 the Corpus week began on June 4<sup>th</sup> and ended on June 11<sup>th</sup>.<sup>17</sup> Thus, only three festivities

---

<sup>16</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, January 13, 1711, fol. 28v. See also book 27, April, 14, 1711, fol. 49r.

<sup>17</sup> Dates for the beginning of the Corpus octave are taken from the Roman breviary editions from 1697 and 1733 mentioned above.

coincided with that week, namely San Norberto, San Primitivo, and San Bernabé, all double feasts (see Table 1.2).

At a Cabildo meeting in 1712 Costela mentioned that Salazar ought to do the same again every year and that in that year (1712) only the feast for San Fernando (May 30<sup>th</sup>) coincided with the Corpus week.<sup>18</sup> Four days later Cabildo officials ordered that all Common offices be compiled in a parchment book to be used during the Corpus week.<sup>19</sup> In 1712 the Corpus octave began on May 26<sup>th</sup> and ended eight days later on June 2<sup>nd</sup>, which according to our calendar on Table 1.2 encompassed the celebrations for Santa María Magdalena de Pazis, San Fernando, and Santa Petronila. If three feasts coincided this year as well, why did Costela refer in singular voice only to the Office of San Fernando? After all, the year before he had referred to the offices “of the saints that occurred [in the octave]”, but this year Santa María Magdalena de Pazis and Santa Petronila were not being acknowledged.

It is here where archival sources fall short of information and we resort to informed interpretation. The fact that San Fernando was a double first class feast and that Santa María Magdalena and Santa Petronila were semi-double and simple festivities, respectively, might suggest that only double feasts were observed during the Corpus octave. After all, the three feasts to which Costela referred in 1711 were of double

---

<sup>18</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, May 6, 1712, fol. 166v.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. Eventually all Common offices were compiled in a set of three books numbered 71, 72, and 73 on the spine written by Joseph Pérez de Guzmán from 1712 to 1713. The books included all non-Easter Common offices, except for the Common of Doctors.

category as well, thus adding more weight to this notion. However, this argument must be inspected carefully.

Both of these saints—Santa María Magdalena de Pazis and Santa Petronila—use the Office of the Common of Virgins, which is included in chantbook 73 of the Books of Corpus. Moreover, the ordinal from 1751 does not mention anything about Matins Offices for semi-double and simple festivities being disregarded if they coincided with a first class feast. When describing simple festivities—of lesser category than semi-double—the ordinal mentions on folio 5v that for Matins the invitory and hymn were sung from “the Common office pertaining to that particular saint,” and that the antiphons and psalms were sung from the rite of that particular day.<sup>20</sup> For semi-double festivities the ordinal mentions that all was observed “as mandated by the breviary rubrics,”—thus pointing towards the Common of Virgins in the case of Santa María Magdalena—but the ordinal does not mention any specifics regarding the ritual.<sup>21</sup>

The Books of Corpus Christi provide other interesting information. When comparing the Matins Offices for the Common of Confessor Bishops and not Bishops—the latter being the one for San Fernando—with the Common of Virgins we find that the last one features the complete Matins Office, while the first two contain only responsories, the same being the case for the Common of Apostles. It would be feasible to suggest that in 1712 Costela was referring only to San Fernando because the chantbook

---

<sup>20</sup> According to the ordinal, saints with simple feasts did not have a specified full-fleshed ritual but were just commemorated during Vespers and Matins. *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 5v.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

with the Office for this day was missing the invitatory, the antiphons and the psalms, and therefore, these items needed to be ready. The fact is that the Common of Confessor Bishops and Confessor not Bishops use quite a similar invitatory to that in the Common of Martyrs and the very same psalms as well, the only different items being the antiphons. Moreover, chantbook 71, the book containing the Common of Martyrs (which could have been used as reference for the Common of Confessors during the octave) was copied in 1713, thus not available in 1712, logically.<sup>22</sup>

Based on the cryptic information we have from 1711—when the octave coincided with the three double feasts mentioned above—and from the ordinal—without any specifics for semi-double feasts and the rather non prominent celebration of simple feasts—the presumption that perhaps only festivities of double category were observed during the octave seems plausible. Nevertheless, the ordinal provides a special note for semi-double and simple festivities celebrated during higher feasts. It mentions that:

....when Vespers and Matins are celebrated with first class apparatus, or double major or minor, because of having an inferior rite the celebrated saint (that is, the simple saint's feast), everything is performed with the solemnity of [first class]...Everything is executed with the pomposity and solemnity of first class, or double major or minor. And the [ritual], if applicable, is performed semi-double or double, and it does not pass to second Vespers.<sup>23</sup>

Even if we choose to ignore Santa Petronila, the only “simple saint” in Table 1.2, for not being mentioned in this note and for its lack of a full-fleshed ritual (as mentioned

---

<sup>22</sup> The year 1713 is taken from the last folio of the chantbook bearing also the name of the scribe, Joseph Pérez de Guzmán.

<sup>23</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 4v.

in folio 5v of the ordinal) it is not possible to dismiss semi-double feasts—of which we have four—based on the information from folio 4v, especially if we find Offices in the chantbooks for some of these like San Luis Gonzaga (book 58), San Juan y San Pablo, and the commemoration of San Pablo (both in book 41). Was Costela singling out the Office of San Fernando in 1712 due to the missing antiphons? The lack of more precise information renders that a possibility. In any case, what it is possible to suggest based on the above mentioned archival sources is that the Corpus Christi celebration included at least the Matins Office for the saints on Table 1.2 as they occurred during the Corpus octave.

## II. Description of Ritual and Ceremony during the Octave

Given this feasible reconstruction of a local index of ceremonies we now turn to the information found in the ordinal describing ritual performance for the week of Corpus Christi. Regarding musical activity, I will compare the information in the ordinal with extant musical sources in order to derive a better understanding of the context and musical items performed during the octave. This comparison of archival and musical information will shed light on the use of music performed by the music chapel and the singing of plainchant by the *capellanes*.<sup>24</sup> In order to do this I will begin with the

---

<sup>24</sup> A *capellán* was a priest who was given a permanent position in the choir, a *capellanía*, for which he received a yearly salary. The *capellán* was assigned specific days and ceremonies to appear in the choir, for which his name was written down by the *puntador*, the priest in charge of overseeing attendance. According to the cathedral's act of foundation there were six established *capellanías*, usually paid from the yearly income generated from tithes (Archivo del Cabildo, *Statuta Ecclesiae Mexicanae*, México: Mario Zúñiga, 1797, p. 18). During the seventeenth century Alvaro de Lorenzana gave a generous donation to

description on the Corpus Christi ceremony, the first festivity of the octave, and will continue with the festivities of other saints.

### **An Interpretation of the Ordinal's Description**

The historical precedents of the feast of Corpus Christi date back to the Middle Ages. Santa Juliana (1193-1258) had a devoted veneration for the Holy Eucharist from early childhood. As a nun at Mont Cornillon in Belgium she expressed her ideas about a festivity to commemorate the Blessed Sacrament to Robert de Thorete, Bishop of Liège. Impressed with this idea the Bishop called for a synod in his diocese in 1246 and ordered the celebration of the festivity for the following year. Pope Urban VI, who became an admirer of the feast, published the bull *Transiturus* (1264) in which he ordered the annual celebration of Corpus Christi on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, the Office composed on the Pope's request by Doctor Saint Thomas Aquinas. By 1306 the feast had been accepted in Cologne, adopted in Worms by 1315 and in Strasburg by 1316.<sup>25</sup>

In New Spain the solemnity of Corpus Christi was the most important celebration of the week. It was a double first class feast with octave, the highest category for any celebration, and one of the most socially prominent and heavily attended festivities in the year. Although in New Spain the feast included the celebration of a variety of rituals (e.g. requiem anniversary Masses, the Circular Jubilee) the most important aspect of ritual and ceremony for this occasion centered on the observance of the Divine Office, Mass, and

---

endow eight additional *capellanías* known as the *Capellanías de Lorenzana*, thus increasing the number of choir singers. Archivo del Cabildo, Capellanías, box 1, document 3, March 17, 1767.

<sup>25</sup> Francis Mershman, "Feast of Corpus Christi," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 6, 1908, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04390b.htm>, (31 March 2006).

the general procession. In addition to the procession the Divine Office was one of the most elaborate and complex services. Since the Corpus octave was devoted to venerate the Holy Sacrament for eight days the Office had to incorporate—on some occasions—rituals to venerate saints whose feast coincided with the octave.

The Divine Office is composed of eight individual times during the day devoted to worship.<sup>26</sup> Known also as the Canonic Hours these times are traditionally labeled under the following names:

1. Matins: observed before sunrise
2. Lauds: observed at sunrise
3. Prime: observed at the first hour
4. Terce: observed at the third hour
5. Sext: observed at the sixth hour
6. None: observed at the ninth hour
7. Vespers: observed at sunset
8. Compline: observed before retiring

Prime, Terce, Sext, and None took their names from the old Roman calendar, in which the hours of the day were numbered from six in the morning (first hour) to six in the afternoon (twelfth hour), with Sext being observed at noon (sixth hour).<sup>27</sup> Current scholarship on the medieval practice of the Divine Office has accepted this schedule of prayer as standard with minor differences according to the changes in time throughout the

---

<sup>26</sup> Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958, p. 13.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

seasons. However, some scholars have pointed out that the lack of sources on the development of the Western Office—especially for the cathedral Office—makes the study of this service somewhat cumbersome in terms of possible differences in ritual performance in different regions.<sup>28</sup>

Ordinals are useful tools to determine the specifics of ritual performance in a given locality. When compared with the current academic understanding of the celebration of the Divine Office, however, ordinals are texts in need of careful scrutiny, since a straight reading might render an incoherent account of the observance of this service. Therefore, the information from different archival sources is needed in order to contextualize the celebration of the Canonic Hours in a given locality. In this light, following the description of the cathedral's ordinal from 1751 I will unfold a narrative about the celebration of the Divine Office during the octave of Corpus Christi at the Cathedral of Mexico. Moreover, given the irregularities in performance that this information might suggest I will use further accounts from acts, letters, and decrees to propose a schedule for the celebration of the Office.

The ordinal begins the description of the Corpus ritual with the service of Vespers, a service that started celebrations for the feast on the Wednesday before the first day of the octave (Thursday).<sup>29</sup> The description of the ceremony begins with a small procession to take the Holy Sacrament from the Sacramentum to the main altar—just after

---

<sup>28</sup> James W. McKinnon, "The Origins of the Western Office," in Rebecca Baltzer and Margot Fassler, *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 63-73.

<sup>29</sup> At the beginning of the Corpus description the ordinal states: "...the first day is of first class, from first Vespers until the next day finishing the procession." After that the description begins with the small procession after None, just before Vespers, when the Holy Sacrament is taken from the Sacramentum. *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 2, fols. 34r-34v.



None and right before Vespers—where it was placed and venerated throughout the octave. The description continues with Vespers, then Matins and Lauds, and then the Mass and the general procession.

It is when we attempt to unfold a linear sequence of events that we find problems comparing the celebration of rituals at the Cathedral of Mexico with current accepted discourses for the celebration of the Divine Office. According to the ordinal, Matins and Lauds were sung between four and six o'clock in the afternoon (see Figure 1.1), thus suggesting that Mass could have taken place after these services in the early evening, as also did the general procession. Moreover, the account on the celebration of Matins and Lauds is problematic in itself, since according to established medieval custom these services took place before sunrise and after sunrise, respectively. However, the ordinal is very clear in the use of the phrase “in the afternoon”:

Matins and Lauds are said a short while after Compline, if they are not sung, because otherwise they are either at three or at six in the afternoon...the Christmas eve [Matins and Lauds are] at eleven at night, and the resurrection ones at three in the morning.<sup>30</sup>

It would be possible to argue that perhaps in the eighteenth century Mexico City held a system for recording time different from the modern French method used in Europe. Michael Talbot has mentioned that in eighteenth-century Europe there were two main systems used: the Italian hours (*ore italiane*) and the French system (*ore francesi*). According to Talbot it was the French system the one widely used throughout Europe. In

---

<sup>30</sup> “*Maytines y laudes se dicen poco rato después de acabadas completas, si no son cantados, porque siéndolo, o son a las cuatro o seis de la tarde...los de Nochebuena a las once de la noche, y los de Resurrección a las tres de la mañana.*” *Diario Manual, Ordo*, book 4, fol. 15r.

this system, Talbot says, time is “apparent”, since it adheres to the “true” noon as shown by a sundial. The Italian system, on the other hand, adopted a twenty-four hour clock: it originally set the start of the day at sunset and the hour following was considered to be the first hour of the new day.<sup>31</sup>

It were to accept that Mexico City used the Italian hour system in the eighteenth century one could suggest that in fact Matins and Lauds were observed between four and six o’clock. That is, between the fourth and sixth hours after sunset, which by our modern standards would be roughly between midnight and two o’clock in the morning (given that the sun might set, for practical purposes, at eight o’clock at night). Nevertheless, there are other inconsistencies to consider before endorsing this argument. The cathedral received its first clock in 1563 and in 1698 was replaced by a new Spanish clock, which was used until 1807 when it was replaced by the current clock displayed on the front entrance. Moreover, since 1563 King Felipe II ordered the installation of sundials in all government buildings as well as in every convent.<sup>32</sup> More research is needed to know what system for timekeeping was used in Spain since the sixteenth century, and most likely transplanted to the American colonies. But if we were to make reference to Talbot’s article there seems to be persuasive evidence that it was the French system the one used in Mexico City during the colonial period.

---

<sup>31</sup> Michael Talbot, “*Ore Italiane*: The Reckoning of the Time of Day in Pre-Napoleonic Italy,” *Italian Studies* 40, (1985): 52-53.

<sup>32</sup> Victor Jiménez, “Relojes y Arquitectura en México,” *México en el Tiempo* 36, (May/June 2000), in *México Desconocido*, (2002), [http://www.mexicodesconocido.com/espanol/cultura\\_y\\_sociedad/arte/detalle.cfm?idcat=3&idsec=14&idsu b=52&idpag=1967](http://www.mexicodesconocido.com/espanol/cultura_y_sociedad/arte/detalle.cfm?idcat=3&idsec=14&idsu b=52&idpag=1967), (14 April 2006).

In addition, Talbot makes reference to the Divine Office by saying that the advantage of French time over Italian time is that it was congruent with the Canonic Hours. In this case, the bell of noon was also that of Sext. According to the Mexican ordinal Sext was celebrated after Terce and the Mass (Terce started at nine o'clock in the morning, more consistent with standard practice).<sup>33</sup> Given that Mass followed Terce the celebration for Sext had to happen anywhere after eleven o'clock in the morning, consistent with standard practice for this Canonic Hour (at noon) and making the use of the French system more feasible. In any case, the fact that the ordinal clearly outlines the celebration of Matins and Lauds in the afternoon (except for Christmas and Holy Week) poses a problem in regard to accepted discourses about the observance of the Divine Office. Beyond the cathedral's ordinal, what is needed at this point is further research in order to clarify our understanding on the times for the celebration of the Divine Office in Mexico, an issue worthy of being addressed by a different study.

The Mass description mentions that right after the Eucharist all people exited the cathedral to begin the procession, which took place around the city. If we were to follow the linear sequence of events mentioned in the ordinal the procession could have started anywhere around half past six and seven o'clock in the evening. Further archival documents inspected by this author not only suggest that the procession was held early during the day, when the sun was higher, for which tree branch woven roofs covered the streets.<sup>34</sup> Also, official convocation letters calling all clerics to the procession required their presence at the cathedral at eight in the morning. Thus, it is more likely that the

---

<sup>33</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 7r.

<sup>34</sup> Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Ayuntamiento, vol. 3712, June 3, 1733.

procession began around half past ten in the morning to conclude before Sext at noon, more in tune with accepted liturgical custom.

The peculiar observance of Matins and Lauds in the afternoon, however, raises the question of whether these two hours were observed on Wednesday after Vespers. The ordinal mentions that “...the first day is of first class, from first vespers until the next day finishing the procession.”<sup>35</sup> Therefore it is very likely that the Wednesday before the octave included a small procession (described below), Vespers, Compline, Matins, and Lauds to continue with the so called “little hours” and Mass on Thursday (Prime, Terce, and Sext).

Thursday’s ceremonies most likely began with Prime at half past seven in the morning, followed by Terce at nine o’clock<sup>36</sup> to continue with the Mass and procession, more in agreement with the information from city archival records and the mentioned convocation, and definitely more consistent with standard practices for the observance of the Divine Office.<sup>37</sup>

Given the above information, I will attempt to unfold a linear description of celebrations for the Corpus feast beginning with the afternoon ceremonies of the Wednesday before the octave (i.e. the small procession, Vespers, Compline, Matins, and Lauds) continuing with the morning ceremonies of Thursday, the first day of the octave (i.e. Prime, Terce, Mass, Procession and None).

---

<sup>35</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 34r.

<sup>36</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 14v.

<sup>37</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Edictos, box 2, document 35, June 20, 1715.

## Small Procession

After None on Wednesday, before the first day of the octave, the canon whose turn was to celebrate that week, exited the choir accompanied by six *capellanes*, acolytes, and the master of ceremonies to the sacristy coming back to the door of the *crujía*<sup>38</sup> where all priests, canons, and music chapel joined them to go in procession to the Sacrarium, where the Holy Sacrament awaited.<sup>39</sup> Once the group entered the chapel of the Sacrarium the musicians performed the hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi*, usually sung in the procession according to the description of the ordinal.<sup>40</sup> After that, the entire group exited the Sacrarium following the processional nave (see Figure 1.2) and turned left to the main altar. There the group formed two choirs at each side of the altar with the presiding canon at the center flanked by two *capellanes*. After incensing the Holy Sacrament the choirboys sang the verse *Panem de Celo*, which was answered by the music chapel. Once the Holy Sacrament was deposited in the main altar the group returned to the choir to begin Vespers for Corpus.

## Vespers

Adding to the peculiarities in times of celebration, as the hours of Matins and Lauds showed, Vespers usually took place after singing None (see Figure 1.3):

---

<sup>38</sup> The *cruxia* (Spanish *crujía*) is the aisle that passes from the main entrance to the choir to the main altar through the principal nave.

<sup>39</sup> All information for this description is taken from the ordinal mentioned above from the section describing the ritual for Corpus Christi. *Diario Manual*, Archivo del Cabildo, Ordo, book 2, fol. 34r.

<sup>40</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 2, fol. 34v.

None is said always at three in the afternoon, except during Easter when it is said after the last Mass, in the Vigils, days of solemn anniversaries, or of extraordinary solemnity. Vespers are always at three in the afternoon, alone or after None, except during Easter when they are in the morning after the last Mass.<sup>41</sup>

City officials, the viceroy, and the arch-confraternity of the Holy Sacrament attended the service, all of whom had assigned seats in the principal nave.<sup>42</sup> In Vespers there were items sung by the chapel while others were sung strictly in plainchant by the *capellanes*. The five antiphons of the psalms, the second psalm, the Magnificat antiphon, and the verse *Panem de Celo* were sung in plainchant only.<sup>43</sup> However, the ordinal makes a special note for the first time the Magnificat antiphon was sung (*O quam suavis est Domine*), as well as for the Mass introit, since it mentions that both were sung “in counterpoint”.<sup>44</sup>

Moreover, in the second psalm the verses were alternated either with the organ or the chapel instruments, although there are no more precise instructions on how this was done. The first, third and fifth psalms, the hymn (*Pange lingua gloriosi*), the canticle magnificat and the *Benedicamus Domino Deo Gratias* were all performed by the music

---

<sup>41</sup> “Nona se dice siempre a las tres de la tarde, excepto en los días de cuaresma que se dice siempre antes de la Misa última, en las vigiliass y días de aniversarios solemnes o días de extraordinaria solemnidad. Vísperas siempre son a las tres de la tarde, o solas o después de Nona, menos en el tiempo de cuaresma que son por la mañana después de la última Misa.” *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 34r. For None during a first class day the ordinal does not contain a description. It only mentions that it was sung in plainchant with the space and solemnity of a first class day, along with Prime and Sext. *Diario Manual*, book 4, fol. 3v.

<sup>42</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 7r, 14v.

<sup>43</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 3r.

<sup>44</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 4r.

chapel.<sup>45</sup> The fourth psalm was performed in the same manner as the third psalm during Terce (described below). Finishing Vespers and Compline the presiding priest, accompanied by two *capellanes*, acolytes, and master of ceremonies, went to the sacristy to take off their capes and returned to the choir to begin Matins.<sup>46</sup>

## Compline

The ordinal does not offer detailed information for Compline. The only mention about the service is that it was sung all in plainchant “with the space and solemnity of a first class day.”<sup>47</sup> We know that the service started immediately after Vespers, and that during Easter started at half past three in the afternoon (see Figure 1.1): “Compline is always said immediately after Vespers, and during Easter it is at half past three in the afternoon.”<sup>48</sup>

## Matins

According to the ordinal Matins was celebrated immediately after Compline at four or six o’clock in the afternoon, depending on the festivity (see page 22 above; also Figure 1.1).<sup>49</sup> According to the ordinal the whole service was sung in plainchant

---

<sup>45</sup> *Diario Manual, Ordo*, book 4, fol. 3r.

<sup>46</sup> Like None above the ordinal gives no precise information for Prime, Sext, and Compline, all of which were sung in plainchant with space and solemnity. *Diario Manual, Ordo*, book 4, fol. 3v.

<sup>47</sup> *Diario Manual, Ordo*, book 4, fol. 3v.

<sup>48</sup> “*Completas siempre se dicen inmediatamente a las Vísperas, y en el tiempo de cuaresma son a las tres y media de la tarde.*” *Diario Manual, Ordo*, book 4, fol. 34r.

<sup>49</sup> The ordinal mentions that Matins occurred right after Compline, the latter happening at half past three in the afternoon. “If Matins were sung (due to an endowment provision) these could happen at four o’clock (if not too tiresome) or at six o’clock, depending on what the foundation provisions mentioned.” However, the

alternating with the organ only the psalms, hymn and canticles.<sup>50</sup> The music chapel, on the other hand, was in charge of performing the verses of the invitatory, the eight responsories, the *villancicos* sung between lessons, the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*, and the canticle *Benedictus*.<sup>51</sup> For the following seven days of the week, in which the Matins Offices for other saints might occur, the ordinal mentions that these were sung in the same fashion as in the first day, but “without as much solemnity.”<sup>52</sup> As mentioned above, when a saint’s festivity of lesser category concurred with a feast of first class the saint’s Office was observed with first class apparatus.<sup>53</sup> For Lauds (happening after Matins) the only information we have is that the service was sung also in plainchant alternating with the organ only the psalms, hymn and canticles.<sup>54</sup>

### **Prime, Terce, Mass, Procession, Sext, and None**

As in Compline, the ordinal is not specific about the celebration of Prime, Sext and None. Prime started usually at half past seven in the morning followed by Terce at nine o’clock.<sup>55</sup> Mass followed after Terce (called *misa de tercia*) and then continued the procession after the Eucharist.<sup>56</sup> After completing the procession followed Sext without a

---

foundation document for the Matins Offices during the Corpus octave has not been found at any archival repository thus far. *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 15r.

<sup>50</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 3v.

<sup>51</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 4r.

<sup>52</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 2, fol. 35v.

<sup>53</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 5v.

<sup>54</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 3v.

<sup>55</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 7r.

<sup>56</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 15r.



specified time in the ordinal.<sup>57</sup> None started most likely at three o'clock and seems to have been celebrated back to back with Vespers, since the ordinal also mentions that "Vespers occurred at three o'clock, sometimes alone and sometimes after None."<sup>58</sup> In any event, it seems that, given the ordinal's description outlined above, None, Vespers, and Compline occurred next to each other.

Regarding performance the ordinal mentions that Prime, Sext, and None were all sung in plainchant with solemnity of first class, just like Compline.<sup>59</sup> The ordinal is not very specific describing the Mass either. There is just a brief mention saying: "The Mass is [celebrated] with all pomposity, solemnity and apparatus, music chapel and instruments."<sup>60</sup> In the third part of this chapter I will cover the surviving musical sources featured in the Corpus feast at the Metropolitan Cathedral in an attempt to recognize pieces likely to have been performed as part of the Mass by the chapel. The lengthiest descriptions in the ordinal are thus for Terce and the procession, the latter being the most elaborate event.

According to the ordinal's description of services for first class festivities the three psalms of Terce were performed in the following manner.<sup>61</sup> The first psalm was sung in plainchant alternating verses with the music chapel and the second was sung all

---

<sup>57</sup> Even though the ordinal does not include a time for Sext, given that the little hours follow a more standard time of performance according to medieval custom it is plausible that Sext took place at noon.

<sup>58</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 7v.

<sup>59</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 3v.

<sup>60</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 2, fol. 35r.

<sup>61</sup> Neither version of the Roman breviary (1697 and 1733) nor chantbook 12 with the Terce service for Corpus Christi mention the singing of psalms for this hour. However, given that the ordinal gives this description of Terce for double first class feasts I will include it in here, since the description of the performance for the third psalm is the same as for the fourth psalm in Vespers mentioned above.

in plainchant. The third psalm was performed by the music chapel as follows: one verse was sung by a singer on the floor of the choir accompanied by the chapel.<sup>62</sup> The next verse was then sung by a singer above the choir, next to the first organ, and accompanied by it.<sup>63</sup> Then another singer above the choir in the opposite side and next to the second organ sang the third verse accompanied by this instrument as well. Once finished, the singer on the choir floor began again this three-part sequence for all verses until the psalm was finished. In this same fashion, the ordinal mentions, the chapel performed the fourth psalm in Vespers.<sup>64</sup>

### **Procession**

The general procession of Corpus Christi was perhaps the most attended and socially elaborate ceremony of the year. It was not only an event showcasing prominent individuals and institutions in Neo-Hispanic society. It was an all-encompassing social event in which people from distant towns came—a month in advance in some cases—to work and prepare the heavy ornamentation used in the streets for this occasion, as well as to enjoy dances, fireworks, theater plays and other public entertainments. City records show that officials would request authorities of other localities to send individuals—Indians, to be specific—to the city in order to work on arches, roofs, wreaths and other

---

<sup>62</sup> It is important to distinguish the chapel singers from the choir *capellanes*. While the first were part of the chapel, and thus performed music written by the chapel master, the latter were priests who after being examined by the Cabildo were appointed to a *capellanía* for the singing of plainchant exclusively.

<sup>63</sup> The description does not specify which organ (east or west of the choir) was the first.

<sup>64</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 3v.

items used during the procession to decorate the streets.<sup>65</sup> The cathedral also recruited people for its ornamentation, and according to records from the seventeenth century, the Cabildo spared no expense to decorate its walls, build *tablados*,<sup>66</sup> and feed and pay for the labor of everybody involved.<sup>67</sup> The procession was a crossroads in which secular and sacred life met, perhaps the first event that triggered a week of public celebrations in the city.

The Cabildo called on all clerics to attend the Mass and procession on Thursday, the first day of the octave, at eight o'clock in the morning. It is likely that all attendees—including the viceroy and city officials—arrived during Terce to attend the following Mass. The ordinal mentions that movement to start the procession began after the elevation of the host, just when the wheat wafer becomes through sacramental action, according to Catholic theology, the Body of Christ. The Holy Sacrament is then placed *in custodia* (monstrance), a richly ornamented gold reliquary featuring a small round window at the center where the Sacrament is placed, and which the priest would hold from a bar connected to the base below.

At the moment of consecrating the host the bells of the cathedral started to toll and would not stop until the Sacrament was placed back in the main altar after the procession was finished.<sup>68</sup> The procession exited the cathedral through the west door. All attending institutions and religious bodies were present and occupied a place within the

---

<sup>65</sup> Archivo General de la Nación, General de Parte, vol. 13, fol. 10v.

<sup>66</sup> These were wooden stage floors, usually for the performance of plays outside of the cathedral.

<sup>67</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Material, box 1, document 3.

<sup>68</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Ordo, book 2, fol. 35v.

procession according to hierarchy and seniority (if they happened to be within the same hierarchy.)

The procession was arranged in three groups according to the following order. 1) Religious orders and confraternities: the first walking in the procession were all of the confraternities carrying their particular advocating saints. Next came the six regular orders, namely *San Hipólito*, *Nuestra Señora de la Merced*, *San Agustín*, *Nuestra Señora de la Observancia*, *San Francisco*, and *Santo Domingo*. After the orders came the *Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento* (Archconfraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament), all orders carrying their processional crosses. 2) Secular clergy: next to the orders and confraternities came the three processional crosses of the three local parishes, *San Miguel*, *Santa Catarina*, and *La Vera Cruz*. Behind them came the cross of the cathedral followed by members of the archbishopric. After that came the clergy of the cathedral followed by the choirboys, music chapel, and *capellanes*. Behind them came the dean and the Cabildo followed by two priests carrying the pontifical scepter and miter—belonging to the archbishop—flanked by the most senior choir clerics. After that came the archbishop carrying the monstrance with the Holy Sacrament, the central point of the processional body. 3) Officials and viceroy: following the archbishop were the city officials followed by officials of the royal treasury and *Real Audiencia* (the royal assembly, the governing entity of the city). Next came the viceroy followed by the royal family and escorted by the infantry to close the processional group.<sup>69</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Ordo, book 2, fols. 35v-36v.

The city tour for the procession (see Figure 1.4) made three stops or *estaciones* in front of altars prepared along the way. These were at the street of San Andres, at the street of the Bethlemitas in front of the convent of San Francisco, and at the main square, this being the largest and most elaborate.<sup>70</sup> The ordinal mentions that along the procession the cathedral's music chapel performed hymns from the *Processionarium Totius Anni*, folio 84, a processional book containing hymns and litanies for the entire liturgical year.<sup>71</sup> It must be said that members of the music chapel were not the only ones playing instruments. City archival records mention that people coming from other towns to the celebration usually brought "instruments that denoted cheer and happiness" for this day.<sup>72</sup> When stopping at any of the three altars the musicians sang the antiphon *O quam suavis est Domine*.<sup>73</sup> After the third stop—at the altar in the main square—the procession entered the cathedral through the main entrance and sang the hymn *Tantum ergo* (fourth strophe of the hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi*) until reaching the main altar. Once the Sacrament was placed in the altar two choirboys would sing the prayer *Deus qui nobis* in

---

<sup>70</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Ordo, book 2, fol. 37r.

<sup>71</sup> After much searching at the Archivo del Cabildo this author found two copies—trimmed and rebound in the nineteenth century—of a *Processionarium Totius Anni iusta consuetudinem almae Ecclesiae Hispalensis dispositum*, 1608. Due to trimming it is not possible to gather more precise information on the printing of the book. The ordinal cites the use of the *Processionarium* beginning at folio 84r (the beginning of the description for Corpus Christi in the processional.) This perfect-match reference suggests that this edition from 1608 was consistently used in the Cathedral of Mexico throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The only two hymns for the procession featured on folio 84r are *Pange lingua gloriosi*, and *Sacris Solemnis*, both in plainchant. Nevertheless, the ordinal does not specify how these hymns were sung.

<sup>72</sup> Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Ayuntamiento, vol. 3712, June 8, 1748.

<sup>73</sup> As noted above, during Vespers the ordinal mentions that this antiphon was sung in counterpoint, of which there are surviving versions in polyphonic choirbooks at the cathedral. Archivo del Cabildo, Ordo, book 2, fol. 37r.

the same fashion they sang the verse *Panem de Celo* after Vespers.<sup>74</sup> The act of depositing the Sacrament in the main altar ended the procession and marked the beginning of Sext (performed as described above), after which the morning services ended.

### **III. Music played by the Music Chapel**

A word must be said here about the extant repertory of music performed by the chapel. For the period on which the present study is based, unfortunately, there are very few musical sources before 1746 that have survived. Not only the substantial theft that the Archivo del Cabildo has suffered for decades is responsible for this lack. Acts also show that the Cabildo was slow to undertake an initiative to preserve an archive of music composed by the cathedral's chapel masters until the eighteenth century. In 1700 chapel master Antonio de Salazar mentioned that upon his arrival all extant music in the cathedral was contained in a few books which were falling apart. He added that all music during his appointment was composed by himself, in addition to music he had brought from other polyphonic masters.<sup>75</sup> In the same act the Cabildo ordered that Salazar be paid for all music he had brought in order to build a music archive, which was "not of his obligation".<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup> As noted above the ordinal gives no specific detail on how this singing was done, it only mentions that the verse *Panem de Celo* was answered by the choir. Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> I will give a more thorough account of polyphonic music brought by Salazar in Chapter 2. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, March 9, 1700, fol. 160v.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

It is true that some music survives today by Francisco López Capillas, Antonio de Salazar, and Manuel de Sumaya. The surviving music by these composers, however, is mostly part of the cathedral's nine polyphonic choirbooks that survive today.<sup>77</sup> Loose sheet music from the seventeenth through the first half of the eighteenth century is practically non-existent. The few copies left in the archive of sheet music by Sumaya and Salazar are greatly overshadowed by the impressive collection of works by Ignacio de Jerusalem, who upon being hired in 1746 began to compile all of his compositions as mandated by the Cabildo. From this point on the cathedral's music archive began to increase its holdings featuring today music by Jerusalem, Matheo Tollis de la Rocca, Antonio Juanas and other composers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>78</sup>

Despite the initiative by Salazar to form a music archive the situation of such repository did not improve from 1700 to 1749. Upon his arrival Jerusalem had to purchase music to use in celebrations since the archive was very scarce and he did not have time to compose music as immediately as it was needed.<sup>79</sup> In any case, most of the surviving music housed today at the Archivo del Cabildo is mostly from the latter part of

---

<sup>77</sup> Today the Metropolitan Cathedral holds a total of 114 choirbooks of which nine feature polyphonic music. It must be said that by 1712 Antonio de Salazar recorded that the cathedral had close to twenty five choirbooks featuring polyphonic music, in addition to the chantbooks for the celebration of Mass and the Divine Office. I will give more information about the twenty five polyphonic books in Chapter 2.

<sup>78</sup> The first inventory of the musical holdings of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico was done in 1964 by Thomas Stanford, a work recently published by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (Thomas Stanford, *Catálogo de los Acervos Musicales de las Catedrales Metropolitanas de México y Puebla de la Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia y otras Colecciones menores*, México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2002). Currently the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México is in the process of completing the thorough cataloguing of the cathedral's musical collection, a project to be completed in 2008.

<sup>79</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Archivo de Música, A. M. 1592, fol. 12r.

the eighteenth century through the early twentieth century. In an attempt to document the activity by the music chapel during the Corpus Christi celebrations I will therefore explore the holdings of the current musical archive to suggest at least a historical continuity of musical exercise by the chapel on specific items for the Divine Office and Mass as informed by extant archival sources.

## **Repertory**

It must be acknowledged that a thorough inspection of the cathedral's music archive is still necessary to assess the actual extant music used for Corpus Christi. The information given here is taken from the inventory of the music archive of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico compiled by Thomas Stanford and recently published in 2002. And although this volume shows inconsistencies in its itemized description of pieces for a given occasion it provides a comprehensive picture, nonetheless, of the items regularly performed by the music chapel during the Office and Mass.<sup>80</sup>

Table 1.4 lists all pieces found in Stanford's inventory pertaining to ceremonies observed during the Corpus octave, of which items for the Matins Office are the most prominent. And although the vast majority of these pieces are from the late eighteenth

---

<sup>80</sup> Stanford mentioned to me that, due to the extreme disarray in which he found the cathedral's music archive in 1964 (when he first began his cataloguing labor) it was hard to know if some part scores belonged to a same piece. After carefully inspecting some pieces at the archive I found that when Stanford refers in his inventory to five different versions of a given responsory all five scores (being individual parts for different instruments) belong actually to a single responsory version. There are current efforts to thoroughly catalogue the music archive of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico by MUSICAT, an information science initiative sponsored by the Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, due for completion in 2008.



and nineteenth centuries the list seems to be consistent with the items played by the chapel as described in the ordinal: invitational, hymn and responsories for Matins; hymns for Vespers, and proper Masses and sequences. It is important to note that the chapel also was involved in music for Matins for the Common offices, the responsories for which match those in the Common offices of the Books of Corpus. As mentioned before, these chantbooks contain all Matins Offices celebrated in the Corpus octave. Stanford's inventory also contains settings of the psalms for Corpus Vespers as well as the Magnificat antiphon *O quam suavis est domine*, the hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi* and the *Benedicamus Domino*, as well as the *Benedictus* and *Te Deum laudamus*, usually sung at the end of Matins.

After comparing the music in the cathedral's archive with information from primary sources we find that, during the Corpus octave, the music chapel was involved in the performance of music items during the following occasions (note that for Common offices observed during the octave the chapel only performed items for Matins. For a list of these see Table 1.5):

- 1) Small procession
  - a. Hymn: *Pange lingua gloriosi*
- 2) Vespers
  - a. Psalms: *Dixit Dominus* (109), *Confitebor tibi* (110),  
*Credidi propter* (115), *Beati Omnes* (127), *Lauda  
 Jerusalem Dominum* (147)
  - b. Hymn: *Pange lingua gloriosi*

c. Magnificat antiphon: *O quam suavis est Domine*

d. *Benedicamus Domino*

3) Matins

a. Invitatory antiphon: *Christus Regem*

b. Hymn: *Sacris Solemnis*<sup>81</sup>

c. Eight responsories: *Immolabit haedum, Comedetis carnes, Respexit Elias, Coenantibus illis, Accepit Iesus, Ego sum panis vitae, Qui manducat meam carnem, Misit me vivens pater*

4) Procession

a. Hymns: *Pange lingua gloriosi, Sacris Solemnis*

b. Antiphon: *O quam suavis est Domine*

5) Mass

a. Introit: *Cibavit eos*

b. Gradual: *Oculi omnium*

c. Sequence: *Lauda Sion*

d. Offertory: *Sacerdotes Domini*

e. Communion: *Quoties cumque manducabitis*

As mentioned above, a generous endowment established a fund to observe all Matins Offices during the Corpus octave. As I have explained, these Matins Offices used

---

<sup>81</sup> The ordinal does not mention that the music chapel performed this item at any time. The music archive, however, contains a good number of settings of this Matins hymn, see Table 1.4.

the Common offices to celebrate saints whose festivity coincided with the Corpus octave. The items shown in Table 1.4 for Common offices are only the ones pertaining to Matins, thus featuring invitatory, hymn and eight responsories.

## **Summary**

In this chapter I have attempted to outline a basic framework for ritual celebration during the octave of Corpus Christi. By comparing the information from different archival sources I attempted to reconstruct an index of ceremonies likely to have been observed during these eight days. Consequently, I accounted for feasts of different categories and hierarchies from May 26<sup>th</sup> through June 30<sup>th</sup>, from 1700 to 1750. Based on this outline I described the festivities celebrated during the Corpus octave as they coincided with this week in a given year. I further outlined the manner of performance for ceremonies within each feast category and the extent of the involvement of the music chapel during these services. Moreover, a compilation of pieces written for the music chapel for ceremonies occurring during the Corpus octave corroborates the information from archival sources on ritual and music performance for the Corpus Christi festivities, all events observed with “pomposity and solemnity” as described by the ordinal. In the following chapter I will account for the human apparatus needed in the cathedral for these celebrations. This will lead us to compare the notion of “pomposity and solemnity” with the actual resources that the Cabildo had for the exercise of religious practices during the first half of the eighteenth century.

## Chapter 2

### Organization and Internal Apparatus for Religious Celebrations

In order to provide an informed historical reconstruction of religious practices during the octave of Corpus Christi we must turn our attention to the human apparatus involved in the production process of rituals and ceremonies. In assessing the role of these individuals as necessary to the development of ritual performance I will be laying a framework to measure the impact of external forces on the unfolding of religious festivities during this week (to be covered in Chapter 4). All of the individuals involved in the development of religious feasts in the Cathedral of Mexico can be grouped in three basic categories: *capellanes*, the music chapel, and administrators and collectors of tithes.

#### I. *Capellanes and Capellanías*

The *capellanes* were clerics devoted to the singing of plainchant in the choir as opposed to singers of the music chapel hired to perform polyphonic music.<sup>1</sup> According to its act of foundation, the cathedral was required to have six

---

<sup>1</sup> The fragmentary surviving evidence before 1749 shows that the style of music performed by chapel singers was mostly polyphonic in the vein of the Franco-Flemish Renaissance tradition. Evidence of this comes not only from surviving pieces by Antonio de Salazar but from choirbooks featuring the music of Renaissance polyphonic masters like Alonso Lobo, Francisco Guerrero, Sebastian Vivanco, and Tomás Luis de Victoria brought by Salazar and used extensively in the cathedral, at least until 1715 when Salazar died. We can corroborate that Salazar brought and

of these plainchant singing posts, called *capellanías*, for the observance of the “divine cult”.<sup>2</sup> The main duties of the *capellanes* consisted of the singing of plainchant at the *facistol* during the Canonic Hours and Mass, for which an individual earned roughly from 150 to 300 gold pesos, as will be shown below from different Cabildo acts appointing individuals to these posts.<sup>3</sup>

During the seventeenth century these six *capellanías* were increased in number to fourteen due to an endowment made by Alvaro de Lorenzana, who gave a generous donation for the creation of eight additional *capellanías* paying 200 gold pesos to appointed individuals. Thus, singers were appointed to a

---

favored the music of these Renaissance authors by two archival documents. In a letter to the Cabildo from 1700 Salazar mentioned “when I was appointed as chapel master [1688] what I was given with the title of ‘archive’ were a few books shredded to pieces and thrown in a corner of the choir...and all of the music that has been sung and is currently sung is new [that I have composed].” A later inventory of music made by Salazar and the cathedral’s *chantre*, Gerónimo, López de Arbizu, in 1712 shows that the chapel master had by then acquired 24 choirbooks featuring polyphonic works by Francisco Guerrero, Tomás Luis de Victoria, Alonso Lobo, Luis Coronado, and Francisco López Capillas, among others. We can only speculate that the next chapel master Manuel de Sumaya—a pupil of Salazar—continued using this style of repertoire. Letters from Sumaya to the Cabildo show that the chapel master had reservations about adopting the growing Italian musical elements that circulated in Mexico City from secular music (e.g. opera). Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 185, document 63, September 22, 1712, 5 folios; also Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, box 23, document 3, February 11, 1712, 1 folio; May 19, 1730, 1 folio.

<sup>2</sup> It is very common to find this reference in acts, letters and other archival documents. The term “divine cult” refers to all ceremonies and events pertaining to the Roman ritual throughout the liturgical year. The act of foundation of the cathedral clearly states that the choir was to have six official *capellanes* “ordinamus Capellanos in super sex, quorum quilibet, tam in nocturnes horis, quam in diurnis, ac etiam Missas ad facistolium personaliter interesse, et in unoquoque mense Missas viginti, nisi justa infirmitate, vel impedimento fuerit impeditus, celebrare teneatur.” *Statuta Ecclesiae Mexicanae necnon Ordo in Chorus Servandus*, Mexico: Mariano Zúñiga, 1748, pp. 18-19.

<sup>3</sup> The *facistol* was a very large column made out of wood featuring four stands to place the enormous choirbooks for singing during the Divine Office and Mass.

*Capellanía de Erección* (referring to a *capellanía* from the group established by the cathedral's foundation act) or to a *Capellanía de Lorenzana*. It would be logical to think that most of the *capellanes* aspired to have one of the Lorenzana posts, which started at a higher salary than one of the official positions.<sup>4</sup> The salaries for each group of *capellanías* derived from different sources. And whether *capellanes* preferred either an official or a Lorenzana position depended on external factors affecting the financial sources from which salaries were withdrawn to pay each group of *capellanías*—real estate on which the Lorenzana endowment was invested, or the collection of tithes to pay the official posts—as will be explained below.

*Capellanías* were appointed by examination of individuals who competed to earn that position. Ideal candidates had to be, first of all, Spaniards, proficient in Latin and plainchant, they had to have a good voice and have been born as legitimate children, which at the time of examination they were required to prove by showing their birth certificates and letters from socially distinguished individuals mentioning their acquaintance with the candidate for many years and confirming his legitimacy.<sup>5</sup> In the case of the Lorenzana posts, however, there

---

<sup>4</sup> There were exceptions, however. We find records mentioning salaries for some *Capellanías de Erección* for up to 400 gold pesos. Archivo del Cabildo, Edictos, box 2, document 23, June 4, 1717, 1 folio.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.; the most common documents showing proof of legitimacy are those requested for the admission of choirboys to the *escoleta* (school of choirboys). These documents show acknowledgement from the sacristan that the child had been baptized and was born as a legitimate

was an extra requirement and it was that candidates had to be born in New Spain from Spanish parents, and from this pool of individuals, the candidates had to be among the poorest people.<sup>6</sup>

Salaries for the *capellanías* were drawn from two different sources. While the salaries for the *Capellanías de Erección* derived from the gross revenue collected from tithes every year, the *Capellanías de Lorenzana* were paid from interests accrued by the original endowment made by Alvaro de Lorenzana, invested by the Cabildo in real estate properties. According to an act from March 3, 1735, these were houses on a street formerly called *Porta Caeli* (behind the cathedral) and a portion of land in the town of Guastepec.<sup>7</sup> This document also mentions that the principal of this endowment amounted to 36,000 gold pesos, of which 4,000 had been lost in a litigation process involving real estate.<sup>8</sup> The remaining 32,000 gold pesos accrued an annual interest of 1,200 gold pesos, enough to pay six *capellanes* at 200 gold pesos each per year.<sup>9</sup>

---

child. Also, a further testimony was usually provided by an individual mentioning his acquaintance with the child's parents and considering them decent people. Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, box 15, document 15, March 3, 1739, 5 folios.

<sup>6</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 24, fol. 40r.

<sup>7</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 33, fol. 74r.

<sup>8</sup> The document does not show the date when the 4,000 pesos were lost.

<sup>9</sup> During the first half of the eighteenth century two out of the eight *Capellanías de Lorenzana* were cancelled due to a lack of revenue generated by the investment of the endowment's principal, something that became a contingency for the payment of salaries to the *capellanes* for a few years. By 1735, however, the real estate investment regained stability and the Cabildo was prompted to re-open the remaining two *capellanías*. Ibid.

Salaries for the *Capellanías de Erección* came from a different source that underwent an altogether different financial process. The main source of income in the cathedral, from which salaries for canons, priests, and musicians were derived, was the gross collection of tithes, and its management was somewhat more complex.<sup>10</sup> Whether the *capellanes* and other individuals were paid in a timely fashion depended on an organized and prompt collection, which if delayed could cause economic problems to the cathedral's treasury. The Cabildo was in charge of the collection, a process that could be sublet—in whole or in part—to a third party. During a public auction, private individuals offered to pay a fixed amount to the church for the right to collect tithes. Half of this amount was paid in advance and the rest was paid when the collection was finished. At the same time, the individual had to be supported by several other individuals who sponsored him in case he defaulted on the collection, and thus was unable to pay the second half of the agreed amount to the church.

The sublease of the collection of tithes enabled the church to acquire immediate money to take care of needed expenses and liberated the Cabildo of extended responsibilities during the collecting process. Not everybody was able to pay tithes with actual money and therefore other types of property were used as

---

<sup>10</sup> All information regarding the collection of tithes in the following paragraph is taken from John Frederick Schwaller, *Orígenes de la Riqueza de la Iglesia en México – Ingresos Eclesiásticos y Finanzas de la Iglesia 1523-1600*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1990, pp. 43-46.



currency. If the subleasing collector accepted material goods, produce or animals as payment the merchandise had to be sold in order to give the money in return to the church. In the case of livestock the individual, who usually had a couple of partners, stored and fed the animals for a period of three years. One partner offered a ranch to keep the animals and the other would agree to feed them. At the end of three years they would divide the second generation of born calves and would sell the original livestock to pay the church. It did not matter that the person took up to three years to pay the agreed full amount to the church, as long as the money was paid at the end.

In the meantime, the collector could use collected merchandise as personal investment. In this way, individuals speculated with the value of merchandise to hopefully gain a profit in the process. The church could decide whether to sublease the collection of tithes or take care of the process with its own personnel. In the latter case the revenue was usually larger since all of the money from collecting and selling merchandise ended in the church's treasury. By subleasing, however, the church obtained its money more rapidly—usually within less than a year—while overseeing the process directly could take several years for only one collection.

As I will explain below, the administration of collected tithes relied on the *mayordomo*, an individual who, among other things, was responsible for releasing

funds for salaries and other expenses in the cathedral. In addition to the possibility of mistakes made in bookkeeping—which were common—a delayed collection could be enough reason to temporarily halt salary payments. Certainly, a solid internal economy in the cathedral was needed to guarantee the continued labor of *capellanes* and musicians during services. During periods of time in which the cathedral was in deficit *capellanes* asked to be considered for either a *Capellanía de Erección* or *Lorenzana*, depending on which income source seemed more stable. Such was the case on October 7, 1735, when four *capellanes* from the Lorenzana endowment—which was undergoing an unstable period and not accruing high interests at the time—were asked to be considered for a single vacancy in the *Capellanías de Erección* due to the death of one of the *capellanes*.<sup>11</sup>

Both *Capellanías de Erección* and *Capellanías de Lorenzana* were alternatives for eligible individuals of precarious circumstances who aspired to an education and permanent employment within the church. The *capellán* usually entered the cathedral at a young age as a choirboy for which the Cabildo, in addition to providing lodging, also invested funds for clothing, feeding, and educating the child. The choirboy received a salary for serving in the choir which was sent to his parents. During their time in the choir some children asked to be

---

<sup>11</sup> The act mentions that the name of the deceased *capellán* was Cristóbal de Soria. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 33, fol. 122r.

taught how to play a certain instrument (e.g. violin, cello, organ) in hopes to be later employed in the music chapel, should their voices change during adolescence. Other options were to serve as acolytes or *libreros*, individuals responsible for carrying the choirbooks to the *facistol* and turning pages during services.

Once their education was completed, if the voice of the individual was well suited and he was proficient in plainchant, he could inquire to the Cabildo to be considered for a *capellanía*, if one was available. And if granted, the individual would hold that post until he resigned or was deceased. There is little doubt that the Cabildo saw the continuous education of choirboys over the years as an investment. Some choirboys continued to become well reputed chapel masters, like Manuel de Sumaya. And although this was not the case with every child, through the education that the choirboys received at the cathedral, the canons certainly aimed for the retention of talented and developed musicians.

Not all of the *capellanes* were required to attend the choir at the same time. Their names were rotated on a weekly schedule to attend Mass and the Office by the *puntador*, the person in charge of keeping track of attendance in the choir.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Regarding the number of singers in the choir surviving attendance rosters from 1734 are concordant with the ordinal from 1751 (*Diario Manual*). For first class festivities, like Corpus Christi, the choir had six *capellanes* during Matins, Vespers, and Mass, and four for second Vespers. For other feasts of lesser category the choir had four *capellanes* for Matins, Vespers, and

## II. The Music Chapel

The music chapel was the group upon which a very important part of ritual and ceremony relied. Music was an essential component of Mass and the Divine Office, and in order to celebrate religious festivities with the needed decorum, solemnity, and pomposity the Cabildo usually sought to have proficient musicians and singers in the chapel.<sup>13</sup> This group was primarily composed of instrumentalists, singers (which included the choirboys), and the chapel master. It was not uncommon for the Cabildo to hire musicians inquiring about employment in the chapel, as long as they were proficient in their instrument. In other cases, individuals were taught by chapel members on different instruments with the expectation that they would be appointed as chapel musicians with a base salary. Cabildo acts show repeated instances of choirboys being instructed on how to play the organ, harp, sackbut, trumpet, and dulcian among other instruments.<sup>14</sup> Even the chapel master was appointed by the Cabildo to teach voice lessons and plainchant to the choirboys.<sup>15</sup>

It was generally harder to find better singers than instrumentalists. A letter to the Cabildo dated January 20, 1780 mentions that the chapel could always use

---

Mass, and two for second Vespers. Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 48, document 37, 1734, 10 folios; also Archivo del Cabildo, *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 4, fol. 54r.

<sup>13</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, box 1, document 8, June 19, 1657, 1 folio.

<sup>14</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fols. 16r, 21r; also book 45, fol. 154r.

<sup>15</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 239v.

more singers, as opposed to instrumentalists since the latter were typically less essential than the voices. Even if the chapel had enough instruments, the letter mentions, the Cabildo usually sought to increase their number during important celebrations.<sup>16</sup> There were occasions on which the Cabildo had to hire singers from outside of the cathedral to sing plainchant during special festivities. Such was the case in 1793 when three guest singers were paid to sing during the services for Holy Week.<sup>17</sup> For this reason the Cabildo usually kept the development of the choirboys under close surveillance in order to find those children likely to develop good voices for the chapel and choir. This was the case of José Salvatierra and José Alacio, both former choirboys seeking employment in the chapel in 1780. After their examination the Cabildo was advised that even though their voices were not yet robust, Salvatierra could sing any score in front of him, especially at the *triple* range, in addition to being well instructed in violin. The other one, Alacio, a tenor, was good in the high vocal registers and knew music quite proficiently.<sup>18</sup>

Singers were a precious commodity and finding them was not always an easy task. Archival sources show that the Cabildo would try to recruit not only within the colony but also in Europe. On December 10, 1749, for example,

---

<sup>16</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 18, January 20, 1780, 1 folio.

<sup>17</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Material, book 12, March 23, 1793, 1 folio.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

archbishop Manuel Rubio y Salinas gave permission to pay for four *castrati* from Naples and a *sochantre*,<sup>19</sup> all stationed in Spain, to be brought to work at the cathedral.<sup>20</sup> We also find documents in which the Cabildo would offer high salaries to individuals with good voices from other churches in hopes of convincing them to work at the cathedral. A special case was that of Luis Barreto, a castrated mulatto singer and a slave of the cathedral. Due to his exceptional voice he was able not only to dress and eat properly (perhaps unusual for a slave) but ultimately to buy his freedom in the seventeenth century.<sup>21</sup>

Another case was that of José Angel de Aguilar, a singer from the Cathedral of Puebla. Given his ability to sing not only with an exquisite voice but also in all registers (tenor, contralto, and first and second *tiple*, this in addition to playing bass viol) Aguilar was made an attractive offer by the Cabildo in Mexico City to join the cathedral's chapel. Aguilar enjoyed a salary of 300 gold pesos in Puebla, an amount that reflects how special his voice was considered if we take into account that the average singer and *capellán* made 200 gold pesos. Aguilar had apparently asked for a raise to reach a 500 pesos salary in Puebla, which was denied. The Cathedral of Mexico was then quick to make an offer of 350 pesos with the promise to hold him in consideration for a raise as soon as the cathedral

---

<sup>19</sup> The *sochantre* was the individual in charge of giving the chant tone for the rest of the choir members to follow.

<sup>20</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 40, fol. 20r.

<sup>21</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 5, fol. 114v.

could find the financial means to do so. In addition, he was also offered 50 pesos to help move his family to the city.<sup>22</sup>

Instrumentalists from the chapel, if well trained, could aspire to be appointed as chapel master, although individuals from outside of the cathedral were also eligible to earn the post. The position for chapel master was filled by “opposition”, a process in which different aspiring candidates showed their proficiency in the composition of motets and *villancicos* through an examination conducted by members of the Cabildo.<sup>23</sup> During the first half of the eighteenth century there were four individuals acting in that capacity, three of which earned their title through this process of opposition. In 1688 Antonio de Salazar was elected chapel master by the Cabildo, a post that paid a salary of 500 gold pesos a year in addition to 1 *real* out of each peso earned by the music chapel in *obenciones*,<sup>24</sup> an activity that not only provided extra income for the music chapel but for the cathedral as well.<sup>25</sup> When the music chapel was hired to perform

---

<sup>22</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 37, fol. 249v.

<sup>23</sup> For further information of this examination process to appoint chapel masters see Mark Brill, “The Oaxaca Cathedral *Exámen de Oposición* and the Quest for a Modern Style,” *Latin American Music Review*, vol. 25, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2005).

<sup>24</sup> *Obenciones* were typically services or functions outside of the cathedral in which the music chapel was hired to perform, with permission of the Cabildo. From these extra performances the musicians would get additional payments to their salaries.

<sup>25</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, box 3, document 2, September 28, 1688, 1 folio. Each peso was divided in eight *reales* or *tomines*, and each one of these eight parts was divided in twelve *granos*. Thus, a peso consisted of 96 *granos* or 8 *reales*. For further information on local circulating currency in Mexico City during the colonial period see John Frederick Schwaller, *Orígenes de la Riqueza de la Iglesia en México – Ingresos Eclesiásticos y Finanzas de la Iglesia 1523-1600*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1990, p.20.

outside of the cathedral the Cabildo taxed a portion of the earned wages as part of the treasury and the rest—the *obenciones*—was divided among the chapel members.

The Cabildo controlled the activities of its employees outside of their regular church duties. For example, a book from the treasury mentions that on December 13, 1749 the Cabildo had allowed the music chapel to play during the feast of the Virgin of Guadalupe at her sanctuary. Special uniforms were made for the musicians and these were paid by the cathedral's treasury.<sup>26</sup> However, given that some musicians earned only 40 to 50 pesos a year, it was not uncommon that some members of the chapel organized little instrumental groups for hire without informing the Cabildo, thus dividing the complete wages among themselves. In these instances musicians worked independently outside of the church hoping to be hired for special occasions. This situation in which musicians worked for hire without the Cabildo's knowledge was called a *zangonautla* and was severely reprimanded. The Cabildo sought to reprimand and penalize chapel members involved in this activity, since by not paying taxes to the cathedral the treasury was harmed (there will be further discussion of the *zangonautlas* below).

Upon Antonio de Salazar's death in 1715 Manuel de Sumaya, one of his gifted students, took the opposition exam aspiring for the vacant post, which was

---

<sup>26</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, book 6, December 13, 1749.



officially announced on May 7, 1715 offering the same salary and benefits.<sup>27</sup> Sumaya held that post until 1738 when he moved to the Cathedral of Oaxaca, much to the Cabildo's outrage. On August 29, 1738 the canons sent a letter to Sumaya urging him to return and fulfill his duties as chapel master, otherwise the position would be perceived as vacant.<sup>28</sup> Since the "former" chapel master (by now) offered no response the cathedral sought to force Sumaya's return by legal means. An act from January 15, 1740, however, mentions that in order to legally demand Sumaya's return a letter had to be issued to the governor of the bishopric of Oaxaca. The Cabildo then decided that it was not necessary to resort to legal means to bring a minister back to the cathedral. Therefore, the canons asked the secretary to issue a further letter to Sumaya asking him once again—in a friendly tone—to return.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, Sumaya does not seem to have answered any of the Cabildo's letters, and thus, on September 13, 1740 arrangements were made to announce the position as vacant since, by then, it had remained without a minister for more than a year.<sup>30</sup>

In the same document the Cabildo also stated that it was important to look for good voices for the choir among the pool of applicants and to hire them, even

---

<sup>27</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Edictos, box 2, document 37, May 7, 1715, 1 folio.

<sup>28</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 35, fol. 125v.

<sup>29</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 35, fol. 155v.

<sup>30</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 35, fol. 201r.

if it was necessary to pay substantial salaries to qualified individuals.<sup>31</sup> The call for applicants was posted on September 17, 1740 and it was modeled after the same official notice used in 1715.<sup>32</sup> Regretfully, the Cabildo was unable to find a suitable individual for its chapel master post. Thus, the vacancy was filled in *interim* by Domingo Dutra, a member of the music chapel who was able to compose music and conduct rehearsals until a suitable candidate appeared.

The vacancy, however, was not be filled until 1750 when Ignacio de Jerusalem was elected as official chapel master of the cathedral (1746-1769). Jerusalem had been appointed first to share the *interim* position with Domingo Dutra in 1746.<sup>33</sup> Meanwhile, the Cabildo hoped to find a suitable chapel master from Spain since Jerusalem, a gifted composer and conductor, was considered to be primarily a conductor and musician of the *Real Coliseo*, a venue devoted to the performance of Italian opera, theater plays and comedies.<sup>34</sup> Indeed there was some hesitation on the part of the examination committee to regard Jerusalem as a competent composer. But such hesitation, should be stressed, was perhaps due to the lack of musical education on the part of the examining priests themselves. Part

---

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> The 1715 document reads “From this one was drafted the convocation of September 17, 1740 due to the absence of Manuel de Sumaya.” Archivo del Cabildo, Edictos, box 2, document 37, May 7, 1715, 1 folio.

<sup>33</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 38, fol. 106r.

<sup>34</sup> At that meeting the Cabildo noted, however, that “after discussing his proficiency in the *violon* and in music, and due to his being the only music master [currently] in the city...and even though he performed and conducted music at the *Coliseo* this was not detrimental in him as it did not

of the exam was for Jerusalem to compose a four-voice counterpoint on the antiphon *O Emmanuel Rex et Legifex noster expectation gentium et Salvator caro*.<sup>35</sup> Once finished, the examiners could not agree on whether the composition was actually counterpoint or not, for which they asked Jerusalem to write another four-voice composition on the antiphon *Iste sanctus*, this time to include fugues and canons. To evaluate it the examiners asked the assistance of two individuals, Fray Miguel Gallegos, first organist of the convent of *La Merced*, and Don Juan José Durán y León, Spanish merchant, individuals “highly proficient in music theory and performance practice.”<sup>36</sup>

But despite the outstanding evaluations by both individuals the committee still had doubts about Jerusalem’s work. According to the priests, Jerusalem’s compositional craft focused on short pieces, not giving him the experience needed to compose large works, as the ones required for a church.<sup>37</sup> Finally, after prolonged conferences with the examination committee, and after much questioning of his abilities as a composer, Jerusalem bluntly answered (in broken Spanish and allegedly using “mestizo” words) that “that was how music was taught and learned in his native land, Italy, as well as other foreign nations, and

---

degenerate [the music]...it was agreed by a majority of votes that due to the much service he could provide to the cathedral he would be admitted.” Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 40, fol. 83v.

<sup>36</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 40, fol. 89r.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

that there was no need of more lectures, old books or arguments to understand, teach and learn music, for this was the true science of music,” to which none of the three examiners could reply anything.<sup>38</sup> Once the reviews of the committee and the two individuals (Gallegos and Durán y León) were evaluated and discussed at a Cabildo meeting Jerusalem was finally appointed as official chapel master on August 3, 1750 with a salary of 500 gold pesos and an additional 200 pesos for teaching the choirboys as well.<sup>39</sup>

Regarding the music chapel, archival documents show that, from 1687 until 1738 (the last year of Sumaya’s tenure as chapel master) the group was comprised of anywhere from twenty-four to thirty individuals. It is unlikely that the chapel kept a consistent number of members since musicians came and left the cathedral quite regularly throughout the years. From these archival sources it is also possible to assess that instrumentalists earned an average of 100 to 300 gold pesos a year, depending on their level of proficiency, and between 70 to 80 pesos if they were beginners or still in training. Table 2.1 gives an outline of salaries paid to singers and instrumentalists in 1709 during Antonio de Salazar’s appointment as chapel master,<sup>40</sup> while Tables 2.2 and 2.3 describe salaries for the

---

<sup>38</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 40, fol. 91r.

<sup>39</sup> Exactly the same salary that Antonio de Salazar and Manuel Sumaya were paid. Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, box 23, document 2, November 22, 1709, 1 folio.

music chapel in 1732 and 1733, respectively, during Manuel de Sumaya's tenure.<sup>41</sup>

The yearly salaries of the chapel required the musicians to perform in all festivities during the liturgical year as part of the Divine Office, Mass, and general processions. Other duties included the rehearsal of musicians, in the case of the chapel master, and the instruction of boys by members of the chapel on a given instrument. Even if a feast had an endowment to sponsor its celebration, the money was usually divided among the canons that attended and celebrated the ritual; the musicians received no extra payments, since performing during the ceremonies of religious festivities was already part of their assigned duties.

Endowments for a few feasts, however, specifically allocated additional funds to pay the musicians. Such was the case of ceremonies like the renovation Masses of the Holy Sacrament every Thursday, for which the administrator of anniversaries paid 150 pesos to the chapel every year.<sup>42</sup> Musicians were also paid 112 pesos extra for performing at the Matins Office of the resurrection of Jesus,<sup>43</sup> and another 112 pesos for performing at the Matins Office for Christmas.<sup>44</sup> The

---

<sup>41</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, box 1, document 14, July 14, 1732, 2 folios; also January 21, 1733, 2 folios.

<sup>42</sup> The renovation Masses were celebrated every Thursday to commemorate the renovation of the mystery of the Holy Sacrament. These weekly ceremonies received an endowment by the dean Rodrigo Flores de Valdés to become sung services. Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, book 4, January 13, 1747, fol. 1r; also Ordo, book 4, fol. 123r.

<sup>43</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, book 6, May 8, 1749, 1 folio.

<sup>44</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, book 6, December 23, 1749, 1 folio.

feast of Corpus Christi, in addition to an endowment for the celebration of the Matins Offices during the octave, enjoyed two additional endowments for the specific purpose of having the music chapel perform throughout the octave. Robert Stevenson wrote about this point in 1964 in his article “Mexico City Cathedral Music: 1600-1750,”<sup>45</sup> information that now can be elaborated upon. Stevenson mentions that in 1609 archbishop García Guerra thought appropriate to pay 150 pesos to the music chapel for their “extra” performance of *villancicos* “before Vespers” during the feast of Corpus Christi.<sup>46</sup>

Archival information shows that by the eighteenth century such performances before Vespers by the music chapel were no longer considered as “extra” duties. It seems that the initiative by archbishop García Guerra prompted a later archbishop, Juan de la Serna, to establish an endowment for the performance of *villancicos* and *chansonetas* by the music chapel at this specific time. Moreover, archival sources show that up until 1744 it was customary to have the performance of Aztec dances in the *crujía*<sup>47</sup> by the choir entrance during the morning after the procession, for which the city government provided 100 pesos to pay the dancers. But such performances began to be perceived as indecent for this occasion, and therefore, the city urged the Cabildo to allocate those 100 pesos

---

<sup>45</sup> Robert Stevenson, “Mexico City Cathedral Music: 1600-1750,” *The Americas*, vol. 21, no. 2 (October 1964), p. 115.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> The *crujía* is the aisle that connects the entrance to the choir with the main altar.

to pay the music chapel to perform *villancicos* during this time as well. Thus, it followed that the Cabildo cancelled the performance of Indian dances on June 2, 1744, initiating the custom of having the music chapel perform twice a day during the octave; that is, in the morning after the procession, and in the afternoon before Vespers.<sup>48</sup>

Based on the information provided by the cathedral's ordinal regarding the times for the Canonic Hours the music chapel usually performed in the morning from around half past ten (or whenever the procession concluded) until mid-day, and in the afternoon before Vespers from two to three o'clock, in concordance with Stevenson's information.<sup>49</sup> For the second occasion, in the afternoon, the musicians performed inside the choir, between the *facistol* and the main door entrance.<sup>50</sup> Here the chapel would usually play *villancicos* and *chanzonetas* "with all of their instruments, including the organs," for which payment was to be divided among all attending members. We find, therefore, that during the week of Corpus Christi musicians made an additional wage of 190 pesos to their yearly income.

The truth is that, even with extra wages like these, musicians found it hard to make a living and were on the lookout for other means to increase their income.

---

<sup>48</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 37, fol. 40v.

<sup>49</sup> *Diario Manual*, Ordo, book 2, fol. 38r.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

Moreover, it was quite common for members of the chapel to request loans from the Cabildo in order to pay for basic needs such as clothing. During the eighteenth century the Cabildo spent 35 to 40 pesos on average to provide clothing for each choirboy, which included a shirt, a pair of underwear, socks, a robe, a pair of shoes, a cape (to be used in the choir) and a *bonete*, a hat usually worn during services, among other things.<sup>51</sup>

Given that some musicians made a minimum wage of close to 40 pesos every six months it is no surprise to find an overwhelming number of loan requests made by musicians to the cathedral's treasury. As an example we can cite Juan Esquivel, who requested a loan of 200 pesos to the Cabildo on June 18, 1700 due to being in "great need."<sup>52</sup> Esquivel agreed to sign any necessary documents to the satisfaction of the *mayordomo* as a promissory note. The Cabildo, however, declined the petition since Esquivel already owed 50 pesos to the cathedral from a previous loan.<sup>53</sup> This is rather significant since, if someone like Esquivel who earned 125 pesos a year<sup>54</sup> (by 1709 he was earning 200 pesos, see Table 2.1) had difficulties, we can speculate that musicians with lower salaries were perhaps in equal or worse financial circumstances. Another case was that of Antonio Pérez

---

<sup>51</sup> Other things included material to make a mattress for the child to sleep on, sheets and a blanket. Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 26, document 28, February 7, 1713, 1 folio; also box 57, document 52, February 3, 1741, 1 folio.

<sup>52</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 203r.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.



de Rivera who in July 15, 1712 asked if he could receive his salary early that year, and if this was not possible, he requested a loan of 25 pesos.<sup>55</sup> The Cabildo denied his petition as well since at that time the cathedral was hoping to discourage further loan inquiries by chapel members.<sup>56</sup>

Even though being a member of the music chapel provided a secure yearly income, being a musician was not the best monetarily rewarded profession. On the one hand, requests for loans, involving not only musicians but also choirboys, were usually made to pay for medical services, clothing, or just to help support the family. On the other hand, there were also individuals who incurred debts for different reasons, as in the case of the *sochantre* Vicente Santos, who in 1745 went as far as to be incarcerated because of his debts from gambling.<sup>57</sup> But the overwhelming amount of acts showing solicitations for loans, salary increases, and payment of salaries in advance during the first half of the eighteenth century suggests that musicians struggled for income, and therefore, it was not uncommon that they tried to capitalize on their talent outside of the church, as in *zangonautlas*, for example.

There were instances in which special events took place, sometimes to celebrate the designated saint of a convent, for example, or a burial service, for

---

<sup>55</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 182r.

<sup>56</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 195r.

<sup>57</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 37, fol. 227r.

which musicians were needed to play in these ceremonies. For these situations the cathedral offered the services of the music chapel and charged a specific amount to the convent or patron. Of this amount the cathedral subtracted a fee for the treasury, the chapel master, and the rest was divided among the musicians who performed in that occasion (these payments known as *obenciones*). As stated earlier, there were times in which musicians worked for hire without the Cabildo's knowledge—this was called a *zangonautla*—and individuals were severely reprimanded.

*Zangonautlas* got to be out of hand some times, like in 1745 when the Cabildo had to call to the attention of all chapel members the overwhelming number of people continuously involved in these activities. In addition to jeopardizing the treasury's income musicians usually arrived late or left early when performing in the cathedral's choir due to their being playing elsewhere. On the other hand, since some musicians were not very proficient in their instruments, and thus not paid a lot of money by the cathedral, they usually looked for extra wages outside the church. The situation seems to have gotten out of control by 1749 when the Cabildo ordered the reprimand of every single musician in the chapel, especially those who did not play very well. Such behavior, they ordered, had to end once and for all.<sup>58</sup> *Zangonautlas* were not only

---

<sup>58</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 39, fol. 346v.

detrimental to the cathedral's music chapel, which often found itself missing musicians during services. It was also a revenue loss for the treasury since the cathedral was not only paying salaries for absent musicians but it was also not receiving payment for the work of its chapel in some other place.

We can only speculate if the situation would have been any different if the Cabildo paid competitive salaries to hire and retain first class musicians. Records from the first half of the eighteenth century show that quite a few members of the chapel were less than competent players or singers, and thus, their salaries tended to be commensurate with their proficiency.<sup>59</sup> On the other hand, good musicians were hard to find in New Spain. At any rate, the cathedral paid what the treasury could afford during the eighteenth century, and as we will see later in this study, economic instability would force the Cabildo to revise the list of musicians active in the chapel in order to adjust its payroll. For now, we will turn our attention to the administrators and collectors, the individuals responsible for the day-to-day financial administration of the cathedral's treasury.

---

<sup>59</sup> "...since the first meeting from last year a committee was formed to agree upon the remedy of the chapel and separating from the group the incompetent ones..." Ibid; also book 38, fol. 151v; book 40, fol. 20r. The lack of good voices extended to the *capellantas* as well. See book 39, fol. 354v.

### III. Administrators

The administration of the cathedral's wealth and revenue relied on a group of individuals responsible for the collection of tithes, investments, loans, payments, and collection of debts. All accrued income was deposited in a giant chest locked with three keys. To help ensure security, the three keys were distributed among three parties: the *Jueces Hacedores*, the *Contador*, and the *Mayordomo* of the *Fábrica* (*Fábrica* was the name used to designate the cathedral's treasury). At this point it is important to understand the role that each individual played within the administration.

The *Jueces Hacedores* or *Jueces Hacedores del Diezmo* ("judges makers of tithes" would be a rough translation) were two individuals elected among members of the Cabildo every year. Their principal duty was to supervise the collection and distribution of tithes on behalf of the Cabildo. They drafted contracts with third parties (in case the Cabildo agreed to sublease the collection of tithes), supervised accounting records, and oversaw the distribution of tithes among all beneficiaries, the most important being the Cabildo itself. The *Contador* (accountant) was an individual in charge of recording all income and expenses of the cathedral, as well as keeping the tithes files updated. The contador worked closely with the *jueces hacedores* and tithes collectors. In case of a pending expenditure the contador was asked to write a payment order which was

then taken to the *mayordomo*. The *mayordomo* had actual physical control over the currency contained in the cathedral's chest, which was known as the *cofre de las tres llaves* (chest of three keys). The use of three keys was a precaution in a way that no one single individual—or two—could open the chest without the others. The *mayordomo* was also the individual responsible for buying the necessary items for the cathedral, like wine, wheat for wafers, oil, wax, and flowers for decoration, among other small items.<sup>60</sup> There were usually two *mayordomos*, one in charge of a fund to deal with the physical aspects of the cathedral (renovations and construction) known as the *Fábrica Material* or material treasury, and the other who was in direct service of the Cabildo and in charge of the entire spectrum of financial activities, a category named *Fábrica Espiritual*.<sup>61</sup> The heaviest of all responsibilities, however, befell on the latter individual, for he was the one in charge of dealing with any type of financial document. In any lawsuits involving the cathedral, the *mayordomo* acted as the representative of the Cabildo. He executed money releases for loans from ecclesiastical funds, mortgages, as well as subleases on church properties. Bluntly stated, the *mayordomo* supervised the wide range of financial operations of the cathedral, and thus, had an enormous economic responsibility with the Cabildo.

---

<sup>60</sup> Eugenio Maillefert, ed., *Concilio Tercero Provincial Mexicano*, Estatutos, Chapter 3, Mexico: Eugenio Maillefert y Compañía, 1859, pp. cv-cvi.

<sup>61</sup> Schwaller, *Orígenes de la Riqueza de la Iglesia*, pp. 47-49.

The *mayordomo* was appointed through a selective process of opposition, (just like in the case of the chapel master described earlier) for which several individuals applied. In the *edictos*, or call for applicants to the position, the Cabildo called for an individual interested in the administration of the *gruesa de diezmos* (gross collection of tithes) and the treasury. As part of his application he was expected to submit the names of individuals who would sponsor him during tenure with a minimum of 100,000 gold pesos (i.e. he was bonded), in order to secure any losses likely to happen in case of a mismanagement of funds.<sup>62</sup> The appointed individual received a salary of 4,000 gold pesos a year, which was quite hefty compared to the 500 pesos earned by the chapel master. From the applicants—usually four or five—the Cabildo chose one perceived as economically affluent, well-recommended, and who could provide a list of sponsors—each sponsor contributing with an amount between 2,000 and 3,000 pesos—that amounted to the established 100,000 pesos.<sup>63</sup>

There were exceptions, however, in which an individual was elected as *mayordomo* with less than 100,000 pesos in pledges. Such was the case of Angel de Camino who served as *mayordomo* in 1735 with a list of sponsors amounting

---

<sup>62</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 32, fol. 263r; also Edictos, box 1, document 48, ca. 1665, 1 folio, this year is calculated taking as reference the name of Miguel de Barzena Balmazeda in the document, the former *mayordomo*.

<sup>63</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 52, document 15, December 11, 1737, 4 folios.

to just 50,000 pesos.<sup>64</sup> These exceptions depended on the reputation of the individual and his outstanding financial skills to administer the treasury. The *mayordomo* had to be an exceptionally organized person as he had to keep track of and keep current all vouchers, receipts, and documents for a miscellany of items: salary payments, loans to individuals, receipts from tithes payments and pending collections, revenue from real estate investments, legal disputes over property, collection of debts from individuals, and general expenditures of the cathedral. In short, the *mayordomo* was accountable for every single paper that documented income and expenditures affecting the treasury.

The sound financial balance of the church was a basic condition for the continued observance of religious ceremonies and rituals throughout the year. In order to assure the smooth operation of activities at the cathedral, the *mayordomo* had to carefully oversee the internal distribution of income, which derived primarily from two sources: 1) revenue from endowments for foundations and anniversaries, and 2) the gross collection of tithes. In regard to tithes, the *mayordomo* had to oversee every aspect of the collection process. If the collection was subleased to a third party he documented every transaction, from the sublease agreement to the final payment of the gross amount. If, on the other hand, the collection was done through the cathedral's personnel the *mayordomo* paid

---

<sup>64</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 33, fol. 68v.

salaries to individuals working at different jurisdictions to collect money. In this case, the *mayordomo* was also responsible for issuing excommunication notices against individuals who failed to pay tithes throughout the archbishopric.<sup>65</sup>

Once the collection of tithes was completed through the process explained above the *mayordomo* submitted to the Cabildo the distribution of the gross income. According to archival documents from the eighteenth century the total revenue from such collection was divided in six categories: 1) general costs of collection, 2) *cuarta arzobispal* (one fourth of total revenue destined to the archbishopric), 3) *noveno real* (royal ninth: one ninth paid to the king), 4) *fábrica espiritual* (the cathedral's treasury), 5) *fondo de hospitales* (a fund to support two hospitals, namely, *Hospital del Amor de Dios*, and *Hospital de Querétaro*), and 6) *Mesa Capitular* (a fund reserved for the *capitulares* (canons) or members of the Cabildo).<sup>66</sup> Tables 2.4 and 2.5 show the total distribution of revenue from tithes

---

<sup>65</sup> Archival sources show that the *mayordomo* issued such notices requesting the priests from parishes in different towns to post the names of specific individuals as excommunicated from the church for failing to pay tithes. Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 19, document 1, June 7, 1696, 2 folios; also box 19, document 18, June 5, 1695, 1 folio.

<sup>66</sup> Information for the years 1722 and 1734, Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 30, fol. 64v; also book 33, fol. 58v. In his monograph dealing with the earning of income and revenue by the church in Mexico during the sixteenth century, John Frederick Schwaller gives a chart for the distribution of tithes where he shows more categories of distribution based on an archival document at the Archivo General de la Nación, Justicia, volume 209, no. 1, in Schwaller, *Orígenes de la Riqueza de la Iglesia*, pp. 91-92. Financial archival documents from the cathedral dating from the eighteenth century, however, mention only the six categories shown in Tables 2.4 and 2.5, in which some of the categories mentioned by Schwaller were included, perhaps. After discounting the costs of collection the archbishopric received one fourth from the total amount. The remaining three quarters were divided in nine parts called *novenos* (ninths) of which the treasury, the hospitals and the royal treasury received one ninth roughly, and the *Mesa Capitular* received half.



for 1721 and 1733, respectively. As Table 2.4 shows, there were occasions when tithes from previous years were collected late and therefore needed to be discounted from the gross collection of the year in which they were finally acquired.

Employees at the cathedral, specifically the music chapel and the *capellanes* (except the *capellanes* from the Lorenzana endowment), were paid salaries from the *fábrica espiritual*, the cathedral's treasury, a fund from which the *mayordomo* paid not only employees, but any necessary expenses pertaining to rituals and ceremonies as well. The *mayordomo* usually redeemed payment orders to employees for their salaries as stated in payroll documents. From 1687, for example, we find several payment orders redeemed by musicians as part of their wages.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, from the 19,356 pesos earned by the treasury in 1733 (see Table 2.4) Angel de Camino, *mayordomo* at that time, paid 2,984 pesos to the music chapel for the first six months of employment during that year.<sup>68</sup> Salaries for the official *capellanes* were also paid from the treasury. A payroll document from 1785 shows that the six official positions (different from the eight

---

The remaining five and a half ninths were distributed as salaries among the members of the Cabildo.

<sup>67</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, box 1, document 4, 1687, 12 folios.

<sup>68</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, box 1, document 14, July 28, 1733, 2 folios.

*capellanías* from the Lorenzana endowment) were paid 300 pesos each that year, amounting to a total of 1,800 pesos paid by the *mayordomo*.<sup>69</sup>

Expenses for special festivities were also withdrawn from the treasury. The *mayordomo* paid varied amounts to cover decorative ornaments, construction of wooden platforms for theatrical performances, as well as necessary labor during the Corpus Christi octave, as shown by archival sources.<sup>70</sup> These amounts changed from the early through the late seventeenth century setting a precedent for the reduced expenditures found during the eighteenth century due to reasons that will be explained in Chapter 4. Other rather important items for the Corpus celebrations were the chantbooks. To initiate the manufacture of the volumes used specifically for this occasion—three books exactly—the *mayordomo* released 50 pesos in 1712,<sup>71</sup> and 102 pesos for a book made in 1717 to sing the Magnificat throughout the entire octave.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 188, document 38, January 12, 1785, 2 folios.

<sup>70</sup> In 1601 and 1602 the *mayordomo* paid 209 and 290 pesos, respectively, for preparations for the feast of Corpus Christi, which included labor, food to feed the workers, flowers, kindling wood, trumpets and shawms, ropes and nails. By 1686, however, amounts for expenses during the octave were reduced to 50 pesos. Moreover, amounts averaging 140 pesos were paid every year for the construction of wooden stages for theatrical representations during the octave outside of the cathedral. Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Material, box 1, document 3, July 3, 1601, 4 folios; box 1, document 4, June 19, 1602, 2 folios; also Ministros, box 1, document 5, June 8, 1686, 1 folio. For information on the construction of the wooden platforms from 1615 to 1619 see Fábrica Espiritual, box 2, document 2, 7 folios.

<sup>71</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 166v.

<sup>72</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, book 3, fol. 2r.

Other sources of income that the *mayordomo* had to administer were endowments from foundations and anniversaries. The mechanics of how these endowments worked will be covered in detail in the next chapter. Here we are just concerned with the administration of the revenue accrued from these sources. For matters dealing with foundations and anniversaries exclusively there was an individual, the *administrador de aniversarios* (administrator of anniversaries), who controlled the proper distribution of funds for the celebration of all endowed ceremonies. This administrator, however, did not have direct control over money. He had to inform the *mayordomo* what endowed feasts were to be celebrated each year, for which the *mayordomo* had to release the solicited amounts to the administrator who in turn distributed such amounts appropriately.

These transactions are well documented in archival documents from the treasury. Descriptions of these types of transactions, however, show a few lacunae during some years throughout the eighteenth century. Usually, the *mayordomo* kept a detailed book of transactions documenting every expenditure and income, to and from the treasury. Lamentably, as I will show in Chapter 4, the cathedral did not always count with such organized individuals and in some cases surviving records amount to just a few loose sheets compiled in folders, thus making archival evidence rather fragmentary for certain years. Nevertheless, there are quite a good number of treasury books still surviving. In these volumes we see

that it was the *mayordomo*'s duty to release funds for specific celebrations as requested by the administrator of anniversaries. As mentioned above, these could include money from endowments to pay musicians performing at the Matins Office of the resurrection,<sup>73</sup> the Matins Office of San Pedro,<sup>74</sup> or to pay the acolytes and musicians present during the Christmas Matins Office.<sup>75</sup>

For the octave of Corpus Christi there were several anniversaries that the *mayordomo* had to keep in mind. Records for all of these are regrettably incomplete, and therefore, I will provide information for the ceremonies I was able to identify. As I will show in Chapter 3, this will be done primarily through a reconstruction using different archival sources like treasury records, acts, and the cathedral's ordinal. During the Corpus octave the cathedral celebrated the following endowed anniversaries: Matins Offices during the Corpus Christi octave, the display and deposit of the Holy Sacrament, Corpus festivities (performances by the music chapel in the morning and afternoon throughout the octave), and requiem anniversaries for individual patrons.<sup>76</sup>

Other feasts that could occur during the Corpus octave for which we find documented activity of their endowments were San Pedro and San Felipe Neri. For the requiem anniversary of Juan Ortega, for example—which stipulated that

---

<sup>73</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, book 6, May 8, 1749, without folio number.

<sup>74</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, book 6, June 28, 1749, without folio number.

<sup>75</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, book 6, December 23, 1749, without folio number.

<sup>76</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Aniversarios, box 1, document 4, 1755, 58 folios.

104 Masses were to be celebrated to commemorate his soul—we find that in 1718 the *mayordomo* released 490 pesos to the administrator to pay the officiating priests for this anniversary.<sup>77</sup> The same is documented for the Matins of San Pedro, for which the *mayordomo* released 200 pesos every year.<sup>78</sup>

During the octave of Corpus Christi the *mayordomo* had to secure every year the release of 1,000 pesos for the celebration of the Matins Offices; 135 pesos for the ceremony of the display of the Holy Sacrament; 20 pesos for the ceremony of the deposit of the Holy Sacrament; 190 pesos for the performance of *villancicos* and *chanzonetas* by the music chapel in the morning and afternoon throughout the octave; and 563 pesos to celebrate requiem anniversaries. This in addition to 200 pesos for the Matins Office of San Pedro and 600 pesos for the same office for San Felipe Neri, if these feasts happened to occur within the octave.<sup>79</sup>

The *mayordomo* had to keep accurate reports of every single ongoing transaction of incoming money from endowed ceremonies. In this respect, the administrator of anniversaries also had legal responsibilities since he was in charge of overseeing the investments of endowed principals in real estate.

---

<sup>77</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, book 3, fol. 5r.

<sup>78</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, book 3, fol. 5v.

<sup>79</sup> *Diversas Fundaciones de Misas y Aniversarios que se celebran en esta Santa Iglesia Catedral en el Mes de Junio coordinadas este Año de 1739*, Archivo del Cabildo, Aniversarios, book 2, 109 folios.

Moreover, the administrator had to make sure that all accrued interests from real estate investments ended in the treasury.<sup>80</sup> This supervision was significantly important since it was not uncommon that other parishes or convents—which also had patrons making endowments for celebrations—could claim real estate properties as belonging to their own division of foundations and anniversaries, thus demanding the payment of accrued interests.

Such was the case in 1697 during a dispute between the cathedral's administrator and the administrators of the parish of Santa Cathalina Martir. The tenant of a house sought legal action against the administrator of the cathedral mentioning that he had agreed to pay rent to the parish of Santa Cathalina Martir and not to the cathedral. The dispute involved ten houses on “the street of the clock” (*calle del reloj*, today called *calle República de Argentina*, immediately behind the cathedral on the north-east making a corner with *calle Guatemala*), which the cathedral's administrator, Juan Francisco Mancio, said to be investments from an endowment known as the García de la Vega endowment.

The administrators of the parish of Santa Cathalina Martir argued that at least the

---

<sup>80</sup> As it will be explained in Chapter 3 endowments received for specific festivities were usually invested in real estate in order to capitalize from accruing interests. Since these properties were investments of the division called *Fundaciones, Aniversarios, Capellanías y Obras Pías* (Foundations, Anniversaries, *Capellanías*, and Piety Works) the administrator of anniversaries was the individual directly responsible to oversee the financial activity of these properties and to report all earned revenue to the *mayordomo*, who deposited such amounts in the chest of the treasury (the chest of the three keys). Eventually it was the *mayordomo* who released funds to the administrator to pay priests and musicians working in endowed festivities.

basement in the last house in the corner of the street belonged to them as part of an investment from a *capellanía* founded in their parish. The dispute was resolved, however, in favor of the cathedral since the administrator proved that such houses were part of an endowment made to the cathedral in 1621, thus overruling any claims over the appropriation of such property by the administrators of Santa Cathalina Martir.<sup>81</sup>

The case is sufficient to illustrate the importance of keeping clear records of ongoing activities with endowments invested in property by the administrator. He also had to give a thorough account of such financial activity to the Cabildo since this was money expected to be deposited in the cathedral's treasury. In his books, the administrator showed earned interests for festivities—like those of San Cosme and Damian and the Matins Office for the Ascension of the Virgin, for example—funds he was required to give to the *mayordomo*.<sup>82</sup> Clear records for incoming and outgoing money between the administrator and the *mayordomo* were crucial at all times since any losses in the treasury could be blamed on either of the two individuals. Indeed, there are records showing ongoing disputes between both individuals dealing with missing money from the treasury. Such was the case in 1667 when the *mayordomo* blamed the administrator for money

---

<sup>81</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 19, document 59, July 1, 1697, 9 folios.

<sup>82</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 153CL, book 6, 1725, 10 folios.

missing from the treasury, funds which the first allegedly had not received from the latter. The administrator replied that his records documented every transaction of money collected by him from invested endowments and given to the *mayordomo*.<sup>83</sup> Discrepancies with missing funds could be rather substantial and in some cases the Cabildo sought legal action for incurred losses in the cathedral's treasury against the responsible individual. This was the case in 1669 when the Cabildo sued the former administrator of anniversaries, Francisco Martínez de Cepeda, for losing money originally allocated for endowed celebrations.<sup>84</sup>

The *mayordomo* was not only responsible for the accurate recording of income and expenses, but for the overall balance and health of the cathedral's treasury. As mentioned above, the *mayordomo* was primarily responsible for collecting the gross income of tithes—either through a sublease agreement with a third party or paying priests to work in the collection—which the Cabildo needed to finance rituals and ceremonies throughout the year. Such expenses for rituals included the salaries for *capellanes* singing in the choir and the music chapel, which performed during the Divine Office, Mass, and procession, specifically.

Other sources of income that further aided liturgical ceremonies were private endowments for the celebration of festivities. And in the case of the octave

---

<sup>83</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 9, document 44, 1 folio.

<sup>84</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 8, document 1, November 27, 1669, 1 folio; also see the legal suit followed against Antonio Robles, *mayordomo* of the cathedral in 1677, Fondo Cabildo, box 11, document 11, June 9, 1677, 3 folios.



of Corpus Christi we have seen that private foundations aimed to perpetuate specific rituals like the display and deposit of the Holy Sacrament during the octave; the performance of music by the music chapel in the morning and afternoon throughout the eight days of the festivity; the celebration of the Matins Offices during the week, in addition to endowments for other festivities—like San Pedro and San Juan Bautista—which sometimes occurred during the Corpus octave. Moreover, there were also endowed anniversaries to celebrate Masses for the souls of deceased patrons during this week. Other expenditures necessary for the observance of the Corpus celebration included the manufacture of chantbooks, the printing of *villancicos* (for the feast of San Pedro), and a miscellany of preparations and ornaments in the cathedral for this especial week-long celebration.

## **Summary**

As this chapter has shown, the overall stability of the *Fábrica*, the main treasury and deposit of the cathedral's operating funds, was a crucial factor for the continued observance of rituals and ceremonies throughout the liturgical year. For the *mayordomo*—perhaps the figure on whom most of the financial responsibility befell—it was essential to have accurate and organized records of the collection of tithes, as well as a detailed account of income derived from endowments

belonging to foundations and anniversaries. The *mayordomo*, therefore, had to be an exceptionally organized individual with proficient bookkeeping skills.

Archival sources show that some *mayordomos*, due to their lack of skill, ended mismanaging funds, for which their sponsors, and the individual himself, became liable. When numbers simply did not add up *mayordomos* were forced to pay missing moneys from their own pockets, amounting in some cases to several thousand pesos. It was because of this lack of precaution that we find more than one occasion—from the late seventeenth through the mid eighteenth century—in which the *mayordomo* ended up in bankruptcy and was incarcerated due to his financial debt to the cathedral. As we will see in Chapter 4 a larger part of the financial health of the cathedral relied on the proficient work of a *mayordomo*. Negligent financial management could lead to severe economic deficits, which in turn could affect the performance of rituals and ceremonies throughout the year.

In the next chapter we will turn our attention to the internal dynamics of foundations and anniversaries as necessary activities to ensure the “pomposity and solemnity” of ritual celebrations. Chapter 3 will further show the financial activities on which the Cabildo capitalized by investing funds from endowments belonging to specific ceremonies. Special attention will be given to the feast of Corpus Christi: funds assigned for the observance of the Matins Offices

throughout the octave, the display of the Holy Sacrament, and other rituals observed during the week.

## Chapter 3

### Foundations and Anniversaries

The internal economic stability of the church was an essential condition to ensure the observance of liturgical celebrations throughout the year. And for the Neo-Hispanic Episcopate a primary source of income derived from the collection of tithes. These decimal taxes on cattle and agriculture were used to subsidize expenses incurred from any activities occurring in the cathedral and paid salaries for active personnel as well. Based on the Accord of Burgos of 1512 the archbishop and the Cabildo of any Hispanic cathedral were responsible for the collection and distribution of tithes to pay for all church expenses.<sup>1</sup> In the case of New Spain, however, the gross decimal revenue was never sufficient to cover all of these expenditures. From as far back as the last quarter of the sixteenth century tithes were rarely if ever sufficient to provide a solid income for paying local priests, the Cabildo, and the costs derived from religious practices.<sup>2</sup> In Chapter 4, I will describe in detail the precedents of the sixteenth century regarding the

---

<sup>1</sup> This document summarizes the reunion between King Ferdinand and the bishops from the Antilles in 1512. In such accord the king granted to the bishops, specifically, the rights to administer the collection of tithes in order to use this income to finance the activities of the church. Eugene W. Shiels, *King and Church*, Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1961, pp. 113-115, and 123-126.

<sup>2</sup> John Frederick Schwaller, *Orígenes de la Riqueza de la Iglesia en México – Ingresos Eclesiásticos y Finanzas de la Iglesia 1530-1600*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1990, p. 40.

collection of tithes that made a lasting impact on the cathedral's economy throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Consequently, I will focus in this chapter on alternative sources of income needed for the observance of ritual and ceremony.

Private endowments to establish foundations and anniversaries provided very important and necessary capital for ritual practices. These funds covered the yearly costs of producing religious celebrations, which could include a variety of expenses ranging from payments to officiating priests in the Mass, to wax, wine and oil used in diverse rituals, depending on the ceremony. Even though the secular church had a constant preoccupation with the immense spiritual task it was supposed to undertake, this concern was tied to the clergy's similarly constant preoccupation with financial matters. During the colonial period in New Spain the level of ecclesiastical income could determine the success or failure of Christianizing efforts in the colony. Success, therefore, required a strong economic infrastructure in the Episcopate. In this regard, the financial stability of the Neo-Hispanic church relied on the balance between the need for capital by the Episcopate and the popular manifestations of piety that blossomed during the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> If it is true that the clergy considered endowments for religious celebrations as deeds that fostered the spiritual growth of their patrons, it

---

<sup>3</sup> Schwaller, *Orígenes de la Riqueza de la Iglesia*, p. 26.

should be stressed that clerics also received important financial benefits from such subsidies.

There were usually three main categories through which a patron made a donation to the cathedral's office of foundations and anniversaries (the official name of the office was *Oficina de Fundaciones, Aniversarios, Capellanías y Obras Pías*), these were *capellanías*, anniversaries, and piety endowments. Here the term *capellanías* has a different definition from that explained in the last chapter. In addition to meaning a position earned by someone to sing plainchant in the choir, a *capellanía* denoted a given number of Masses—recited or sung, as will be explained later—performed every year to pray for the soul of a deceased patron.

Toward this end, the individual offered a given sum to be invested in order to generate interest, from which the expenses for the ceremony were paid every year. It followed that *capellanías* were most commonly assigned to *capellanes*, *chantres*, and *sochantres*, as well as other individuals who worked in the cathedral (e.g. acolytes, book carriers) and were ordained as priests. The Cabildo selected the individual to perform the *capellanía* who was granted the rights to the yearly income generated by the endowment by the archbishop. We find an example of an appointed *capellanía* from June 19, 1736 when José Francisco de Villamia was chosen as proprietary of a *capellanía* founded by canon Bernabé Díez de

Córdoba, for which Villamia was responsible for reciting 40 Masses every year for the soul of the founder.<sup>4</sup> Once appointed, the Cabildo told Villamia to appear before the archbishop so that

He [Villamia] is granted the allowance of such *capellanía* as well as the usual documents [of ownership of the *capellanía*], so that the tenants of the haciendas in which the 2,000 pesos [principal] of such *capellanía* are invested, give him [to Villamia] the interest every year.<sup>5</sup>

On some occasions requiem anniversaries also included the celebration of Vigils and the tolling of the cathedral's bells, all of which was clearly stated in the foundation documents. Anniversaries encompassed mostly endowments for the annual celebration of calendar feasts, either for a saint or a dogmatic mystery, like Corpus Christi, the Holy Trinity, or the Conception of the Virgin. Endowed rituals for anniversaries could vary, since patrons could offer to just endow the Vespers Office (as in the case of the feast for the Sweet Name of Jesus<sup>6</sup>) or donate a given amount to endow the whole festivity (as in the case of the feast for San Sebastián).<sup>7</sup> Finally, piety endowments denoted endowments to support in perpetuity individuals performing specific activities devoted to the church. The two most famous foundations of this nature in the Cathedral of Mexico were the

---

<sup>4</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 33, fol. 188v.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Vespers is the only Canonic Hour endowed in this anniversary. However, the foundation also endowed the Mass and the procession. Archivo del Cabildo, Ordo, book 4, fol. 121r.

<sup>7</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Ordo, book 4, fol. 121v.

*Capellanías de Lorenzana*, founded to pay the salary of poor priests born in New Spain who were chosen to serve as singers of plainchant in the choir; and the *Obra Pía de García de la Vega*, founded to support orphan girls who wished to be admitted to a convent but without the necessary financial means to do so.

As necessary sources of funding to subsidize needed expenses for the celebration of liturgical services throughout the year, the Cabildo sought opportunities to capitalize from these endowments by directly investing these funds in lucrative activities. It was from the yearly interests earned by such investments that the cathedral continued paying for the ceremonies of endowed festivities (e.g. Divine Office, Mass, processions). Not all liturgical festivities enjoyed an endowment, however. The cathedral's treasury remained responsible for covering the costs of feasts without a foundation, for which the competent work of a *mayordomo* was essential. In addition, the invested endowments were expected, in some cases, to grow substantially every year so as to produce enough capital to sponsor ceremonies, as well as to put some extra money back in the treasury.<sup>8</sup>

Based on the archival information gathered from acts and treasury records, the investment of endowments describes primarily two categories: real estate and loans. Loans were very direct and simple activities among two parties, as

---

<sup>8</sup> As will be shown later, some endowments even made provisions to allocate amounts exclusively to the treasury from the earned interest every year.



described consistently by acts throughout the first half of the eighteenth century.

An individual—sometimes a business owner—wrote a letter to the Cabildo asking to borrow a given sum. For this, the borrower had to present at least three individuals as co-signers who would agree to pay for the principal plus the generated interest in case the primary borrower defaulted on the loan.

These co-signers, nevertheless, had to be individuals known as financially solvent, and ultimately, had to be approved by the cathedral's treasury officials (*Jueces Hacedores*). Cabildo acts from the eighteenth century include numerous cases of loan inquiries. One example is that of Andrés de la Serna, merchant in Mexico City,<sup>9</sup> who on November 10, 1731 asked for a loan of 6,000 pesos to be drawn from an endowment to celebrate the anniversary of San Felipe Neri, for which de la Serna presented three co-signers of known solvency, namely Fernando de Almazán, Agustín Aspes de Valdez, and Juan López de Angulo, each willing to pay 2,000 pesos in case of default. The loan was expected to be paid in three years with the usual five per cent interest rate applied to these types of loans.<sup>10</sup> Not everybody was granted a loan, however; the Cabildo had to be certain that the borrower had a business or trade likely to produce the money to pay for the principal and that the co-signer was reputedly solvent as well. On

---

<sup>9</sup> Sometimes loan inquiries came from individuals who, either they or their co-signers, lived in neighboring towns to Mexico City. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 32, fol. 55r.

<sup>10</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 32, fol. 51v.

November 20, 1731, for example, José de la Barrera, owner of a bakery in the city, asked for 2,000 pesos. For this he presented as co-signer Cristóbal Ramírez, who lived in the neighboring town of Chalco. Neither Barrera's business nor the distance of his co-signer from the city seemed to gain the confidence of the Cabildo, and thus, his request was denied.<sup>11</sup>

Occasionally, when the term of the loan expired some individuals were not able to pay back the principal and their sponsors were not in conditions solvent enough to take over the debt. In these cases the borrower usually asked for an extension of the payment deadline (for which he had again to present suitable co-signers.)<sup>12</sup> Other times situations arose in which a borrower had lost support from his sponsors, and therefore offered real estate property (houses, most often) as collateral to cover for the principal, a risk that the Cabildo could not always take.<sup>13</sup> Every investment was a calculated risk to benefit the cathedral's treasury. And such precautions were very important, especially when the treasury was continuously engaged in investments, which included not only the funds from anniversaries with substantial endowments—like the renovation Masses of the

---

<sup>11</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 32, fol. 55r.

<sup>12</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 34, fol. 105r.

<sup>13</sup> On September 20, 1734 Alonso Fernández, merchant of the city, seemingly had lost his co-signers, for which he offered some houses as collateral. The Cabildo did not agree to these terms and asked that Fernández either, find different co-signers, or pay the 6,000 pesos he had originally borrowed. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 33, fol. 35v.

Holy Sacrament,<sup>14</sup> the anniversary of San Gabriel,<sup>15</sup> the Masses after the hour of Prime,<sup>16</sup> or the anniversary of San José<sup>17</sup>—but also funds belonging strictly to the treasury.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to loans, the second category of investments focused on real estate. The Cathedral of Mexico usually made two types of investments in this category. The first involved investing funds on houses or haciendas, which paid interest every year. Anniversaries like the renovation Masses of the Holy Sacrament and the Saturday Masses of the Virgin were invested in haciendas used to grow wheat. And in addition to the yearly revenue accrued from the property the Cabildo also earned income from selling the crops grown in these places.<sup>19</sup> The second type of investment involved what were known as *ingenios*. These were either farms that grew crops to be sold and bring money to the treasury, or places with appropriate equipment for the treatment and production of specific products, like wool, sugar or silk. For example, the endowment for the celebration of all Matins Offices during the octave of Corpus Christi was invested in an

---

<sup>14</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 32, fol. 239r; also book 34, fol. 121r.

<sup>15</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 33, fol. 155v, 163v.

<sup>16</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 34, fol. 105r, 118v.

<sup>17</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 34, fol. 105r.

<sup>18</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 33, fol. 35v; also book 34, fol. 121r.

<sup>19</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 39, fol. 433r.

*ingenio* on the ranch of Santa Inés de la Barranca, a property that became part of a legal dispute a few years after the endowment was invested.<sup>20</sup>

Either through *ingenios* or houses and haciendas, investments in real estate were highly lucrative activities and accounted for a rather substantial portion of the cathedral's annual income. In 1801 the historian Alexander von Humboldt estimated the annual earnings of the Episcopate of New Spain during the eighteenth century at 4.6 million pesos every year, of which 2.2 million were accrued from investments on ecclesiastical property derived from private endowments.<sup>21</sup>

This is a rather important point to our understanding of the celebration of liturgical feasts. The collection of tithes—supposed to cover the costs of religious ceremonies—was not only highly speculative, but it could also take years to complete the collection of income for one single year. The treasury owed its stability in no small part to the acts of piety of private patrons, who through their generous endowments invariably supported the exercise of religious practices at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico. And in order to maintain an active calendar of liturgical celebrations, the continued annual growth of endowed funds

---

<sup>20</sup> I have not been able to find a document telling what type of *ingenio* this was or what it used to produce. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 36, fol. 215r.

<sup>21</sup> Alexander von Humboldt, *Ensayo Político sobre el Reino de la Nueva España*, vol. 3, p. 167, in N. M. Farriss, *La Corona y el Clero en el México Colonial 1579-1821. La Crisis del Privilegio Eclesiástico*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1995, p. 146.

was essential. In this respect archival documents show that investing activities at the cathedral were perhaps the more active during times in which agriculture was doing poorly, thus affecting what seems to have been the primary source of ecclesiastical income—tithes.<sup>22</sup>

As will be explained in Chapter 4, archival documents show that the economic reality of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico was far from stable. Political frictions with the *Real Audiencia* (the royal assembly) were only part of the reason for the continued financial stagnation at the cathedral. Indeed, during the sixteenth century the cathedral reached critical financial points. In 1534, for example, polyphonic music for the Divine Office had to be suspended due to the meager income from tithes, which made it impossible for the Cabildo to pay the music chapel.<sup>23</sup> The setbacks of the sixteenth century on the poor local agricultural economy of New Spain extended further through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, invariably causing a negative impact on the cathedral's treasury.

---

<sup>22</sup> At a Cabildo meeting on November 20, 1731, after dealing with petitions for loans from a couple of individuals, a letter from one of the tithes collectors (father Pastrana) mentioned that seemingly crops were in bad shape that year, and therefore, the collection was likely to diminish for the following year. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 32, fol. 55r.

<sup>23</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 1, fol. 29v.

The Cabildo's inability to rely on the collection of tithes was evident throughout the seventeenth century as the text from an act dated May 25, 1700 shows:

....from the year of 1650 through December of 1698....the treasury shows losses of 78,956 pesos, 3 tomines y 6 granos, and also 10,864 pesos from [tithes collection] documents that are being prepared for collection. The treasury's regular income of one ninth and a half is not enough to pay regular expenses for chapel ministers, choir singers, wax, wine, and oil, and although recent years have shown growth [in the collection of tithes], the treasury shows losses of 39,518 pesos, 3 tomines, and 3 granos.<sup>24</sup>

Of the annual gross collection of tithes, one ninth and a half would go directly to the treasury of the cathedral to pay expenses related to ritual and ceremony, and roughly the same was given to the crown. In the Cathedral of Mexico this allocated income had proven insufficient, however, and the Cabildo requested assistance from the king on several occasions. Specifically, they asked him to donate his portion from the collection, as the act from 1700 above also shows:

---

<sup>24</sup> *Desde el año de 1650 hasta fin de diciembre de 1698 hay [78,956 pesos, 3 tomines y 6 granos] de quiebras y pérdidas de escrituras que ha tenido la fábrica espiritual, y [10,864 pesos] de escrituras retardadas de que se están haciendo diligencias para sus cobranzas...A la renta regular de la fábrica espiritual de casas y su noveno y medio no alcanza a los gastos regulares de ministros de capilla, capellanes de choro, cera, vino y aceite, pues por la certificación consta que, aún siendo estos últimos diez años crecidos, tiene de empeño la dicha fábrica espiritual 39,518 pesos, 3 tomines y 3 granos.* Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 193v.

...His majesty, as head [of the church] could assist her in order to function, and give her the complete amount of the two royal ninths to spend it on the divine cult.<sup>25</sup>

If the royal portion from tithes was so important for the proper functioning of the church the income generated from private endowments was, therefore, the more essential to ritual and ceremony. These endowments not only provided important complements to the salaries of *capellanes*, members of the music chapel, and priests, but also provided yearly revenue to the treasury. The act of May 25, 1700 shows a somewhat unstable internal economy in the cathedral throughout the seventeenth century due to a lack of income from tithes. Moreover, the condition of the treasury seemingly kept deteriorating through the first half of the eighteenth century, as will be shown in the next chapter. It was only reasonable that the Cabildo sought to keep the cathedral's treasury stable, and thus, endowments from private foundations were under constant surveillance. On July 19, 1737, for example, a year in which the cathedral was suffering a severe deficit, the Cabildo prompted the *mayordomo*, Francisco Guerrero, to account for

---

<sup>25</sup> *Vuestra majestad como su patrón [de esta santa iglesia] le socorriese y diera para desempeñarse [los dos Reales Novenos]...y vuestra majestad, con su piadoso celo y liberal mano lo había de librar, o en su Real Caja, o donando (como tantas veces lo hicieron los gloriosos progenitores de vuestra majestad) todo el monto de los dos Reales Novenos para que se gaste en el culto divino.* Although acts consistently point out that the crown received two ninths from the collection tithes financial records from the eighteenth century (see Chapter 2) show that the amount allocated to the king was roughly a little shy above one ninth and a half. Furthermore, although the cited act from 1700 makes mention that the church was officially allocated one and a half ninths financial records also show that this amount never amounted to more than one ninth in reality. Ibid.

a delayed payment of 800 pesos belonging to the treasury, which should have been paid four months prior to that date. Otherwise it would be necessary to pursue payment against Guerrero's sponsors.<sup>26</sup>

On September 11, 1737 the administrator of anniversaries mentioned that Guerrero further owed 200 pesos, making a total of 1,000, which the administrator needed at once in order to pay for the celebration of upcoming anniversaries. According to this document it seems that the 1,000 pesos were urgent for ritual celebrations since the Cabildo ordered that

...the sponsors of Guerrero be responsible for the full amount owed to the treasury with interest. And that, since Guerrero owes these 1,000 pesos to the office of foundations and anniversaries, and they are now necessary in order to comply with their celebration, the 1,000 pesos will be delivered [in the meantime] to the administrator by the *jueces hacedores* from any available means in the treasury, not without first forcing this responsibility upon the sponsors of Guerrero.<sup>27</sup>

In the case of Corpus Christi, the financial importance of private endowments for ritual performance is perhaps better illustrated by visualizing the total of endowed ceremonies practiced during the octave. The importance of the Corpus feast is not only reflected by the sponsorship of specific rituals for this festivity. Requiem anniversaries established during the octave also point toward

---

<sup>26</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 34, fol. 85r.

<sup>27</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 34, fol. 109v.



the significance that this liturgical celebration had on individuals who wanted to commemorate their death on this important occasion. A requiem anniversary not only advocated for the deceased soul of a patron; founding such a ceremony during a liturgically prominent feast added a special significance to this act of piety. Thus, during important festivities like the feast of San Antonio de Padua, San Felipe Neri and Corpus Christi we find that, in addition to the liturgy of the day, requiem services were also performed, which involved the performance of the music chapel in some cases.

From archival documents listing endowed ceremonies for the months of May and June we find that the following anniversaries were celebrated within the Corpus octave:<sup>28</sup>

Endowed rituals for the feast of Corpus Christi

- a) Display of the Holy Sacrament: paid 135 pesos.
- b) Deposit of the Holy Sacrament: paid 200 pesos.
- c) Music by the chapel: paid 190 pesos (the chapel performed in the morning after Mass, and in the afternoon before Vespers; see Chapter 2.)

---

<sup>28</sup> Since the Corpus octave was a movable feast, and thus some anniversaries for specific days in May and June might have coincided with the octave in a given year, I have divided these foundations into three groups: rituals for Corpus Christi, requiem anniversaries coinciding with the octave, and anniversaries for other saints. Archivo del Cabildo, Aniversarios, box 1, document 4, 1755, 58 folios; also Aniversarios, book 2, 109 folios.

- d) Matins Offices: paid 1,000 pesos.

Requiem anniversaries coinciding with the octave

- a) One recited Mass on the first day of the octave for the soul of Juan Diez de la Barrera: paid 3 pesos.
- b) June 2 – one sung requiem Mass and responsory for the soul of Pedro Sánchez: paid 20 pesos.
- c) June 3 and 4 – Vigils, sung Mass and responsory for the soul of Antonio de Cárdenas y Salazar: paid 50 pesos.
- d) June 6 – *Misas de Ortega* (Melchor de Ortega): on this day the Cabildo divided 490 pesos for a total of 309 Masses to be recited throughout the year for the soul of Melchor de Ortega.

Anniversaries for other saints coinciding with the octave

- a) May 25 and 26, day of San Felipe Neri – solemn Vespers, sung Matins, Mass, procession and sermon in the way that it was done for the day of San Pedro: paid 665 pesos.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> If the endowed ritual for San Felipe was to follow the custom practiced for the feast of San Pedro according to this foundation, the whole ceremony included solemn Vespers, sung Mass in plainchant after the hour of Prime followed by a responsory. There were two separate foundations to endow this feast, one paid 600 pesos and the other paid 64 pesos every year. Archivo del Cabildo, Aniversarios, box 1, document 4, 1755, fol. 12v.

- b) June 12 and 13, day of San Antonio de Padua – Vespers and  
Mass for the saint: paid 300 pesos.<sup>30</sup>
- c) June 28 and 29, day of San Pedro – sung Matins, *villancicos*,  
sung Mass in plainchant after the hour of Prime for the saint:  
paid 200 pesos.<sup>31</sup>

In the case of anniversaries sponsoring specific rituals for the feast of Corpus Christi the foundation documents provide rather cryptic descriptions of how the money was to be distributed among canons, musicians, and other participating individuals. It was customary for endowments to assign funds exclusively for canons attending a given ritual, since the music chapel was expected to perform music for the ceremony as part of their paid duties.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, we find that for rituals such as the display and deposit of the Holy Sacrament for the octave of Corpus Christi the 335 pesos assigned every year for the ceremony were “divided among the attending canons.”<sup>33</sup> The 90 pesos foundation for music played during the octave, however, was intended for the

---

<sup>30</sup> For this feast there were two separate foundations as well, one that paid 100 pesos and another one paying 200 pesos. Ibid., fol. 17r.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., fol. 18r.

<sup>32</sup> As an example we find in an act from February 4, 1749 that the Cabildo ordered only to pay the officiating priests for the renovation Masses of the Holy Sacrament since the musicians “are paid from their own salaries.” Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 39, fol. 368r.

<sup>33</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Aniversarios, box 1, document 4, 1755, fol. 15r.

music chapel exclusively, and therefore, the money was divided among the musicians that had attended to perform every day at the designated times.<sup>34</sup>

Requiem anniversaries were part of a routine. If the foundation called for the celebration of a requiem Mass, payment would go to the priest whose turn it was to celebrate Mass that specific day.<sup>35</sup> For services such as requiem Vigils, the money was distributed, once again, among the attending canons. It is important to note that some requiem anniversaries specified the celebration of a Mass, and sometimes, a Vigils service on a specific day. There were other endowments, however, that provided funds in order to celebrate a given amount of Masses for the soul of the patron throughout the entire year or in a given week. Such was the case of the *Misas de Ortega*, a foundation that required the celebration of 309 Masses throughout the year. The foundation for the Matins Offices during the Corpus octave is a further example. Out of the 1,000 pesos that the foundation assigned every year 800 pesos were to be exclusively distributed among the canons attending the Office through the octave, while the remaining 200 pesos

---

<sup>34</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 2, the music chapel usually performed music in the morning, from half past ten in the morning until noon, and in the afternoon before Vespers, from two to three o'clock, approximately. Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> For anniversary Masses it was customary for the canons to officiate these services rotating turns. The cycle began with the dean followed in order by each canon ending with the one with the least seniority. After completion, the cycle started again with the dean. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 34, fol. 39v.

were destined to pay for 200 Masses to be celebrated throughout the octave for the soul of the founder, Francisco de Orozco.<sup>36</sup>

But if some foundations provided general descriptions others were very precise in the manner of distribution of funds. It is also important to mention that, as they were outlined with the utmost precision, some of these endowments also provided funds for the music chapel, specifically. One good example is the foundation for the feast of San Pedro, which sometimes coincided with the Corpus octave. The conditions for the distribution of money were outlined as follows:<sup>37</sup>

For the cathedral's treasury	27 pesos, 4 tomines <sup>38</sup>
For the music chapel	30 pesos
For the chapel master <sup>39</sup>	10 pesos
For the <i>capellanes</i>	16 pesos, 4 tomines
For the Mass	7 pesos
For the master of ceremonies	1 peso

---

<sup>36</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Aniversarios, book 2, fol. 38r; also Actas, book 27, fol. 22v.

<sup>37</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Aniversarios, box 1, document 4, 1755, fol. 18r.

<sup>38</sup> Each peso was divided in eight *reales* or *tomines*, and each of these eight parts was divided in twelve granos. Schwaller, *Orígenes de la Riqueza de la Iglesia*, p. 20.

<sup>39</sup> These 10 pesos were to pay exclusively for the composition of new *villancicos* for this feast every year. This is an important piece of information since in June 1711 the Cabildo intended to suspend this payment to Antonio de Salazar. That year the new *villancicos* had not been printed, and therefore, the Cabildo thought that Salazar did not merit the 10 pesos payment. However, the foundation only assigned such payment for the sole composition of the pieces and not for printing, for which Salazar was re-assigned the 10 pesos. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 63v.

For the <i>puntador</i> <sup>40</sup>	1 peso
For the sacristan	1 peso
For the <i>pertiguero</i> <sup>41</sup>	1 peso
For all 8 acolytes	4 pesos
For the <i>sochantre</i>	0 pesos, 4 tomines
For the organist	0 pesos, 4 tomines

The list is quite detailed in terms of the money allocated for each individual. The same was the case for the anniversary of the feast of San Antonio de Padua, which paid 300 pesos each year. Of these, 4 pesos were destined to pay the celebration of Mass (2 pesos for the officiating priest, 1 peso for the person reciting the gospel, and another peso for the person reciting the epistle), 10 pesos for the priest delivering the sermon, 20 pesos for the music chapel, and 166 pesos to be divided among the canons attending the Divine Office that day.<sup>42</sup>

Foundations were understood as deeds of charity, and through these, it was believed, the souls of patrons would spend less time in purgatory. Regardless of the type of endowment—either requiem, for a saint, or for a dogmatic mystery—foundations were regarded primarily as acts of human piety on behalf

---

<sup>40</sup> The *puntador* was the individual that kept track of attendance in the choir.

<sup>41</sup> The *pertiguero* was a secular minister that assisted in the altar and choir, and carried a long silver stick called *pértiga*.

<sup>42</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Aniversarios, box 1, document 4, 1755, fol. 17v.

of the donor. This is illustrated in the texts describing different foundations, stressing that the endowment for a specific ritual was in advocacy for the soul of the founder. For May 25 and 26, feast of San Felipe Neri, Juan de Cámara founded the celebration of Vespers and Mass for his soul, for which he endowed a principal of 1,300 pesos. De Cámara further mentioned in the document that if he was to donate and extra 700 pesos to complete 2,000 pesos, such anniversary for the saint “was to be solemn, with bell tolls and procession.”<sup>43</sup>

Another case is the endowment for the Circular Jubilee for the Holy Sacrament by Nicolás de Vergara.<sup>44</sup> The endowment paid 100 pesos every year for the ritual and the foundation stipulated that the complete amount was to be spent on wax for candles used in the jubilee. The document also mentions that a sung Mass was to be celebrated on “behalf of his soul and the soul of his parents in purgatory.”<sup>45</sup> Moreover, there was a further stipulation: the foundation stated that if the jubilee was not established as a perpetual ritual every year [by the Holy

---

<sup>43</sup> *Se celebra aniversario a San Felipe Neri con vísperas, misa, responsos, tumbillas y dobles que para los días 25 y 26 en que se celebra el santo dotó con 1,300 pesos de principal y 65 de renta anual el tesorero Don Juan de la Cámara por su alma, y con la calidad de que si entregara en algún tiempo otros 700 pesos había de ser solemne con repiques y procesión, de lo que debió tener efecto.* Ibid., fol. 13r.

<sup>44</sup> The Circular Jubilee was a ritual celebrated during the first three days of the year in which the Holy Sacrament was displayed on the altar for 40 hours. As will be shown in Chapter 5, this ceremony for the Holy Sacrament would receive the favor of another patron, whose foundation aimed for the celebration of this ritual during the Corpus octave, specifically. Moreover, such endowment would become essential to salvage the cathedral’s treasury from bankruptcy in 1745.

<sup>45</sup> *Condición 3a: que se le cante una misa por su alma, la de sus padres y demás en el purgatorio.* Ibid., fol. 1r.

See] such 100 pesos ought to be used to found a perpetual anniversary for this celebration, and the money was to be distributed among the attending canons to the ritual.<sup>46</sup>

Individuals in better circumstances were able to sponsor festivities featuring a more elaborate ritual, more so than requiem anniversaries, which usually featured Masses and Canonic Hours—Vigils, specifically—solely to commemorate the soul of the deceased donor. This is clearly illustrated above if we observe the amounts paid every year for the celebration of feasts for saints, as well as for Corpus rituals, compared to amounts paid for requiem anniversaries, of which the latter are by far less substantial. However, one distinction must be made regarding anniversaries and their ceremonies. While endowments for the feasts of saints and dogmatic mysteries sustained the regular celebration of established rituals, requiem anniversaries showed more flexibility on this point. Masses commemorating the souls of founders were either sung or recited, according to the will of the individual. But whether the requiem Mass (featuring the actual liturgy for the Mass of the Dead) was always performed at those commemorations is a different issue.

A reference from an act of July 20, 1700 dealing with rituals for requiem anniversaries might shed some light on this issue. The act cites a papal brief

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., fol. 1r.



issued by Alexander VII in 1667—*Credite Nobis*—which reads: “Anniversaria et Missas cantatas de requiem relectas ex depositione textatorum quotannis in die ipsorum obitus” [*sic*].<sup>47</sup> From this excerpt we gather that readings from the day should be included in the Mass of the anniversary. On the one hand, one could suspect that the soul of the patron was commemorated in the Mass of the day, and an actual requiem Mass was not celebrated. On the other hand, documents for some foundations are very specific on this point and call for the celebration of a sung requiem Mass, in addition to a Vigils service with responsory.<sup>48</sup>

As shown above, during the Corpus octave we have four requiem anniversaries that were celebrated perpetually. Of these, two stipulated the celebration of recited Masses for the souls of their patrons, namely, Juan Diez de la Barrera and Francisco Orozco, whose foundation of the Matins Offices during the Corpus octave called for the celebration of 200 Masses for his soul during the week, paying 1 peso for each Mass. In the case of Juan Diez de la Barrera the

---

<sup>47</sup> “Anniversaries and sung requiem Masses use readings from daily texts assigned to the day of death.” Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 212v. I want to thank Mr. Ramon González and Professors Rebecca Baltzer and Luisa Nardini for their kind help in correcting my Latin translations in this and other passages.

<sup>48</sup> There is an important observation to be made here. Archival documents for requiem anniversaries—the ones featuring Masses to commemorate the soul of an individual, either on a specific day or through a number of Masses celebrated throughout the year—are not specific regarding the performance of the Mass. Foundations calling to celebrate a given number of Masses every year most often read *misas rezadas*, an equivalent to “prayed” or recited Masses. Foundations that specifically read *misas cantadas de requiem* denote a ritual that included an additional Vigils service and responsories after the Mass on a specific day every year.

foundation just called for one Mass to be recited on the first day of the octave, for which the endowment paid 3 pesos. Due to the minimal amount paid by both endowments every year it is quite possible that Diez de la Barrera and Orozco were commemorated on the Mass for that day. In this regard it is important to note that foundation documents in general make no liturgical distinction between sung and recited Masses. In the case of the two examples above, the foundations by Diez de la Barrera and Orozco prescribe the celebration of a recited Mass with no allusion to the liturgy of the Mass of the Dead.

The other two requiem anniversaries in the octave specifically required sung requiem Masses, and when compared to the endowments made by Orozco and Diez de la Barrera, the payments to celebrate these other two were more substantial. The endowments to commemorate anniversaries for Pedro Sánchez and Antonio de Cárdenas y Salazar paid 20 pesos and 50 pesos every year, respectively, to celebrate a sung requiem Mass and responsory, in addition to a Vigils service in the case of de Cárdenas y Salazar. It is important to note that the documents for these foundations specifically stress the celebration of a *missa cantada de requiem*,<sup>49</sup> and thus, this suggests that the Mass performed was a sung Mass for the Dead.

---

<sup>49</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Aniversarios, box 1, document 4, 1755, fol. 15v.

The difference in amounts paid by the individuals who endowed these four anniversaries every year also shows that there might have been a minimum amount that had to be provided by the founder in order to have a sung Mass instead of a recited service. And although I have not been able to locate an archival reference to support such argument, foundation documents appear quite consistent in this regard. Every time a patron asked for a sung requiem Mass the endowment paid at least 20 pesos for the service to be celebrated on a specific day every year. These cases seem to be completely different from requiem anniversaries featuring recited Masses, which usually allocated a given sum directly proportional to the number of Masses requested throughout the year, thus paying one peso per Mass. Therefore, it is quite possible that the Cabildo had specific guidelines concerning payment in these matters.

From the information thus far presented it is evident that foundations and anniversaries had a key financial role in the internal economy of the cathedral. Endowments substantially complemented the economic means of the church to observe religious practices by sponsoring ceremonies for specific festivities. By providing funds to the cathedral for the observance of feasts throughout the Corpus octave the devotion and piety of private donors—advocating primarily for the salvation of their souls—sought to enhance the solemnity of rituals for the Divine Office, the Mass, and the procession for Corpus Christi, in addition to

other ceremonies that could take place during the week, like the feasts of San Felipe Neri, San Antonio de Padua, and San Pedro. In this way, private donations alleviated the cathedral's treasury from its financial responsibilities through the partial subsidy of expenses derived from ritual practices. In New Spain this practice was more accentuated during the eighteenth century when it was customary for a patron to leave an endowment to the church in his or her testament.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, as shown in the documents establishing the guidelines for the exercise of some of these foundations as well as requiem anniversaries, endowments also provided an important supplementary income to canons, priests and musicians, augmenting to their salaries.

The subsidy from *capellanías* was very significant for the Cabildo when considering payroll in the cathedral, especially for priests. On August 9, 1743, for example, in order to convince a *sochantre* from Burgos to come and sing at the Cathedral of Mexico the dean offered a salary of 1,000 pesos in addition to a *capellanía*, which paid 300 additional pesos.<sup>51</sup> Another example is that of José González, priest and musician at the chapel, who requested a salary raise on May 14, 1734. The Cabildo was unable to increase his salary at that time but

---

<sup>50</sup> "It is well know that his Majesty's people in the Indies are largely pious, for which it is rare a testament that does not contain a legacy of piety endowments." Archivo General de las Indias, Indice General 2994, November 11, 1781, in N. M. Farriss, *La Corona y el Clero en el México Colonial 1579-1821. La Crisis del Privilegio Eclesiástico*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1995, p. 146.

<sup>51</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 36, fol. 197r.

mentioned that he “will be taken into account for a vacancy of a *capellanía*.”<sup>52</sup>

Indeed, *capellanías*—either for the choir or to sing Masses to commemorate requiem anniversaries—provided a subsidy that was intrinsically important to the allowances of canons and priests, as stated by the *Concilio III Provincial Mexicano*: “...no *capellanía* shall be founded...without the sufficient endowment of assets with which to ensure the competent revenue and salaries of the *capellán*.”<sup>53</sup>

Moreover, some endowments (a piety endowment in this case) fostered vocational religious service at the cathedral, as was the case of the *Capellanías de Lorenzana*. This endowment not only encouraged priests of precarious financial conditions to serve in the choir. By giving preference to priests who had served the most years at the lowest ecclesiastical levels it exhorted young aspiring priests to begin their service at the cathedral starting from the bottom ranks. The foundation document deserves citation:

...such eight *capellanes* to succeed the ones named by me [Alvaro de Lorenzana] ought to be clerics who know plainchant well, who are good students and at least good in Latin, for being very

---

<sup>52</sup> The *capellanía* the act refers to in this case was a *capellanía de coro* in which the individual would be paid to sing in the choir during the Canonic Hours. Such position could be either a *Capellanía de Erección*, paid by the income from tithes, or a *Capellanía de Lorenzana*, a private foundation that paid a yearly income to support eight additional *capellanes* to the choir. This type of *capellanía* should not be confused with foundations made to have a certain number of Masses celebrated to commemorate the soul of a deceased patron, which is also called a *capellanía*. In any event, both were administered by the same office of foundations and anniversaries. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 33, fol. 25r.

<sup>53</sup> Mariano Galván Rivera, ed., *Concilio III Provincial Mexicano*, Barcelona: Manuel Miró y D. Marsá, 2nd edition in Latin and Spanish, 1870, p. 259.

important requisites for these *capellanías*, and at the same time they ought to be native of New Spain, modest and of good example, legitimately born Spaniards and having not being expelled from any religious order, preferring the ones from this city of Mexico, and among them, from the poorest, and in these appointments there shall be given special attention to priests with the most seniority serving this church in inferior ministries than that of the choir *capellanes*, in a way that, because of this increase [in the choir], many shall enter to serve this church in such inferior ministries.<sup>54</sup>

One of the most important things concerning foundations and anniversaries is that they provided direct income to the treasury. On this matter the *Concilio III Provincial* mentions:

Be forewarned, however, that a part of such revenue is to be destined for the use of the treasury in attention to the wine, to the wax, and the ornaments used in the service of the *capellanías*.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> *Que los dicho ocho capellanes que sucedieren a los por mí nombrados, y los que adelante perpetuamente fueren nombrados por el orden sobre dicho, han de ser clérigos presbíteros que sepan bien el canto llano y sean buenos estudiantes y a lo menos muy peritos en la latinidad por ser requisitos muy necesarios para el mejor ejercicio de dichas capellanías, y que así mismo han de ser precisamente naturales y patrimoniales de esta Nueva España, virtuosos, modestos y de buen ejemplo, los cuales han de ser hijos legítimos, españoles y no expulsos de alguna religión, prefiriendo los más nobles y doctos y los que fueren de esta Ciudad de México, y entre estos los más pobres, y que en estos nombramientos se haya de tener principal atención con los sacerdotes que fueren más antiguos en el servicio de la dicha santa iglesia en ministerios inferiores a los capellanes de choro...por la atención de que por la seguridad de este aumento haya muchos que entren a servir a la dicha santa iglesia en los dichos ministerios inferiores de ella.* The actual act of foundation seems to be lost and has not been located thus far, despite attempts from several scholars. Cabildo acts, however, often cite the most important clauses of such act, especially when individuals were being considered for appointment to one of these *capellanías*. This abstract outlining clause 9 of the act was found in the archives of the branch of *capellanías* in the cathedral dating from March 17, 1767. Archivo del Cabildo, Capellanías, box 1, document 3, 1 folio.

<sup>55</sup> This revenue was understood as the yearly interest accrued from the investment of the endowment's principal, from which the salary of the *capellán* was also paid. Galván Rivera, *Concilio III Provincial*, p. 263.

More importantly, some anniversaries specifically provided an additional amount exclusively to the treasury from the annual earned interest of the endowment's principal. Records from founded anniversaries show a diversity of endowed ceremonies that included this special provision. For example, the anniversary of the Holy Trinity celebrated in June (which sponsored the celebration of Vespers, Matins and Mass) assigned 25 pesos to the treasury out of the 270 pesos allowance every year.<sup>56</sup> There was another foundation assigned to sing the Creed of San Atanacio during the same feast, for which the endowment paid 48 pesos. From these the founder allocated 5 pesos and 4 tomines exclusively to the treasury as well.<sup>57</sup> Another foundation to celebrate the anniversary of San Felipe Neri on May 25 and 26 even allowed the Cabildo to hold 300 pesos from the principal in order to invest it as the canons thought it most convenient, the revenue of which was exclusively for the treasury.<sup>58</sup>

But the anniversary of the day of the Ascension of Jesus, celebrated in May, specifies a further channel of revenue. The ceremony was originally endowed by Juan Diez de la Barrera with a principal of 4,300 pesos, which produced an annual interest of 215 pesos. Of this interest, 30 pesos were paid to the treasury, "in addition to all of [the amount] lost by the *capellanes* [who did not

---

<sup>56</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Aniversarios, box 1, document 4, fol. 1v.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., fol. 14r; also Actas, book 35, fol. 48v.

<sup>58</sup> The principal was actually 1,300 pesos of which 300 pesos were given to the Cabildo to invest separately to profit the treasury. Ibid., fol. 13r.

attend the service.]"<sup>59</sup> This citation further shows that, in addition to special allocations by the founder, the treasury usually kept funds that were not disbursed to pay the intended beneficiaries. As in the case of the day of the Ascension of Jesus, there were instances in which not all *capellanes* attended the choir. A similar case occurred almost every year in April for the celebration of the Matins Office of the Resurrection of Christ. The endowed anniversary paid 200 pesos every year to the music chapel.<sup>60</sup> However, surviving payment records for this ceremony from 1749 show that the total amount paid to musicians was 112 pesos.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, the anniversary of San Pedro stated as well that “the amount lost by the [non attending] ministers shall increase the treasury.”<sup>62</sup>

### **Foundations and Anniversaries and Ritual Performance**

In their roles as subsidies for the treasury, for the performance of rituals and ceremonies, as well as supplementary income for the canons, priests and musicians, foundations and anniversaries were undeniably a crucial financial source for the Cabildo. Given this fact, it is necessary to assess the impact that the will of private donors, as attested by foundation documents, might have had on ritual performance practices at the Cathedral of Mexico. If something is true about

---

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., fol. 12r.

<sup>60</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Contaduría, Abril, 1730, no folio number.

<sup>61</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, book 6, May 8, 1749, no folio number.

<sup>62</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Aniversarios, box 1, document 4, fol. 18r.



the Cathedral of Mexico—and of Spanish cathedrals in general, perhaps—it is that the longevity of custom was more highly regarded than any prescription of rite for ceremonies.<sup>63</sup> An act from 1603 illustrates this issue when the Cabildo received the newly reformed ceremonial from Rome after the revisions of the Council of Trent:

...and in regard to the observance of [the papal bull] and the ceremonial it was agreed that the ceremonies of such ceremonial, within the possibility of practicing and observing them in this church according to her by-laws, it would be done and observed...and the canons said that they would observe the ceremonies that seemed convenient since otherwise ceremonies could stand out (contrast), because there should not be practice of ceremonies where it might appear inconvenient.<sup>64</sup>

But how much foundations and anniversaries shaped the exercise of liturgical rite through customs in ritual performance is something that deserves close examination, for differences between liturgy and ritual, as archival

---

<sup>63</sup> In this regard a manuscript copy of the *Manual de Párrocos* found in the cathedral's archives points to a difference in regard to rite and ritual: "Rite means the rule to which a sacred action must conform and ritual means the execution of that action." Since missionary activities in the New World began when the liturgical reforms of the Council of Trent were being received in all Catholic territories the *Manual de Párrocos* became a standard manual widely used in New Spain during the sixteenth century. Even today it is not uncommon to find copies of the manual from the nineteenth century, perhaps suggesting its actual use throughout the colonial period. This fact is corroborated by the mentioned manuscript copy, which dates from the 1750s. Archivo del Cabildo, Ordo, book 1, "Manual de Párrocos," fol. 2r.

<sup>64</sup> *Y en cuanto al cumplimiento de [la bula papal] y del dicho ceremonial se acordó que las ceremonias del dicho ceremonial en lo que hubiese lugar de poderse practicar y guardar en esta iglesia conforme al estado y copia de capítulos de ella se haría y guardaría...y los dichos capitulares dijeron que guardarían las [ceremonias] que pareciese convenir por los inconvenientes que de no hacerse así podrían resaltar porque no se habían de hacer las ceremonias donde se hallase inconveniente.* Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 4, fol. 290r.

information will show, were resolved through a negotiation of interests. Some examples of foundations proposing slight amendments to ritual might suggest that the Cabildo had no tolerance for changes to established religious practices. On May 18, 1734 the cathedral's sacristan Pedro Mathías de Rivera proposed a foundation to sing the symbol of San Atanacio<sup>65</sup> (the Athanasian Creed) during the hour of Prime on the feast of the Holy Trinity. He was eager to pay 50 pesos every year, until his death, in order to have the music chapel perform the Creed with singers and instruments. However, the Cabildo answered that:

...given the inconvenience that this might cause it was agreed that the hour of Prime be sung as it should be, and that the symbol be sung in plainchant, one verse by the *capellanes* and another by the organ. And that the Cabildo is thankful to Don Pedro for his devotion to such a high mystery [the Holy Trinity,] as to the cult of this church, and that his offer is rejected.<sup>66</sup>

The response by the canons suggests that indeed there was a consensus to maintain the status quo regarding ritual customs. Even more so if we consider that 50 pesos every year was quite an adequate payment to the music chapel compared

---

<sup>65</sup> A "symbol" was understood to be a creed, in this case to be performed during the hour of Prime for the feast of the Holy Trinity. According to the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1907) one of the accepted creeds—or symbols—by the church was one comprising a short and clear exposition of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. Unlike other creeds, the symbol of San Atanacio (Saint Athanasian) deals almost exclusively with these two dogmas. According to scholars, although the creed cannot be attributed to Saint Athanasian it certainly exhibits pronounced Athanasian influences and corresponds in terms of subject-matter and phraseology with writings from the second half of the fourth century, especially with the writings of the saint. James J. Sullivan, "The Athanasian Creed," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 2, 1907, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02033b.htm>, (5 April 2006).

<sup>66</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 33, fol. 27r.

to allowances given to musicians by other foundations. But the ceremony was later endowed in 1738, when the Cabildo accepted a foundation from Francisco Rodríguez Navarajo, *maestrescuela*,<sup>67</sup> to perpetually sing the Creed of San Atanacio during the hour of Prime on the feast of the Holy Trinity. The foundation established that the Creed was to be sung alternating verses between two choirboys and the organ, for which a principal of 1,000 pesos would produce 50 pesos every year, the exact same sum that Pedro Mathías de Rivera had initially offered four years before. Of these, the treasury was to receive 4 pesos, 3 pesos were for the priest officiating Mass that day, 40 pesos for the *capellanes* and canons attending the choir that day, and 3 pesos to the administrator of anniversaries for coordinating these payments.<sup>68</sup>

It is important to note that, although the founder requested that the Creed be sung alternating two choirboys instead of the *capellanes*, the ceremony remained sung in plainchant, as was customary. But there are also other issues that need further consideration. This foundation slightly changed ritual performance practices for this occasion since, instead of the *capellanes*, it was now the choirboys who were to sing the Creed. And this did not pose a problem either to the Cabildo or to the *capellanes*. After all, the foundation's yearly

---

<sup>67</sup> The *maestrescuela* was the "maestro de escuela," an instructor to the choirboys who taught grammar and Latin.

<sup>68</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 35, fol. 48v.

allowance allocated a sum to the treasury, to the *capellanes* (who were paid without having to sing the Creed), and most importantly, to the canons. The choirboys were part of the music chapel, and for this group the foundation made no mention.

Perhaps the truth of the matter is that the amount of the foundation and its distribution mattered. After all, Pedro Mathías de Rivera's foundation did not establish an endowed principal but offered to pay 50 pesos out of his own pocket, which was to stop in the event of his death. On the other hand, Rodríguez Navarijo's foundation had two appealing qualities: it not only provided 1,000 pesos as principal to perpetually endow the ceremony, it also provided an annual payment to the canons, the *capellanes*, and most importantly, the treasury. In any case, members of the music chapel (i.e. the choirboys) were still expected to perform in the ceremony as part of their duties paid by their salaries.<sup>69</sup>

Examples like the one above show ritual performance at the cathedral as a fluid category keenly responding to shifting financial dynamics. This was especially evident in requiem foundations, which became a subject of serious debate at the turn of the eighteenth century. The documents of every requiem anniversary stipulated the specific ceremonies to be celebrated to commemorate the soul of the deceased patron. And for an individual with sufficient means it was

---

<sup>69</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 39, fol. 368 r.

customary to endow an anniversary that included Vigils and a sung requiem Mass with responsories. The foundation also specified exactly on what day of the year such ceremonies were to be observed, and in some cases, patrons chose to commemorate their deaths on days celebrating specific saints or dogmatic mysteries. But how the ritual of anniversaries was interpreted as part of established ritual practices for specific feast days is something that remains to be discussed.

On January 29, 1700 the Cabildo was informed that the master of ceremonies at the cathedral, Francisco Vázquez, had discontinued the singing of responsories for requiem anniversaries, since there was an official decree on this respect, according to him.<sup>70</sup> That day the Cabildo resolved to call Vázquez to discuss the issue, but further acts during this year do not show what might have developed when Vázquez and the canons met for such discussion. A real situation, however, arose on July 20, 1700 when Vázquez complained to the Cabildo that, according to the Roman Ritual, sung requiem Masses or votive Masses for saints (with a founded anniversary) should not be performed on days of double class feasts.<sup>71</sup> For the canons this was quite a sensitive issue: it not only

---

<sup>70</sup> In situations like this one the master of ceremonies, Francisco Vázquez, used to refer to the Roman Ritual. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 148v.

<sup>71</sup> Sometimes patrons founded anniversaries of Masses for saints not included in the breviary on specific days, some of which could coincide with important feasts of double category. Patrons could found also requiem anniversaries to be celebrated on days featuring such double category feasts. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 212v.

was imperative to confirm the legitimate status of Roman Catholic liturgical practices at the cathedral, but the proper execution of the wills of private donors—upon which much of the financial health of the treasury relied—could be at stake as well.

Even though the cathedral had a long-established custom of ritual celebration for founded anniversaries, Vázquez's argument prompted the Cabildo to justify its tradition. In this way, requiem ritual performance practices became a subject of open inquiry that was examined not only from a liturgical but also from a legal point of view. The act from July 20, 1700 shows the canons documenting their position with every type of legal and episcopal instrument available. But what is of real importance to our historical assessment is not the documents to which the Cabildo made reference but the interpretation of those in crafting an argument that would legitimize the practice of ritual and ceremony for founded anniversaries on major feast days.

First, the canons made reference to the brief of Alexander VII *Credite Nobis* (1667) citing the quotation “Anniversaria et Missas cantatas de requiem relectas ex depositione textatorum quotannis in die ipsorum obitus” [*sic*].<sup>72</sup> In this excerpt the Cabildo argued that with the words “in die [ipsorum] obitus” the Pope allowed the singing of requiem anniversary Masses observed on double feasts. It

---

<sup>72</sup> “Anniversaries and sung requiem Masses use readings from daily texts assigned to the day of death.” Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 212v.

is worth noting that the quotation actually reads that requiem Masses ought to use readings from the day. However, the problematic issue originally was that of “singing,” and although the Cabildo’s interpretation of the brief’s text might argue that there is no prohibition for the celebration of requiem Masses on days with double feasts, the statement certainly does not show anything allowing or commenting on the singing of such Masses and responsories either.

The canons applied the same strategy to argue in favor of founded anniversaries featuring Masses for saints on days of double feasts. The Cabildo made reference to a bull from Gregory XIII *Significavit nobis nuper su data* (Rome, October 21, 1574) mentioning that:

...having an endowment to celebrate a festivity for a saint that is not in the breviary this ought to be observed by reciting and saying the Mass of that day according to the calendar, so that the clerics can take the contributions, and so in that church the endowed celebration is observed, or after the conventual Mass (Mass for the founded saint) another Mass is to be celebrated for the feast of the day.<sup>73</sup>

Once again, the citation allows the celebration of endowed Masses for saints on days with double feasts, although without reference on whether these could be sung or not. An even more ambiguous interpretation of these episcopal

---

<sup>73</sup> *Habiendo dotación para que se haga alguna fiesta del santo que no está en el breviario se cumpla con rezar y decir misa del día conforme al calendario, y con esto se puedan los clérigos llevar las contribuciones y la licencia para que en aquella iglesia en el oficio y misa se pueda hacer conmemoración de la fiesta dotada, o que después de la misa conventual se pueda decir otra de la dicha fiesta. Ibid.*

documents involved the observance of anniversaries founded by patrons who were still alive. And in order to reconcile any possible conflicts arising from anniversaries whose patrons were either deceased or alive, the Cabildo made reference to the brief from Alexander VII from 1667 cited above. Using the same quotation, the canons argued that by using the word *Anniversaria*:

...his Holiness without a doubt wanted to include all anniversaries...because this word *Anniversaria* is generic and encompasses all Masses sung every year...and thus, the word ought to be understood in its proper and vigorous signification, generic and common to all anniversaries.<sup>74</sup>

Perhaps the master of ceremonies had concluded that performing services for founders not yet deceased posed a moral problem to the church. On the one hand, Vázquez rendered a sensible religious argument: these individuals were still alive, and to render special advocacy for their still breathing souls would be unethical. But whether Vázquez interpreted the money paid by individuals for this purpose, even if still alive, as an act of attempted corruption is just a speculation. On the other hand, the reality is that the moral ethics behind foundations and anniversaries was to accelerate the arrival to heaven of the founder's soul by shortening the time spent in purgatory after death, in addition to the foundation

---

<sup>74</sup> ....sin duda quiso su santidad comprenderlos todos [los aniversarios]....porque esta palabra "Anniversaria" es genérica que comprende todas las misas que se mandan cantar todos los años....Así, la palabra "Anniversaria" se ha de entender en su propia y vigorosa significación genérica y común a todos los aniversarios. Ibid.



being an act of piety and a good deed. Moreover, even if still alive, founders establishing endowments had to provide the complete amount of the principal to be given to the cathedral in advance, and the Cabildo stood to benefit from this. Perhaps more than the ethical responsibility, the canons had a financial responsibility to satisfy the wishes of their patrons, let alone the fact that these endowments proved to be a crucial financial source to the church.

But if any of the above interpretations of sources seemed rather obscure, the Cabildo found its most compelling argument through a legal reading of the edicts from the Council of Trent. These were the most loosely interpreted documents regarding liturgy and ritual for the Roman Catholic Church. In spite of the fact, they were originally intended as strict guidelines for ritual performance to be prescriptively endorsed by any cathedral. The canons argued that the weight of their interpretations for the papal brief and bull cited above was corroborated by the doctrine of Cardenal Giovanni Batista de Luca, a jurist from the seventeenth century who wrote a set of interpretative annotations to the edicts from the Council of Trent in his *Theatrum veritatis et justitiae*, published in 1672 according to the act from July 20, 1700. The canons mentioned that de Luca's annotations gave more power to the pacts on the contracts of foundations, adding that "this is common doctrine of other authors."<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

Indeed, in discursus 11, index 10 of the mentioned annotations de Luca stresses that in case of a discrepancy between the stipulations of the foundation and common policy<sup>76</sup> it is necessary to find reconciliation in favor of the foundation or donation by any other available criterion.<sup>77</sup> In this way, the verdict of the Cabildo was

to observe the conditions placed on the foundation documents and to sing requiem and votive Masses on days of double feasts, as well as to sing the responsories agreed upon in the documents, this being a legitimate right [of the founder], not opposing any decree.<sup>78</sup>

The Cabildo further voted on the acceptance of that resolution, for which, they mentioned, “the vote of approval by the master of ceremonies was not necessary.”<sup>79</sup> The aftermath of this resolution is perhaps not as relevant as is the assessment of the impact that foundations and anniversaries had on ritual practices. Furthermore, this case depicts ritual practices as a fluid category

---

<sup>76</sup> A reference made to official liturgical stipulations promoted by the Council of Trent.

<sup>77</sup> *Et tunc partier jus commune incorrectum emanet, neque desuper ab ista Conciliari lege aliqua statutum est, nisi circa modum probationis, hujus modi expliciti tituli foundationis, & donationis, per authentica scilicet documenta, seu per alias species probationis [sic].* Because of the mentioning of common law (*jus commune*) the interpretation carries a legal undertone, and thus, it is difficult to define it in a strict category for liturgy, ritual and ceremony, as separate from any other possible legal principles or connotations. Giovanni Baptista de Luca, *Theatrum veritatis et justitiae*, book 14, part 5, *Discursus Generales Instructivi Super iis, quae in foro magis practicabilia, concernunt praxis, vel observantiam aliquorum S. Concilii Tridentini Decretorum, super reformatione, ac materiis forensibus*, discursus 11, 10, Venetiis: Ex typographia Balleoniana, 1759.

<sup>78</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 212v.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

responding to the economic dynamics necessary for its development. The case of the anniversary for the Creed of San Atanacio initiated by Pedro Mathías de Rivera, but which was ultimately founded by *maestrescuela* Navarijo, perhaps illustrates that proposing a foundation was not a granted right to amend ritual practices. Other cases, however, show that, within limits, such practices were open to interpretation and allowed some flexibility, as was the case of requiem services forming part of the ritual on days featuring double feasts, of which the octave of Corpus Christi included two such foundations.<sup>80</sup> But if we consider that half of the income earned by the church every year derived from private endowments, this flexibility, more than a purposeful lack of consistency in ritual practices, shows that private endowments had a strong impact on the practice of ritual and ceremony at the Cathedral of Mexico.

---

<sup>80</sup> As cited above, the Corpus octave sometimes featured two of such rituals with Vigils, sung requiem Mass and responsories, namely for Pedro Sánchez (June 2), and Antonio Cárdenas y Salazar (June 3).

## **Chapter 4**

### **The Economics of Ritual and Ceremony: The Treasury of the Cathedral**

Despite the initiative of sponsoring donors to secure the proper celebration and observance of ritual ceremonies at the Cathedral of Mexico significant events that developed throughout the 1600s had a strong impact on the economy of the cathedral during the first half of the eighteenth century. Moreover, existing economical problems were accentuated by the appointment of incompetent officials and the negligent administration of the treasury, due to which the exercise of liturgical practices became jeopardized. During times of financial crisis the primary task of the Cabildo was to secure funds necessary for the production of religious ceremonies at the cathedral.

As will be shown in Chapter 5, cuts in expenses demanded the revision of salaries for canons, priests and the music chapel, perhaps the most essential group for the celebration of rituals and the first group to become affected. The present chapter will show that the first half of the eighteenth century was accentuated by severe economic hardship. And although these fifty years included a brief stage of recovery (1720-1740, approximately) from the extreme deficits carried on since the end of the seventeenth century until 1720, the decade of 1740 to 1750 would bring the hardest times for the cathedral's treasury.

## **I. Administration of the Treasury: The *Mayordomos* I**

To administer the internal funds of the cathedral the Cabildo appointed an individual that who responsible for the collection of funds from individuals owing money to the cathedral, as well as for the payment of debts that the cathedral had with other parties. This individual, known as the *mayordomo*, had possession of all receipts, vouchers, and any documents involved in a financial transaction, for which he needed to be a systematic and organized bookkeeper with detailed knowledge of the circulation of funds through debits and deposits, from and to the cathedral's treasury. For this reason, he was given direct access to the treasury either to deposit or withdraw funds for diverse transactions. Nonetheless, he was supervised by two canons known as the *jueces hacedores* who were in charge of overseeing the capital that was deposited and withdrawn from the treasury.

The *mayordomo* was traditionally a lay individual, usually a wealthy patron, who obtained this appointment through a process of opposition. After several individuals had applied for the position, the Cabildo voted for one who would be given a key to the three-locked treasury chest. One of the other two keys was kept by the *jueces hacedores* and the other one by another member of the Cabildo. In order to be appointed as *mayordomo* the candidate had to have at least five sponsors bonding him with a given amount of money (usually 100,000 pesos) that the Cabildo demanded as a guarantee against the cathedral's funds, to which

the *mayordomo* would have access. Once all requirements were met and the individual was elected, his appointment began immediately; all debts to be collected and pending expenditures were given to him, and he was expected to be in continuous communication with the individual in charge of administering foundations and anniversaries known as the *administrador de aniversarios* (administrator of anniversaries). It was, therefore, of considerable importance for the *mayordomo* to have thorough accounting skills and a meticulous methodology for organizing and keeping up to date the overwhelming number of documents of financial transactions that included, but were not restricted to, salaries, donations and foundations, real estate investments, collection of debts, gross collection and distribution of tithes, expenditures for ceremonies, maintenance of the cathedral, and funds for charities, among other things.

But despite the efforts of the Cabildo to choose a person with the appropriate profile for the administration of the treasury, the cathedral suffered through either incompetent or inexperienced and disorganized individuals, who in addition to putting the treasury in jeopardy, often ended up in bankruptcy, thus forcing the Cabildo to reconsider the set of guidelines and requirements for the position of *mayordomo* during the first half of the eighteenth century.

As a letter from the king to the royal assembly mentions, the cathedral had requested the assistance of the crown with the lending of the royal ninths of tithes

to subsidize the treasury from as far back as 1525.<sup>1</sup> Recession in the agricultural economy had first affected the cathedral in 1575 due to a smallpox epidemic that swept through the valley of Mexico killing a substantial part of the indigenous population dedicated to agriculture.<sup>2</sup> By 1699 the devaluation in the price of seeds caused diminished earnings in income from collected tithes as well, thus making funds to cover expenses for rituals and ceremonies insufficient. And if it is true that, as an act from May 25, 1700 mentions, economic conditions had not improved as of 1650, it must be also underscored that the financial capacities of the *mayordomo* during the second half of the seventeenth century further aggravated the treasury, thus hindering religious practices at the cathedral until the second decade of the eighteenth century.

We find fragmentary evidence of the mismanagement of funds by the *mayordomo* during the second half of the seventeenth century. Antonio Robles (or Antonio de Robles) was appointed to the position during this time. But even though we know he was in charge of the cathedral's treasury we do not have information on the full extent of the financial mismanagement during his term. What is certain is that by June 9, 1677 the Cabildo had him accused to the royal

---

<sup>1</sup> Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Ayuntamiento, *Cedulario de N.C. de México*, vol. 439a, fol. 13r.

<sup>2</sup> John Frederick Schwaller, *Orígenes de la Riqueza de la Iglesia en México – Ingresos Eclesiásticos y Finanzas de la Iglesia 1523-1600*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1990, p. 188.

assembly for the substantial debt he had incurred for the cathedral's treasury. The Cabildo not only asked Robles to appear before the canons to return all documents, vouchers and receipts, they also demanded the incarceration of the *mayordomo* on account of his negligence.<sup>3</sup>

Further archival information shows that Robles seemingly had antecedents in mismanagement. Ten years before, on April 30, 1667, Robles wrote a letter to the Cabildo in which he assured and swore that Francisco Martínez Cepeda, administrator of anniversaries, owed to Robles "everything pertaining to the treasury of the cathedral." Allegedly, Robles mentions, he had just fallen into the account that the entire current deficit was supposed to be paid by Martínez Cepeda, and thus, Robles asked the Cabildo for an official collection order to get the funds from that administrator.<sup>4</sup> However, Martínez Cepeda contested Robles' claim and told the Cabildo that he could support all of his financial handlings during his administration, and swore that he owed nothing to the *mayordomo* or the treasury, and for this he was ready at any time to bring all books of transactions and documents before the Cabildo.<sup>5</sup>

But the truth is that both officers were responsible for severe losses affecting the treasury, and therefore, the Cabildo followed up with legal actions

---

<sup>3</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 11, document 11, 3 folios.

<sup>4</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 9, document 44, 1 folio.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



against both individuals. Surely the administration of Martínez Cepeda had to respond for deficits in the branch of anniversaries but these were not accountable for the deficits that faced Robles, as he claimed. In 1669 the Cabildo followed suit against Martínez Cepeda with the royal assembly, and on a document from November 27 the canons notified Martínez Cepeda's lawyer that he had three days to submit all financial records—revised—showing the amounts owed by the administrator and other funds still available in the branch of anniversaries. But even though the citation from the royal assembly mentioned the penalty of excommunication and the writing of both names, Martínez Cepeda's and his lawyer's, on the cathedral's public board of excommunicated people, the lawyer argued for more time on behalf of Martínez Cepeda.

It seems that the poor management of his office had forced the administrator to draw from his own resources to compensate for losses. On the answer to the royal assembly Martínez Cepeda's lawyer mentions that the administrator of anniversaries had found himself in utter poverty and had no money whatsoever to pay for a lawyer or accountant to revise his financial records. He further mentioned that Martínez Cepeda had to travel to a nearby town to borrow 50 pesos in order to pay his lawyer and accountant for their services.<sup>6</sup> This was not the only citation in Martínez Cepeda's case; further

---

<sup>6</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 8, document 1, 1 folio.

extensions were petitioned by his lawyer, although it is not known to this day if the administrator was ever incarcerated.

The royal assembly was usually the official channel through which financial disputes were settled and the cathedral was an institution that, due to its financial history, was not alien to this process. The same procedures applied to all individuals incurring debt and the *mayordomo* was no exception. In 1677, ten years after having accused Martínez Cepeda of owing all incurring debts to the treasury, Antonio de Robles had to answer for the deteriorating effects of his administration on the cathedral's treasury. By May 1677 the Cabildo had asked the *mayordomo* several times to submit all revised financial records to the *jueces hacedores*, his supervisors, which he had neglected to do on several occasions.

The canons had even demanded Robles to do so under penalty of excommunication and the writing of his name on the cathedral's board. Nevertheless, Robles made no reply to this citation, for which the Cabildo issued a complaint to the royal assembly denouncing the *mayordomo*'s silent attitude as a rebellion against the church.<sup>7</sup> The Cabildo issued a third and definite citation, this time mentioning that Robles' name was already on the public board of excommunicated people and demanded Robles to appear before the canons with

---

<sup>7</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 11, document 11, 1 folio.

the revised financial records of the treasury.<sup>8</sup> But despite the multiple citations Robles did not appear and was excommunicated, although Cabildo acts of this year need still to be consulted to see if Robles was apprehended and incarcerated.

The negligent administration of resources by appointed officials no doubt came to accentuate financial struggles as well as the consistent depletion of the treasury. It is clear that the poor labor of administrators was a crucial factor in the economic downfall of the treasury. The appointment of the *mayordomo*, the most important position regarding finances in the cathedral, demanded the meticulous collection of payments and debts to deposit into the treasury. And given the inability of Robles to exercise his office, the Cabildo took severe measures for the immediate collection of debts by individuals who had not paid tithes under penalty of public excommunication. During 1686 the Cabildo issued a written act publicly spoken at the main plaza of Mexico City that excommunicated several individuals for their inability to pay. Furthermore, any person caught mending the list would suffer the same consequences.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> “Let it be understood as publicly excommunicated Juan Solano, Domingo de Espinoza, and Ignacio López Lascano for being not obedient of the mandates of our mother church and not having paid tithes. And no person shall remove, mend or erase this list under penalty of excommunication.” Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 16, 1 folio. Seemingly, the penalty of excommunication was a public embarrassment and avoided at all cost in a society in which the church had a strong political hold.

This manner of collecting by the Cabildo had precedents, since from 1664 there are accounts of excommunication acts to individuals that, for some reason, did not or could not pay tithes. Soon these efforts extended outside of Mexico City to the surrounding towns—today internal districts of Mexico City—under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Mexico, including places like Chalco, Escapualco, Tacubaya, Texcoco, Itztapalapa, San Juan del Río, and Tlalnepantla. The gross sum owed by individuals at these localities amounted to a little over 77,700 gold pesos.<sup>10</sup> Taking into account that the *mayordomo* was asked to present five sponsors that together would contribute an amount of 100,000 pesos to back any losses during his appointment the above collection of 77,700 pesos was imperative for the Cabildo in order to assist the impoverished treasury.

In the late seventeenth century the Cabildo knew that arguing a case against Robles was not going to help the cathedral's treasury and by 1695 the canons undertook an aggressive collection campaign that extended to the rest of the valley of Mexico in every place that had at least a parish and a priest to assist with this activity. Even to the smallest towns, like Tenancingo, the *jueces hacedores* sent acts of excommunication that priests nailed to the parish doors showing the names of non-paying individuals.<sup>11</sup> As the method proved to have a

---

<sup>10</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 8, document 47, 8 folios.

<sup>11</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 19, document 18, 1 folio.

positive response the yearly expedition of such acts extended to provinces as far as Toluca, Almoloya and Ixtlahuaca, posting the names of excommunicated individuals on church doors that belonged to both, the secular and the regular clergy.<sup>12</sup>

The consistent lack of funds in the treasury and the further mismanagement of finances by negligent administrators were main factors that accelerated the deteriorating financial conditions of the cathedral. Thus, the Cabildo sought to improve its strategies regarding the future administration and economic health of the Metropolitan See. And as we will see, the Spanish crown played a crucial part in this matter.

## **II. Assistance from the King: The Royal Ninths**

As the cathedral's treasury experienced considerable losses over the course of the seventeenth century—caused in part by the poor management of internal finances—for the Cabildo the year 1700 was perhaps a time of hope for better things to come with the new century. Nevertheless, the eighteenth century was a period of prolonged economic setbacks for the cathedral, marked by a consistent deficit and the disorderly and careless administration of internal capital. This economic situation was symptomatic of a poor financial condition that had

---

<sup>12</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 19, document 1, 1 folio.

precedents since the foundation of the Episcopate of New Spain in the sixteenth century. In order to visualize the effects that financial factors had on the exercise of ritual and ceremony at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico we must understand the economic precedents of the cathedral and their impact on religious practices.

By 1700 the chest of the treasury (known as the *Fábrica*), the place of deposit for all revenue received by the cathedral from which the Cabildo allocated funds for all expenses, had experienced income losses for almost one hundred and fifty years. Corrective measures at the turn of the eighteenth century involved the re-evaluation of expenditures and creative investing in order to salvage the treasury from bankruptcy. As will be shown in Chapter 5, this involved the revision of salaries to *capellanes* and members of the music chapel in hopes of cutting the income of some or dismissing others unable to perform well, among other things. The strict measures applied to individuals on the cathedral's payroll point towards a severe recession in the treasury. In addition to internal reforms regarding expenditures the Cabildo sought to implement a strategy to stop the deteriorating condition of its finances, and as it was customary, the church turned to the king for assistance.

Every year the cathedral was in charge of collecting from individuals working in cattle and agriculture ten per cent of their total earnings. The total

collection of this money, called tithes, was divided in nine parts at the end of the year, of which two of them belonged to the crown, these known as the *Reales Novenos* (royal ninths).<sup>13</sup> In order to help the treasury in 1700 the Cabildo petitioned the king to lend his two ninths. As was customary, the cathedral invested the money of the royal ninths to accrue income. This was done by making the ninths available as a loan through a bidding process in which a third party was given the money (commonly 20,000 gold pesos) for a given period of time, agreeing to pay a five per cent interest rate every year. When the period expired the king received his two ninths and the interest gathered during those years was deposited in the treasury of the cathedral.

An act from May 25, 1700 mentions that the cathedral had received assistance from the king through the royal ninths as of 1650. Allegedly the price of seeds, like corn and wheat, had suffered depreciation in their market value, for which the amount of revenue collected through tithes was diminished. In the same document the Cabildo mentions that the officially allocated funds to the cathedral's treasury, as specified in its act of foundation (which consisted of one ninth and a half of collected tithes every year), were not enough to cover expenses

---

<sup>13</sup> I explained in Chapter 3 that, even though Cabildo acts make consistent reference to the "two royal ninths," accounting records show that the actual sum given to the crown amounted roughly to one and a half ninths.

for the celebration of religious services.<sup>14</sup> Given its regular income, the document shows, the treasury of the cathedral was not able to cover the basic expenditures of chapel ministers (musicians), *capellanes*, wax, wine and oil. Given the circumstances, the Cabildo requested once again in 1700 the lending of the royal ninths by the king (Carlos II, the last of the Austrian lineage) for a further period, mentioning that his grandfather, Felipe III, had had the generosity of doing the same years before. This document is of deep historical significance since it tells us that the cathedral had requested assistance from the crown to confront its economic problems as far back as 1621.<sup>15</sup>

But as gracious as the crown was to respond to the needs of the church, political problems with local authorities also posed financial obstacles. Two months before writing to the king to request the loan of the royal ninths the canons exposed another situation involving local authorities that had an impact on the cathedral's finances. During a meeting on March 2, 1700 the *chantre* explained that a further issue affecting the treasury—whose dire condition was

---

<sup>14</sup> I also explained in Chapter 3 that, although the foundation act allocated one and a half ninths from tithes to the treasury, accounting records from the eighteenth century show that the actual sum was roughly less than that.

<sup>15</sup> “And Felipe III, grandfather of His Majesty, issued a royal decree in June 7, 1621 in which he orders that the royal ninths be given to this holy church, as long as there is no inconvenience to the royal treasury, and for commodity of this church, which [in the past] has not been in detriment to the royal treasury....and this has excused the expenses of the church's treasury.” Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 193v. As will be shown below, this was not the first time that the crown assisted the cathedral with the lending of the royal ninths. Political problems transpiring during the sixteenth century suggest that a history of continuous assistance to the cathedral by the king goes as far back as 1525.



well known by all members of the Cabildo, according to the act—was that the king had ordered the deposit of his portion of tithes into his royal treasury. And even though he had petitioned the king for the collection of these funds to help the treasury, the *chantry* had not been able to achieve positive results through the royal officials of the city.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, the *chantry* added, the fact of having the support of royal decrees by the king himself stating the release of those funds back to the cathedral proved to have no effect on local royal authorities.

The continued economic hardship endured by the cathedral throughout the seventeenth century and the disregard by local officials of the needs of the church are two factors that outline a consistent struggle by the Cabildo against other institutions in order to reach economic stability, a situation that the Episcopate had confronted since the early days of its inception. The situation was not new to the cathedral; in fact, the Cabildo had endured problems in procuring the necessary funds for the celebration of religious services since the sixteenth century.

### **III. Economic Antecedents: Inception of the Secular Church**

In Spain, the secular church was the central institution that regulated the payment of labor tributes (tithes) by lay people, as well as by convents. Moreover,

---

<sup>16</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 158v.

it was an institution that, in conjunction with civil authorities, influenced the shaping of civil, political and economic policy through the regulation of civic and religious life, economic welfare, and their impact on episcopal and judicial matters. In the sixteenth century, however, frictions prevailed in New Spain between the struggling, new born Episcopate and the royal assembly.

Undoubtedly, the geographical separation from Spain made it hard for the king to have direct oversight on government in the New World. Therefore, the crown relied on an assembly that, along with the church, would ensure the proper judicial, political and economic administration of the emerging Neo Hispanic society. This assembly, known as the *Real Audiencia* (royal assembly), was the institution that came to oversee, among other things, the enforcement of civil and episcopal law, as well as the distribution of wealth in New Spain.

In the early years of New Spain the first royal assembly curtailed the institutional establishment of the Episcopate by withholding economic resources. From as early as 1526 the royal assembly was seeking to monopolize newly discovered mines of gold and silver by allowing the extraction of metals to just a handful of individuals.<sup>17</sup> But more than affecting the establishment of the secular

---

<sup>17</sup> In a royal decree from November 9, 1526 the king writes to the royal assembly stating that such privileges to only a few individuals were prohibited and ordered to grant access to the mines to any person—Spaniard or natural—in order to extract the metals. In the document the king refers to the mines as “common” (*comunes*) by which all individuals working in those mines were to pay tribute to the crown. Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Ayuntamiento, *Cedulario de N.C. de México*, vol. 439a, fol. 16v.

church, the monopoly on local wealth invariably affected the development of urban projects and civil infrastructures necessary for the growth of the metropolis, thus adding further problems of social organization.<sup>18</sup> The unequal distribution of economic resources became a handicap for the proper development of urbanizing projects and institutions. In this respect the queen addressed the royal assembly prompting the regents to provide rents and endowments to arrest the poor conditions of Mexico City and other smaller surrounding areas.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to a monopoly on local wealth, the royal assembly made further efforts to withhold financial assets that by law belonged to the Episcopate out of labor tributes paid (tithes), as well as other funds granted by the king. Since 1525, three years before the arrival of the first archbishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga, archival documents show the financial need that the Episcopate had for the celebration of rituals and ceremonies. Due to this need the king agreed to donate his share of tithes (the royal ninths) to the secular church.<sup>20</sup> Five years

---

<sup>18</sup> For example, a major problem in newly founded towns arose from confusion in procedures for the election of local authorities. In a decree from August 23, 1527 the king asked the royal assembly to oversee the implementation of Spanish customs for the election of mayors and local officials. Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Ayuntamiento, *Cedulario de N.C. de México*, vol. 439a, fol. 22r.

<sup>19</sup> In this regard the queen wrote to the royal assembly on May 28 and June 25, 1530 urging to allocate funds and endowments to account for the necessities and poor condition of the city, in addition to appointing smaller Indian districts that were to be under the jurisdiction of the city. Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Ayuntamiento, *Cedulario de N. C. de México*, vol. 439a, fol. 28v.

<sup>20</sup> In the Royal decree of November 24, 1525 the king orders the royal assembly to defer such funds to the treasury of the church in order to acquire ornaments and other necessary things for

later, however, the royal assembly was still withholding such funds arguing that since the new archbishop had yet to receive papal documents for his proper recognition he was not officially head of the archbishopric, and thus, resources for his episcopal government could not be released.<sup>21</sup>

Historically, the Spanish crown had the last word regarding the appointment of church officials and dignitaries in their kingdom through a privilege known as the *Real Patronato* granted by Pope Julius II.<sup>22</sup> In 1528 fray Juan de Zumárraga was appointed by the crown as official bishop of New Spain and was sent to Mexico before receiving his papal approval, and later became the first archbishop.<sup>23</sup> Regarding the policies of the *Real Patronato*, the *Real Consejo de Indias* was the organization that oversaw their implementation, a council in continuous contact with the royal assembly. Despite the royal appointment,

---

religious celebrations. Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Ayuntamiento, *Cedulario de N.C. de México*, vol. 439a, fol. 13r.

<sup>21</sup> The document shows that this argument by the royal assembly was not an established custom. This is suggested in the document when the queen orders to release the church's funds for Zumarraga's tenure, just as it was done when the bishop of Tlaxcala was elected by the monarchs. In the case of Tlaxcala, although the appointed bishop had not yet received papal ratification upon his arrival to Tlaxcala, funds for his governance were immediately released. Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Ayuntamiento, *Cedulario de N. C. de México*, vol. 439a, fol. 35v.

<sup>22</sup> The *Real Patronato* was a series of privileges given to the Spanish crown by Pope Julius II in the bull *Universale Ecclesiae* (June 28, 1508) and passed to the *Consejo de Indias*, which enabled the king and queen to appoint individuals for episcopal posts, keep tithes as part of their funds, and have authority and control over the dissemination of liturgical books.

<sup>23</sup> The cathedral acts show that this was customary. After appointing an individual for a specific clerical position he was sent to that post before official documents from the Holy See arrived. This was allegedly due to the need for such individuals that the faithful would have to endure while waiting for official bulls from the Pope. This is especially true for the election of bishops and archbishops.

however, the assembly was firm in withholding episcopal funds arguing that Zumárraga had yet to receive papal ratification, and until then, the funds were to be withheld. This reaction by the assembly could suggest a certain ambiguity in regards to the political weight that the privilege of the *Real Patronato* gave to the Spanish monarchs. Nevertheless, historical evidence shows otherwise.

In every instance concerning episcopal matters—regarding liturgy, administration of sacraments, and doctrine—citizens and civil officials looked to the crown, and not to the Holy See, in order to regulate religious practices. For example, to remedy inconsistencies in the proper teaching of Catholic doctrine, lay people wrote to the king not to solicit the assistance of Rome in the matter, but for direct corrective action. The king and queen reserved the authority to apply corrective measures concerning rituals, ceremonies, and even administration of sacraments.<sup>24</sup> There is no doubt that the royal assembly knew the political weight that the crown had over the Holy See through the *Real Patronato*. The viceroy, president of the assembly, was especially well aware of the primacy that the monarchs had concerning the appointment of clerical dignitaries, since “[they

---

<sup>24</sup> In April 16, 1538, for example, the queen was notified of the “excess” carried by clerics during burial services and matrimones, and the inconsistencies with customs in teaching doctrine established by the secular church, for which the queen demanded that they follow practices according to the archbishopric of Seville. Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Ayuntamiento, *Cedulario de N.C. de México*, vol. 439a, fol. 53r.

were] the owners of such appointments as well as episcopal benefits, and [had] a granted right to appoint them at will.”<sup>25</sup>

Through the oversight of the *Consejo de Indias*, the crown had a direct control over papal decrees and bulls directed to New Spain, and as a result, the queen intervened ordering the royal assembly to release funds to Zumárraga not only to ensure necessary things for the observance of religious ceremonies, but also for the payment of salaries to canons, priests and ministers at the cathedral.<sup>26</sup> But despite royal decrees, dissention continued to affect the economy and position of the church: on April 17, 1540 the cathedral had to suspend the singing of polyphonic music during religious celebrations due to a lack of funds, a direct result of the withholding of tithes.<sup>27</sup> The monopoly and withholding strategies of the royal assembly, which invariably affected the exercise of religious practices through the sixteenth century, undermined the establishment of the church as a social institution.

Archival research allows us to follow a historical line of events that illustrates the consistent economic hazard that the Metropolitan Cathedral confronted for almost two centuries. In addition to the political actions by the

---

<sup>25</sup> The queen in a letter to the royal assembly, April 16, 1538. Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Ayuntamiento, *Cedulario de N.C. de México*, vol. 439a, fol. 52v.

<sup>26</sup> Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Ayuntamiento, *Cedulario de N.C. de México*, vol. 439a, fol. 35v.

<sup>27</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 1, fol. 29v.

royal assembly, as well as the effects of the recession in the agricultural economy of New Spain due to the smallpox epidemic of the last quarter of the sixteenth century, internal events in the cathedral also played a significant role in the deterioration of the church's treasury.

The Cabildo experienced conflicts with the collection of tithes in surrogate towns in which the monastic orders held a stronger influence until the end of the sixteenth century. The vast territories under the jurisprudence of the archbishopric of Mexico City, in addition to the lack of available of priests within the secular clergy, made it a difficult task for the Cabildo to enforce a systematic collection of tithes in these areas as well. When we add these issues to the political frictions that the cathedral experienced during the sixteenth century, it is possible to visualize the challenging task that the secular clergy had in becoming a prominent social presence.

By the seventeenth century, however, royal decrees by the king, along with the internal political organization of the Episcopate, had achieved the institutional stability of the church. This prompted the growth of the Episcopate, and thus, the ability to supervise and regulate territories that were part of the archbishopric's jurisdiction. But despite these developments, the appointment of unsystematic and disorganized individuals to the administration of the treasury came to exacerbate the economic damages suffered by the cathedral throughout

the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. These individuals—the *mayordomos*—were responsible for a substantial portion of the cathedral’s deficit. Due to this, the Cabildo had to depend on the continued assistance of the Spanish crown to withhold financial losses not since 1621, as the act from May 25, 1700 suggests, but from as far back as 1525, as demonstrated in the letter from the queen to the royal assembly mentioned above (November 24, 1525).

#### **IV. Brief Recovery, 1720-1740: The *Mayordomos* II**

The deterioration of the treasury was not propelled solely by the devaluation of products that generated tithes to the church. It was rather the consequence of several elements at play—from the end of the sixteenth through the beginning of the eighteenth century—affecting the cathedral’s economy. The decay in the price of agricultural goods, the internal mismanagement of finances, as well as conflicts with civil authorities over funds belonging to the church, were decisive factors in the deterioration of the treasury. In addition, the weakening of the real estate market in the first half of the eighteenth century would cause a different set of problems that will be covered below. What must be acknowledged is that during the two decades of 1720 to 1740 the cathedral experienced a partial financial recovery from the events of the late seventeenth century that continued until approximately 1720. No doubt that the assistance of the king with the



lending of the royal ninths played an important part in this recovery. What was perhaps more significant, however, was the appointment of competent *mayordomos* to the administration of the treasury during these years.

Financial records show that the Cabildo was pleased with the work of new officials. This is illustrated through legal documents issued by the canons in which they released these individuals from any responsibility once they had cleared all debts owed to the treasury from different collections. Such was the case of Francisco de Vergara and Cristóbal de Medina (these two shared the post of *mayordomo*) whom the Cabildo appointed from 1689 until 1694, right after the discharge of Antonio Robles, who had incurred substantial losses for the treasury, as explained above. In a document from August 7, 1694 the Cabildo was pleased with the final financial records shown by Vergara and Medina, and therefore, released them from any further liabilities.<sup>28</sup> The economic recovery of the cathedral was beginning to loom already by 1720. Archival records also show that the collection of tithes was steadily growing and bringing a much needed influx of capital to the treasury.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, box 1, document 17, 2 folios.

<sup>29</sup> By 1720 the total collection of tithes amounted 208,000 gold pesos, showing a 5,000 pesos increase in relation to the collection of 1719. In 1721 the gross collection amounted 232,000 pesos, thus showing a 24,000 pesos increase from the collection in 1720. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 30, fol. 64v.

The same was the case for the *mayordomo* Gracia, who on December 22, 1733 was relieved from his duties. Gracia, the document shows, “satisfied all charges made by the canons and he proved them with certifications.”<sup>30</sup> Gracia seems to have been an organized and accurate official, since the document mentions that Gracia received the gratitude of the Cabildo due to his “loyal and legal handling of everything that was in his power and had gone into the treasury,” and because of the clarity of his records.<sup>31</sup>

By 1733 a new *mayordomo* was in office, Angel de Camino, who was perhaps as efficient as Gracia since he came to be re-elected for a second term in 1735. Records that show the voting in favor of Camino for this office need still to be located. However, acts dealing with his re-appointment mention that, unlike other *mayordomos* in the past, Camino had produced only 50,000 pesos as collateral, providing a list of ten sponsors (each pledging 5,000 pesos). When the time to appoint a new *mayordomo* came in 1734 there were three additional candidates who could provide the 100,000 pesos of collateral that the Cabildo usually requested. These were Diego Núñez Viteo, Francisco del Barrio Lorenzot, and Manuel Roman.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 32, fol. 262r.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 32, fol. 270v.

February 15, 1735 was the day for the election of the new *mayordomo*. The act of this day shows a somewhat split decision. Even though Camino had an impeccable record as administrator some canons wanted to be more cautious and preferred that Camino provide the usual amount of 100,000 pesos as collateral. During the meeting one of the canons mentioned: "...the security of the church was not verified...[and] there have been excessive losses with some of the *mayordomos* like Basmalzeda and 63,000 pesos with Robles."<sup>33</sup>

On the one hand, the Cabildo wanted a competent and trustworthy individual like Camino, who had proved himself as accurate and thoroughly organized.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, the canons were still cautious with the state of the treasury and wanted to find an individual who could provide the full 100,000 pesos as collateral to protect the treasury. Therefore, almost half of the canons voted to appoint Manuel Roman that day, an individual who would cause severe damage to the treasury ten years later. However, most of the canons argued that the full security of the treasury relied on the experience of a good *mayordomo* rather than on a full collateral, and given the impeccable labor of Camino he was elected to serve a second term. (Seemingly, he had lost his sponsors at some point

---

<sup>33</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 33, fol. 68v.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

during his first term, during which he was an avid administrator and never mixed the cathedral's money with his personal investments.)<sup>35</sup>

## **V. The Relapse, 1740-1750: The *Mayordomos* III**

The brief recovery from 1720 up to 1740 produced a steady growth in the treasury. In addition to the needed assistance from the king the labor of efficient administrators proved to be essential to the partial stability of the cathedral. Nevertheless, these efforts were destined to be short lived. By 1738 the term of Angel de Camino, the best *mayordomo* the cathedral ever had in the first half of the eighteenth century, expired. In his place the Cabildo elected an individual who had previously bid for the post in 1735, Manuel Roman, who won the bid by a majority of votes on December 20, 1737.<sup>36</sup> As we will see, Roman's poor administrative skills struck a hard blow to the cathedral's economy in the decade from 1740 to 1750, perhaps the hardest period for the treasury in the first half of the eighteenth century.

One of the main activities to accrue revenue for the treasury was real estate investment, the most common destiny of private endowments for the foundation of anniversaries for religious festivities. A substantial amount of funds

---

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 35, fol. 15r.

were invested in farms and houses that offered, in some cases, a steady yearly income based on their leases. Once a patron donated a given amount for the perpetuation of a certain anniversary the Cabildo invested such funds in a property so that the yearly revenue generated from its rent could be used to cover the expenses of the sponsored festivity.

Although the Metropolitan See had a brief period of recovery from around 1720 (with the increased collection of tithes and a more efficient budget management) by the mid-1740s the treasury went into a deficit relapse. Negligence in the management of finances proved again to be devastating to available funds necessary for the observance of rituals and ceremonies. And if it is true that the accruing of revenue generated from real estate investments became a continuously deteriorating channel of income, the further incompetence of the appointed *mayordomo*, Manuel Roman, also proved to be critical to the decline of the cathedral's internal economy. The increased and severe deficit of the treasury forced the Cabildo to juggle with the transfer of funds from private endowments originally destined to finance liturgical ceremonies. With this, the observance of religious practices was not financially secured and the negative numbers of the treasury made it very difficult for the Cabildo to meet the release of monthly payments for canons, *capellanes* and musicians responsible for religious ceremonies.

As it has been shown, through the lending of the royal ninths out of the total collection of tithes every year, the crown had helped offset the bad financial condition the cathedral experienced throughout the seventeenth century. This mode of assistance by the king continued through the first half of the eighteenth century. By 1744, however, the royal treasury had been suffering marked losses as well (due to the war against England), and in order to counterbalance the situation the king wrote to the Cabildo asking for the payment in advance of 20,000 gold pesos owed to him from his loan of the royal ninths.

On March 13, 1744, after reading the king's request, the Cabildo decided that, in attending to His Majesty's need, and since the treasury and all other internal sources in the cathedral were depleted of funds, it was necessary to request a loan to cover the 20,000 pesos. The loan was to accumulate the usual five per cent interest rate and was mortgaged over the assets of the treasury (real estate property). This included permission to administer the collection of tithes that year. At the same meeting the dean mentioned that he knew of an individual—Manuel de Aldaco—who was in the position to lend such an amount. He further added that Juan Etanislao Meñaca, the individual who later would make a donation for the foundation of the anniversary of the *Jubileo Circular*

celebrated during the week of Corpus Christi,<sup>37</sup> was willing to lend 8,000 pesos to alleviate this situation without charging any interest. At that point the Cabildo had agreed to issue legal documents to recognize the loans, one to Meñaca for 8,000 pesos, without accruing interests, and the other one to Aldaco for 12,000 pesos with a five per cent interest rate. A member of the Cabildo, Fernando Ortiz, mentioned that the current condition of the treasury did not permit the payment of interest, and thus, volunteered to lend the 12,000 pesos amount without charging anything, which the Cabildo gladly accepted.<sup>38</sup>

Archival documents do not show clearly the outcome of this matter. What we know with certainty is that by April 6, 1745 royal officials approached the Cabildo to collect the king's 20,000 pesos. Despite efforts to secure that money the Cabildo only counted with the 8,000 pesos offered by Juan Meñaca (the 12,000 pesos offered by Fernando Ortiz do not appear in the acts at this point anymore.) The dean thus agreed to release a first payment of 10,000 pesos to the royal officials, for which he ordered the collection of the other 2,000 pesos—to include with Meñaca's contribution—from any internal funds still available. On April 23, however, royal officials returned to collect the second payment of 10,000 pesos, for which the Cabildo met again to discuss the appropriate course

---

<sup>37</sup> The *Jubileo Circular* (Circular Jubilee) was a ritual in which the Holy Sacrament was exposed in the monstrance for forty hours. Meñaca established an endowment in order to celebrate the ritual during the Corpus octave.

<sup>38</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 37, fol. 13v.

of action. The dean was informed that since it had been imperative to pay the complete first installment of 10,000 pesos to the king, it had been necessary to deplete the treasury completely, as well as to empty sources from other branches.<sup>39</sup>

The Cabildo was well aware of the imperative call that royal officials imposed on the collection of the crown's funds, and thus, the canons resorted to drastic measures involving funds from endowments for liturgical ceremonies to solve this debt. Earlier that year, Juan Meñaca had donated 9,000 pesos for the foundation of an anniversary to celebrate the *Jubileo Circular* (Circular Jubilee), a ritual venerating the exhibit of the Holy Sacrament as the most revered presence of the Body of Christ for forty hours during the octave of Corpus Christi. At the meeting of April 23 the dean asked the secretary if Meñaca had already arranged for the foundation of the *Jubileo Circular* by donating the proposed 9,000 pesos. The secretary responded that the official documents were almost finished and that the cathedral had the 9,000 pesos already, currently guarded by Manuel Roman, *mayordomo* of the cathedral. The dean then ordered the use of the 9,000 pesos principal of the jubilee endowment to pay the royal officials and to gather the

---

<sup>39</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 37, fol. 167r.



remaining 1,000 pesos from whatever internal sources might still exist in the cathedral at that point.<sup>40</sup>

But as if the empty state of resources did not seem severe enough for the Cabildo, the further actions of the *mayordomo* surely came to inflame what by now was a critical condition. On April 30, 1745 Fernando Ortiz announced to the Cabildo that, as it was agreed in the last meeting to use the 9,000 pesos from Meñaca's foundation to pay the royal officials, he had turned to the *mayordomo*, Manuel Roman, who, when asked to produce the above amount, was said to have spent it. Ortiz further noted that, in addition to the 9,000 pesos, Roman was also missing more than 9,000 gold pesos from the treasury and the office of anniversaries.

The Cabildo had been informed with anticipation about Roman's inadequate administration in 1741. On May 5 of that year, right in the middle of Roman's term, canon Luis Antonio de Torres pointed out that he had recognized the carelessness by the *mayordomo* in keeping track of payment vouchers and receipts, since for that fiscal year there were fifteen of such documents missing, which were needed to justify certain amounts. The canon added that in order to recognize the exact differences between what is owed to the treasury and the money still not collected it was imperative for Roman to have an organized

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

account of the above receipts and vouchers, otherwise this could lead to a detrimental situation for the *mayordomo*.<sup>41</sup>

By 1745 Roman's documents were in complete disarray, and as a result, he was missing money not only from the treasury, but also owed funds to the administrator of anniversaries for the celebration of endowed ceremonies. The acts of 1745 do not mention how Roman had spent the 9,000 pesos that Meñaca had donated for the foundation of the jubilee. The Cabildo was appalled by the news, since funds from the incoming collection of tithes for 1744 were already assigned to cover other expenses and the 9,000 pesos would have to be immediately recovered to pay the king. On April 30, 1745 Ortiz mentioned that if the Cabildo used funds from the incoming tithes to recover the 9,000 pesos, the treasury would most likely be declared in bankruptcy.<sup>42</sup>

To make matters worse, the dean was informed that *capellanes*, musicians, and the canons themselves were all requesting the payment of their salaries. The dean was also told that *capellanes* and musicians were in urgent need and that payments to them could not be neglected or deferred. The Cabildo struggled to decide the best course of action to cover this expense since the little money that

---

<sup>41</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 35, fol. 256r.

<sup>42</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 37, fol. 170v.

the treasury had accrued up to that point amounted to only 20,000 pesos, which were already destined to pay other debts.<sup>43</sup>

At the same meeting the dean was told that the *mayordomo* Manuel Roman, had been asked several times to present a report of all expenses paid and income collected by him in order to know the present condition of the treasury. For this Roman had allegedly used recurrent excuses not to appear before the Cabildo saying that he would do so the next day or that he was sick and unable to come to the cathedral. The secretary further mentioned that up to that point the archbishop was not aware of the current financial conditions and that something needed to be done before approaching him about the situation.<sup>44</sup> The dean thus ordered the Cabildo to reconvene at another meeting the next morning to inform the archbishop. He also ordered the canons to inform Manuel Roman that, without any excuses, he was expected to appear before the Cabildo the same day with a thorough financial report. But despite this order Roman did not appear, and upon informing the archbishop about the current financial state of the cathedral, the prelate ordered seizure of all financial records from the *mayordomo*, as well as the appointment of an official accountant to revise them.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> The dean was informed that, all in all, the treasury was expecting to receive a little over 20,000 pesos and that the cathedral owed 28,000 at that point. Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 37, fol. 201r.

Roman was relieved of his duties and the key to the chest of the treasury was taken from him by the *jueces hacedores* who asked the Cabildo to appoint another trustworthy person to count the incoming funds from that day forward.<sup>46</sup> In light of the events, the Cabildo ordered the *jueces hacedores* to remain in charge of accounting for the meantime and ordered that Roman was not to be allowed to either count any income or to be in possession of funds of any sort, although he was allowed to be present as an observer during the accounting process.<sup>47</sup>

The Cabildo immediately reconvened and ordered a thorough review of Roman's accounts and documents. The appointed accountant, former *mayordomo* Gracia, soon found himself lost in a pile of unorganized and incoherent records of incomes and expenditures pointing to Roman's incompetence. On October 8, 1745 Gracia mentioned that "the doubts and discords produced by the documents [were] very grave, in addition to the substantial lack of many of them."<sup>48</sup> As a result of the overwhelming debits from the treasury, Roman's possessions were immediately impounded by the royal assembly and this was followed by his incarceration.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 37, fol. 199r.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 37, fol. 247r.

<sup>49</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 35, fol. 232v.

## **Summary**

The disposition of the Cabildo to redirect funds destined for liturgical ceremonies to cover continuous debts underscores the ill economic condition of the treasury and the strained functioning of the cathedral in the observance of its religious duties. At this stage, and as will be illustrated in Chapter 5 with the Matins Offices for the week of Corpus Christi, it was not unusual for the canons to celebrate liturgical festivities without the necessary subsidy for their production. What is certain is that resources were scarce and all of the “solemnity and pomposity” required for the observance of religious ritual was without a doubt compromised.

The first half of the eighteenth century was certainly a hard economic period for the Cathedral of Mexico. Although it must be acknowledged that there was a brief period of partial recovery the overall scenario was that of continued deficit. The two first decades of the century saw the backlash of an increased recession that had carried its momentum from the seventeenth century. The prevailing devaluation of goods in agriculture was the first factor to diminish potential revenue from the collection of tithes essential to the cathedral’s economic growth. Without the assistance of the Spanish crown it was evident that the Cabildo would not have been able to account for the proper financing of religious practices. Moreover, the negligent administration of financial resources

beginning in the last part of the seventeenth century was a decisive blow that would dictate economic conditions for upcoming decades in the eighteenth century.

As Chapter 5 will show, the period of 1700-1725 was marked by continuous budget cuts and the reevaluation of expenditures, which included the salaries and special allocations for *capellanes* and musicians, individuals responsible for the celebration of rituals and ceremonies in the liturgical calendar. One of the first steps taken to minimize expenses was the immediate evaluation of the music chapel with the hope of dismissing those musicians who were either not very proficient in their voice or instrument, too old to perform, or who were simply not necessary during services. Furthermore, the Cabildo hoped to find individuals whose salary was substantial enough to be reduced.

At the Cabildo meeting of February 16, 1700 the *chantry* mentioned that it was not possible to apply any reforms to the chapel in regard to salaries, since some musicians received from 40 to 50 pesos a year, which was considered low enough. Others who received a better pay, the *chantry* continued, deserved to do so since there were no better musicians in the city.<sup>50</sup> Another member of the Cabildo supported the *chantry*'s evaluation and suggested keeping all of the current musicians and halting new hires for the chapel at that point, as well as

---

<sup>50</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 156v.

denying petitions for salary increases by musicians.<sup>51</sup> Chapter 5 will show the repeated refusal of petitions for salary increases, loans, vacancies for work and even dismissals during these two decades. In these circumstances, budgetary adjustments and the revision of projected expenses were partial measures taken by the Cabildo to alleviate the cathedral from economic stagnation.

The next two decades (1720-1740) brought a brief increase in resources, a consequence of newly applied internal economic reforms. By 1723 the steady capital growth of the cathedral was evident as shown by an increase in the total collection of tithes. It is in the acts of this period in which we begin to see again petitions for salary increases, loans, and even the new appointment of musicians to the music chapel. Here we find a more responsive Cabildo, although not overly generous, since the canons were still taking precautions regarding the expenditures of the church. Moreover, because of the bad experience with the last *mayordomo* of the seventeenth century, Antonio de Robles, the Cabildo took the precaution to amend the description of requirements and responsibilities for the appointment of a *mayordomo*. Among other things, the revised document stressed that the treasury should have four keys instead of three so that more people would

---

<sup>51</sup> Given the situation the Cabildo became more demanding in regard to discipline and attendance to the choir by musicians. The *chantre* instructed the chapel master that musicians had to thoroughly fulfill their obligations, sing properly during the Canonic Hours, attend choir on time, and that they would be dismissed from the cathedral after three absences. Ibid.

be needed to access funds.<sup>52</sup> This provision, however, was never enforced. In addition, the *Clavería*, an office created to supervise the transactions of the *mayordomo* along with the *jueces hacedores*, was instituted in 1741.

The five years between 1740-1745 was perhaps the hardest economic period for the cathedral during the second half of the eighteenth century. This was a consequence of further administrative incompetence and negligence. Although the unstable condition of the real estate market (illustrated in Chapter 5) might have been responsible for the diminished income from foundations and anniversaries for the celebration of religious festivities, it was the recurrent incapacity of the *mayordomo* which propelled the critical economic condition of the cathedral. And although archival documents from this period do not show a substantial decrease in working personnel involved in the celebration of religious feasts (i.e. *capellanes* and musicians) it is important to note that, since around 1738, when Manuel de Sumaya left his post as chapel master, the cathedral did not have that vacancy filled until 1749 with Ignacio Jerusalem.

As it has been shown thus far, the internal economy of the Cathedral of Mexico was less than favorable during the first half of the eighteenth century. Regardless of these conditions, the cathedral sought the consistent exercise of ritual and ceremony. But in spite of all the efforts by the Cabildo to continue

---

<sup>52</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 52, document 15, 4 folios.



religious activities the impact that the financial recession had on the celebration of liturgical feasts cannot be overemphasized. Chapter 5 will focus on the effects that the unstable condition of the treasury had on the celebration of religious ceremonies during the octave of Corpus Christi. Moreover, this upcoming chapter will illustrate how the deterioration of the local real estate economy jeopardized the investment of endowments from sponsored ceremonies, further hindering ritual practices in the first half of the eighteenth century.

## **Chapter 5**

### **The Economics of Ritual and Ceremony and its Impact on Religious Practices**

The eighteenth century was a time when Mexico City soared in its urban development and built the splendor of its colonial architecture. In almost every street of the *Centro Histórico* (downtown area) it is common to find nowadays the imposing magnificent buildings that were once the private residences of Neo-Hispanic aristocracy.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, by the year 1700 the majestic cathedral was finished and the choir had been completed as well.<sup>2</sup>

Attention to ritual and ceremony was by no means lacking in the eighteenth century. For special feasts such as Corpus Christi, Holy Week, and Christmas, the Cabildo paid for the composition of new music every year, arranged for the elaborate ornamentation of the nave, the construction of platforms for the performance of plays, and the cost of food for workers involved in these preparations. In addition, the canons allowed the release of supplementary payments for musicians at the cathedral and for the hiring of extras to perform in the music chapel during these special days, among other

---

<sup>1</sup> According to informative plaques on front doors or walls, some of these constructions were erected in the second half of the eighteenth century, and a good number of them after 1800.

<sup>2</sup> The cathedral was actually completed in 1697 according to its front plaque.

expenditures.<sup>3</sup> As one of the most important feasts in the liturgical calendar, the feast of Corpus Christi was a ceremony that encompassed this complexity of production. The Cabildo wanted a celebration that would rivet the full attention of the populace. To this end, the feast needed to be observed “with all pomposity, rejoice and solemnity.”<sup>4</sup>

The feast of Corpus Christi in New Spain was as much a religious as it was a civic celebration. It was an all-encompassing social event that brought together the participation of civil authorities, guilds of workers, confraternities, the nobility, and the military in the observance of religious rituals for this important occasion. These included the celebration of the Divine Office, Mass, anniversaries, a solemn procession, and other non-religious events. From as early as the sixteenth century we find testimony about the elaborate preparations for the Corpus Christi octave in which the city’s municipal government was also involved in the ornamentation, cleaning, and organization of festivities that took place in the streets.<sup>5</sup>

In early May the city government petitioned the surrogate towns to send people to the city to help with the construction of roofs made out of tree branches used on the streets to cover people from the sun during the Corpus procession, as

---

<sup>3</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 5, fol. 122v.

<sup>4</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 4, fol. 262v.

<sup>5</sup> Archivo General de la Nación, General de Parte, volume 3, document 144, April 4, 1557, fol. 67v.

well as arches made with flowers.<sup>6</sup> The streets were covered with sand and altars were placed outside the doors of convents and monasteries where the Holy Sacrament—a host exhibited inside the monstrance as the actual presence of the Body of Christ—would stop along the processional route for the singing of the antiphon *O quam suavis est Domine*, the hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi*, and other hymns contained in the processional used in the cathedral.<sup>7</sup>

Moreover, the city was usually in charge of financing the performance of regional dances, in addition to the lighting of fireworks during the eight days of the Corpus week.<sup>8</sup> The Cabildo also provided for the richest ornamentation available for the ceremony inside the cathedral to dress the walls and the altar.<sup>9</sup> Music was a fundamental element to elevate and exalt the ceremony, and thus, the Cabildo called for the performance of “music with all instruments and voices willing to attend the solemnity and celebration throughout the octave.” For this

---

<sup>6</sup> Archivo General de la Nación, General de Parte, volume 13, 1670-1675, fols. 10v, 93v, 127v; volume 15, 1674-1677, fols. 6r, 24v, 135v; volume 57, 1777, fol. 191v.

<sup>7</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Ordo, book 2, fol. 34r. For the processional book mentioned in the cited archival reference only one edition has been found at the cathedral’s archive, *Procesionario Totus Anni iusta consuetudinem almae Ecclesiae Hispalensis dispositum*, printed in Madrid in 1608. Although I was able to locate two volumes of this book both exemplars have been trimmed and rebound making it impossible to gather further editorial information.

<sup>8</sup> Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Ayuntamiento, index 1056-1071, book 1066, May 1694 through May 1696, fols. 1r-10r.

<sup>9</sup> “[The dean] stressed the importance to solemnify the feast of the Most Blessed Sacrament with the utmost pomposity possible by dressing the church with rich hangings, paintings, medals and other things on the walls and altar.” Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 5, fol. 122v.

occasion, the Cabildo named a person who was to pay the musicians from the music chapel and to hire willing performers from outside of the cathedral.<sup>10</sup>

During the Corpus octave the music chapel and the choir *capellanes* were involved in diverse ceremonies and rituals that included the Divine Office, Mass, the procession, the *Jubileo Circular* (Circular Jubilee, which consisted of the exposition and veneration of the Holy Sacrament), privately founded anniversaries, and the renovation Mass of the Holy Sacrament. Although the procession and jubilee were ceremonies strictly reserved for the veneration of the Body of Christ, the Divine Office, on the other hand, denoted a ritual that sometimes honored other saints during the week of Corpus Christi.

As one of the movable feasts of the liturgical calendar the celebration of the octave of Corpus Christi (which lasts eight days) occurs in different weeks each year during the months of May and June (see Chapter 1). Consequently, the eight days coincide with the celebration of different feasts for different saints that have fixed days in the calendar. Thus, other feasts that aligned with the Corpus octave could include saints like San Juan Bautista and San Pedro, as well as other Hispanic saints of local devotion like San Fernando. As explained in Chapter 1, the Divine Offices for the feasts of these saints were celebrated most likely as double class feasts, something observed even for saints whose feast was of lesser

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

category. There was also a private foundation that sponsored all Matins Offices during the octave, as I will discuss in further detail below. The celebration of requiem anniversaries for the souls of deceased patrons also featured rituals outside the Corpus liturgy in which a Vigils service and a requiem Mass were the most requested items in private foundations. However, not all requiem foundations included the singing of a Mass by the chapel; a great number of Masses of this type were spoken or recited rather than sung (see Chapter 3).<sup>11</sup>

During the second half of the eighteenth century, perhaps the most economically prosperous period in New Spain, numerous patrons contributed to the foundation of anniversaries not only for the sake of their own souls, but also for the celebration of specific and important feasts throughout the liturgical calendar. Even though foundations for requiem Masses and feasts for specific saints had been common throughout the seventeenth century these were not as abundant as in the eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup> The continued establishment of a noble and aristocratic society in the city, the solid establishment of the church not as a church of conquest and evangelization (as in the sixteenth century) but as a true

---

<sup>11</sup> There seems to have been a controversy among the Cabildo on whether requiem anniversaries should be celebrated as sung or spoken Masses during first class feasts. In this respect, acts from the Cabildo specifically state that anniversary requiem Masses could in fact be sung, even if they were to coincide with important feasts, an issue covered in detail in Chapter 3. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 212v.

<sup>12</sup> Alexander von Humboldt, *Ensayo Político sobre el Reino de la Nueva España*, no. 3, p. 167, in N. M. Farriss, *La Corona y el Clero en el México Colonial 1579-1821, la Crisis del Privilegio Eclesiástico*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1995, p. 146.

Neo-Hispanic Episcopate responding to the local demands and needs of its faithful congregation, and the enforcement of episcopal reform based less on the embrace of the Roman liturgy as on the preservation of local customs, these were factors that promoted the private sponsorship of ceremonies that in the end would ensure the practice of specific rituals for certain feasts in the liturgical calendar.

The foundation of anniversaries for liturgical feast days was definitely a financial boon for the Cabildo in securing the celebration of ceremonies that entailed a substantial expense for their production. And as one of the most social and publicly visible religious events, the octave of Corpus Christi was a feast that caught the favors of wealthy individuals concerned with the solemn observance of the Divine Office, the Circular Jubilee, the renovation Mass of the Holy Sacrament, and the music performed in these ceremonies during the week. Nevertheless, if it is true that the second half of the eighteenth century was perhaps the most economically affluent period in the history of New Spain it also must be emphasized that, for the Episcopate, the first fifty years of the *siglo de luces* (century of lights<sup>13</sup>) were marked by acute financial deficits and political tensions that invariably impacted the performance of religious practices at Mexico

---

<sup>13</sup> Juan Pedro Viqueira explains that the eighteenth century is called the “century of lights” due to the aesthetics of the Enlightenment that spread throughout New Spain during the 1700s, a phenomenon triggered by the rise of the House of Bourbon to the Spanish throne in 1700. Juan Pedro Viqueira Albán, *Relajados o Reprimidos: Diversiones Públicas y Vida Social en la Ciudad de México durante el Siglo de Luces*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1987.

City Cathedral. As I will show, the individuals who were immediately affected belonged to the music chapel and the choir *capellanes*. In effect, it was during this time that the grandeur of ritual performance—not only for the week of Corpus Christi, but also for other feasts in the liturgical calendar—became jeopardized.

### **I. Economic Impact on the Music Chapel and the *Capellanes*: 1700-1720**

As explained in Chapter 4, at the turn of the eighteenth century the treasury of the Cathedral of Mexico went through an economic recession. This was partly a result of financial mismanagement by a negligent *mayordomo*, but equally so a consequence of the devaluation of agricultural products at the end of the seventeenth century which brought a reduction of income from tithes. The effects of a stagnant economy were soon felt at different levels in the cathedral and had a definite impact on religious activities. The musicians of the chapel and the *capellanes*, individuals appointed by the Cabildo and in part responsible for the celebration of rituals and ceremonies, were the first to experience the economic recession.

As explained in Chapter 2, the *capellanes* were assigned above all else to sing in the choir during the Divine Office. Officially, the founding act of the cathedral from the sixteenth century established a number of six. A private foundation established in the seventeenth century by Alvaro de Lorenzana had



donated to the Cabildo the amount of 36,000 gold pesos as principal to be invested in real estate. The interest generated was to guarantee the founding of eight additional choir positions (*capellanías*) for the observance of the Divine Office. These endowed positions, known as the *Capellanías de Lorenzana*, helped not only to secure an enlarged choir but also marked the first effort to increase the participation of New Spain natives in religious practices. They also encouraged aspiring *capellanes* to serve at the cathedral in the lowest ecclesiastical ranks, a prime requisite for being considered for one of these *capellanías* which were loftier positions within the church hierarchy.

Nevertheless, the economic recession soon affected the investment of the endowment financing the Lorenzana positions, and by 1691 salaries for the *capellanías* stopped. In a letter from December 11, 1691 the *capellanes* complained to the Cabildo that they had not received any payments for the past three years, were in extreme need, and asked for charity until their salaries were released.<sup>14</sup> Poor conditions persisted into the eighteenth century and the *capellanes* continued their work without receiving salaries. In 1700, they were forced to petition the Cabildo once again for a charity donation. In a Cabildo meeting that took place on June 18, 1700 the dean agreed on the necessity to release funds to the *capellanes*. The *chanfre* (the individual in charge with leading

---

<sup>14</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, box 23, document 2, 1 folio.

the choir by showing the proper intonation of plainchant melodies) further mentioned that, although the dispensed charities were just and needed, the farms on which the principal of the Lorenzana foundation was invested were in very bad condition and it was likely that the property would be lost in less than a year.

As illustrated in Chapter 4, the actions of the *mayordomo* Antonio Robles and the poor collection of tithes between 1699 and 1700, due to the fall in the price of seeds, appear to have put the treasury in a situation that did not allow for the proper compensation of the *capellanes*. But perhaps more important was the lack of profits from these farms what ultimately affected the choir singers. The reduced interest revenue gathered from the Lorenzana endowment's principal during the first half of the eighteenth century forced the canons to reduce the annual salary of the eight *capellanes* from 200 to 175 pesos to each individual.<sup>15</sup> But even with the reduced salaries the canons were not able to collect promptly the interests from their investments every year, and therefore, payment of salaries was seriously delayed. Moreover, the canons were not sure if the endowment would be able to lend any further support to all eight *capellanías*.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, on June 18, 1700 the Cabildo mandated that from then on all individuals aspiring to a *capellanía* should be able to look after their needs with

---

<sup>15</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 32, fol. 206v.

<sup>16</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 202v.

just the reduced salary that the foundation could offer at that time in order to avoid further charities to the *capellanes*.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the canons suppressed two of the eight *capellanías*, since salaries for all positions were not guaranteed. On June 18, 1700 two such positions were vacant and the canons were pondering whether to open a call for applicants or to suspend them.<sup>18</sup> What is certain is that by 1735 two such posts had been closed.<sup>19</sup> If it is true that the *Capellanías de Lorenzana* were conceived as an incentive for young clerics to hold an episcopal post with a guaranteed income, it should also be stressed that the recession of the first two decades of the eighteenth century eroded the appeal of those positions. By 1720 it was common for the canons to receive petitions from *capellanes* that requested a switch from a *Capellanía de Lorenzana* to a *Capellanía de Erección*, which seemed to be more financially stable.<sup>20</sup>

By the turn of the eighteenth century the economy of the cathedral had been aggravated to the point that the Cabildo was forced to take strict measures in the supervision of continued debits derived from salaries paid to the cathedral's workers. Along with the *capellanes*, the music chapel was one of the first groups that attempted to deal with the consequences of the cathedral's financial reforms. One new measure called for the evaluation of all musicians with the aim of

---

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 33, fol. 74r.

<sup>20</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Edictos, box 2, document 21, 1 folio.

dismissing a few or cutting back on the salaries of others. In 1700, the music chapel had just the necessary individuals for the celebration of ceremonies and their salaries were just a little shy of fair, as attested by the chapel master, Antonio de Salazar.<sup>21</sup>

Due to the recession during the first decades of the eighteenth century, members of the Cabildo made sure that all musicians, and the chapel master himself, complied with all of their assigned duties, and did not miss an opportunity to hold payments when things did not proceed as they expected. On December 10, 1700 Antonio de Salazar had requested a salary increase, since his 500 pesos a year proved insufficient to cover his needs. The Cabildo responded that at that point the treasury had a deficit of more than 40,000 gold pesos, and thus, could not be so generous as to appoint a proper raise for the chapel master. However, the canons added, the work at the *escoleta* (the music school for the choirboys) was in need of assistance, and the task was challenging enough to

---

<sup>21</sup> Even though payment records of the treasury from 1687 only mention twelve members for the music chapel, we can speculate that these names refer only to singers. A later document from Antonio de Salazar to the Cabildo evaluating all musicians first cites fifteen names corresponding to singers performing polyphonic music in the choir. In all, the music chapel of 1709 had 25 musicians. The standard starting salary for an instrumental musician or *ministril* ranged from 40 to 50 pesos a year, depending on his ability, and would not go above 200 pesos. In 1688 Antonio de Salazar was appointed as chapel master with 500 pesos a year, in addition to other extra amounts paid for special tasks, like teaching the boys at the *escoleta* or composing *villancicos* for a specific festivity. If compared with the salaries of the music chapel at the end of the eighteenth century, in which payments could average 250 pesos with a 1,500 pesos salary for the chapel master (Antonio Juanas), we see that the disparity in numbers is rather substantial. Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, box 1, document 4, 1687; also Correspondencia, box 23, document 2, September, 28, 1688, and November 22, 1709.

deserve a decent salary for that activity alone. Therefore, the Cabildo agreed to release 200 pesos to Salazar with the condition that he had to teach at least three choirboys.<sup>22</sup> In spite of the agreement Salazar felt it necessary to earn more income and asked for a further 20 pesos increase. On 1712, however, the *chantré* was in close supervision of Salazar, who allegedly did not pay proper attention to the *escoleta*, and therefore, the Cabildo resolved not only to deny the 20 pesos raise but also to cut back the 200 pesos previously assigned to the chapel master.<sup>23</sup> Salazar appealed the decision mentioning that when he was not able to teach at the *escoleta*, due to illness or “some other reason,” he taught the boys at his house, and when it was not possible for him to do so he asked one of his pupils, Manuel de Sumaya, to cover for him by paying him 50 pesos.<sup>24</sup> After much debate the Cabildo agreed to reappoint Salazar’s 200 pesos.<sup>25</sup>

The close scrutiny of the Cabildo looking for opportunities to save even the smallest amount further included the revision of private donations for feasts, anniversaries and positions for choir singers (*capellanías*). The endowment sponsoring the Matins Office of San Pedro—which sometimes occurred during the octave of Corpus Christi—allowed for the release of 10 pesos to the chapel master for the composition of *villancicos* for this occasion. The tight economic

---

<sup>22</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 239v.

<sup>23</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 51v.

<sup>24</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 57r.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

situation forced the Cabildo to reconsider expenses and informed Antonio de Salazar that, since all *villancicos* composed by him were printed every year, and the printing of copies had stopped some years back, he was to stop receiving that money. The Cabildo further commissioned the *chantre* to revise the foundation document for this feast and others similar to it to enforce appropriate reforms in future spending.<sup>26</sup> Salazar appealed the decision and argued that the 10 pesos were allocated by the foundation of the feast to cover the sole composition of the *villancicos* and did not account for any paper, ink, or labor necessary to make the printed copies. An inspection of the foundation document (see Chapter 3) makes it evident that Salazar was correct in his statement. Therefore, the Cabildo had to reevaluate its rationale once again and overturn its decision by ultimately giving the 10 pesos back to Salazar.<sup>27</sup>

The lamentable condition of the treasury had forced the canons to make cuts on every possible expense, including the salaries of workers, and in order to be effective, the strict economic reforms had to be extended to all musicians in the chapel as well. As mentioned at the end of Chapter 4, on February 16, 1700 the Cabildo attempted to apply reforms to the personnel of the music chapel with the hope of cutting back excessive salaries or dismissing incompetent musicians. The

---

<sup>26</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 62v.

<sup>27</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 63v.

*chantre* made clear that reforms to the chapel were unnecessary at that point. However, with their assigned salaries being so low, musicians also had needs of their own which they attempted to cover. On several occasions more than a handful of *ministriles* approached the Cabildo for a salary increase, a loan, or charity only to be turned away. And as much as the Cabildo felt an obligation to help the musicians of the cathedral, the treasury was not strong enough to cover that burden.<sup>28</sup> During 1700 economic restrictions forced the Cabildo either to give small raises through other channels that did not affect the treasury or simply to deny any requests. On May 14, for example, Juan Domingo Castañeda was granted a small raise that came directly from the dean's private funds so as "not to aggravate the treasury."<sup>29</sup>

The cathedral also had to stop providing loans to musicians and other patrons, funds that came directly from the treasury. This is important to consider, since the Cabildo usually required that every individual present a co-signer in case the borrower defaulted on the loan, thus securing the treasury's funds.<sup>30</sup> On June 18, 1700 the organist Juan Esquivel was denied his request for a loan for the

---

<sup>28</sup> At a Cabildo meeting on May 25, 1700 the *chantre* mentioned that, given their salaries, he felt necessary that the treasury should make the effort to help the musicians of the cathedral. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 195r.

<sup>29</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 187v.

<sup>30</sup> On May 25, 1700 the dean ordered that all petitions for loans were not to be admitted anymore since he had not experienced so many petitions of this kind before and the Cabildo did not want to perpetuate this as a habit. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 195r.

second time, since the dean thought that this would mean opening the door for all musicians to request loans or salary supplements, something that had never happened before, according to him. Thus, the dean ordered the denial of this petition as well as future ones from that point on.<sup>31</sup> In this way, the dean announced on December 10, 1700 that the Cabildo would no longer accept petitions for either loans or salary increases.<sup>32</sup>

Alternate means to meet the needs of musicians were achieved to a certain extent by dividing the salaries of older musicians who had died or were of advanced age. On February 16, 1700 the organist Juan Téllez, for example, petitioned to have 50 pesos assigned to him officially out of the salary of Francisco Orsuchil, the oldest organist of the cathedral, for whom Téllez had been covering rituals and ceremonies for some time. But the Cabildo denied the petition and called a meeting to decide whether or not Orsuchil should retire.<sup>33</sup> It is important to note, first of all, that the Cabildo discouraged official retirement among musicians in order to avoid retirement payments. This represented a potential burden, for not only would the canons be accountable for paying retiring musicians, but they also had to look for means to hire new musicians for the chapel. On February 19, 1700 the Cabildo met to decide on the possible

---

<sup>31</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 203r.

<sup>32</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 239v.

<sup>33</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 154r.



retirement of the elder organist Francisco Orsuchil who had served the cathedral for 40 years and was too old to assist in ceremonies. The canons decided that retirement was perhaps not the best course of action since other musicians would take notice and would want to retire as well. For this reason the Cabildo decided on February 19, 1700 that it was more convenient to continue paying Orsuchil his salary of 240 pesos, saying that if he could not attend services due to his age it would pass unnoticed without a problem.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, Orsuchil died months later, and on October 22 the Cabildo then agreed to distribute his salary among the other organists.<sup>35</sup>

The dismissal of unnecessary individuals was also a channel that did not pass unnoticed by the Cabildo. On March 9, 1700, Joseph Tovar, who was a choir assistant, wrote a petition for a salary increase, as he had only 50 pesos allocated and these were insufficient for his needs. After hearing the petition the dean asked the secretary about that individual and what position he had in the choir. The secretary responded that he was a mere assistant in hope of some day being appointed to a vacancy in the music chapel. To this the dean replied that this was “a good reform,” since there was no need to have any such assistants in the choir.

---

<sup>34</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 155r.

<sup>35</sup> The organists were Juan Iríaquez, Juan Téllez, Manuel de Sumaya, Juan Esquivel, and Diego Dallo. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 235r.

Therefore, the dean rescinded the 50 pesos assigned as salary and Joseph Tovar was told to no longer attend the choir from that point on.<sup>36</sup>

Financial petitions from the music chapel continued throughout the first two decades of the eighteenth century. And due to the condition of the treasury not only were increases denied, but new admissions to the chapel were also suspended in the hope of increasing internal funds.<sup>37</sup> Toward this end, the Cabildo asked its accountant in 1711 to revise the list of members of the music chapel and to note particularly those who had died, along with their salaries.<sup>38</sup> By 1712 the deteriorating situation prompted the Cabildo to ask the accountant once again to evaluate the musicians of the chapel and their salaries.

In a meeting on April 18, after the accountant had informed the Cabildo of the current salaries, hired musicians, and vacancies of the chapel, the canons called for the chapel master, Antonio de Salazar, and asked him if all of the current musicians were strictly necessary for the celebration of ceremonies. Their hope was to lay off those who were not proficient enough on their instrument. But Salazar responded that, at that point, all of the musicians were just right for the cathedral's needs, and after such testimony it was agreed that no reforms to the chapel were to be applied by dismissing anyone.<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile, all inquiries for

---

<sup>36</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 160r.

<sup>37</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 30v.

<sup>38</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 26r.

<sup>39</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 51r.

salary supplements were still being denied, as happened to Juan Téllez and Manuel de Sumaya, both of whom requested a salary increase on February 11, and to Antonio Pérez de Ribera who did the same on July 15.<sup>40</sup>

By the 1720s the gross income from tithes was beginning to increase and the treasury went through a stage of partial recovery. Nevertheless, the internal economy of the cathedral had yet to stabilize and the Cabildo continued to control expenditures jealously. A closed-door policy was still being applied to admissions as well as salary increases for the music chapel.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, the Cabildo kept a watchful eye, always looking for musicians who could be dismissed or vacancies that could be closed. Moreover, the canons kept tight control of salaries perceived by all member of the chapel as to account precisely for every peso withdrawn from the treasury. For the canons this was important, since unexpected debits were likely to occur from the small loans and petty increases granted under extraordinary circumstances to musicians, all of which could hurt the treasury.<sup>42</sup> During the third decade of the eighteenth century the *capellanes* experienced a dim sense of improvement. By 1730 the salaries of the *Capellanías de Lorenzana*

---

<sup>40</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, February 11, 1712, fol. 146r; and July 15, 1712, fol. 182r.

<sup>41</sup> At this point we still encounter documents mentioning musicians asking to be appointed to the cathedral's music chapel, like in the case of the violinist Benito Martino, who was rejected. Also, petitions for money, as small as the amounts might have been, were also rejected. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 29, March 4, 1721, fol. 456r; and book 30, June 19, 1722, fol. 31r.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

were brought back to 200 pesos a year for each individual,<sup>43</sup> and by 1735 the Cabildo expected to re-open the two *capellanías* that had been previously closed.<sup>44</sup>

The financial struggles of the cathedral and the efforts of the Cabildo to keep up with the exercise of religious activities invariably had their impact on the very people responsible for the practice of celebrations, and in this way, liturgical ceremonies were invariably affected by the prevailing economic conditions. The major reforms and strict new regulations of the Cabildo were measures that proved to be of extreme necessity. This was especially true during a time when it was crucial to maximize internal resources in order to curb, as much as possible, the deterioration of ritual practices at the cathedral.

## **II. Economic Impact on Religious Festivities: Corpus Christi Ceremonies**

In addition to deteriorating economic conditions, internal politics further complicated efforts to secure funds for ritual practices. Two ceremonies held during the octave of Corpus Christi are especially revealing in this regard. The feast of Corpus Christi was not just an important Catholic day of obligation, it was also an opportunity for prominent institutions—the royal assembly (the

---

<sup>43</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 32, fol. 206v.

<sup>44</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 33, fol. 74r.

governing entity in New Spain), confraternities, guilds, the nobility, the regular clergy and the Cabildo of the cathedral itself—to compete publicly with one another as they sought to assert their social and political status. It was during the processions and celebrations on special days in the liturgical calendar that the struggle among such institutions to maintain their status as politically affluent and thus socially prominent entities was most evident. By becoming a major financial sponsor of the rituals and ceremonies observed during the feast of Corpus Christi, one of the most important social events in New Spain, a patron was not merely making a testimony of veneration and devoted piety but acquiring or consolidating a position of prestige and distinction in Neo-Hispanic society.

As socially popular as this feast was, the Corpus feast never received so much attention at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico as it did in 1710. On December 16, 1710 the Cabildo of the cathedral received a private endowment to cover the cost of celebrating the Matins Office throughout the entire octave. On that day, a member of the Cabildo named Costela is recorded to have met an individual, Francisco Orozco, who was interested in donating 20,000 gold pesos. This sum, invested in real estate, would produce 1,000 pesos a year, which would be sufficient to finance each of the eight days of the Corpus octave.<sup>45</sup> The

---

<sup>45</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 22v.

Cabildo promptly accepted the foundation and thanked Francisco Orozco for his devotion and veneration of the Holy Sacrament.

Orozco's foundation is of deep historical significance since the main purpose of the foundation was to fund all Matins Offices during the octave of Corpus Christi every year. As seen in Chapter 1, this would include coincidental feasts of saints outside of the Corpus liturgy but which were nonetheless important. Clauses in the foundation document thus called for the compilation of all Matins Offices for the saints that could occur during the octave.<sup>46</sup> This, in turn, called for the production of new chantbooks for the choir that would be used exclusively during the week of Corpus Christi.

Following the acceptance of the endowment, Costela mentioned on January 13, 1711 that, since the Matins Offices of the Corpus octave were to be celebrated as specified in the documents tied to Orozco's donation, the Cabildo should notify the chapel master—Antonio de Salazar—to gather and organize all plainchant melodies for the Matins Offices of all saints that coincided with the octave that year, and consequently, that the same be done in all subsequent years.<sup>47</sup> By April 14, 1711, Salazar presented the music he deemed appropriate to

---

<sup>46</sup> To date, I have not been able to find the legal document for the foundation of the Matins Offices of Corpus Christi at any archival repository. However, Cabildo acts suggest that the foundation may have required specific guidelines for the gathering of the Matins Offices, as will be explained.

<sup>47</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 28v.

the Cabildo. But instead of plainchant for the Matins Offices, he presented polyphonic motets and *villancicos*.

Salazar's compilation of music seems to have contradicted the terms of Orozco's foundation for the celebration of the octave. On June 23, 1711, the Cabildo received notice that no funds were to be given to the cathedral since the Matins Offices were not celebrated according to Francisco Orozco's stipulations.<sup>48</sup> In the same meeting it was determined that the foundation documents should be sent to the administrator of anniversaries, Gerónimo de Zárate, in order to determine the definite guidelines. The following year, on February 19, Costela presented to the Cabildo the official foundation document for the Corpus Matins Offices. On April 26 Costela further mentioned that Antonio de Salazar had been commissioned to gather the Matins Offices of all saints that could occur during the octave. With the needed clarification in hand, the Cabildo this time oversaw the compilation of music to make sure it complied with Orozco's conditions.<sup>49</sup>

Nevertheless, Orozco was in no mood to make any donation for the Corpus Matins in 1712, since according to Costela, Antonio de Salazar had failed to gather the Matins of all saints that happened in the octave that year, in spite of

---

<sup>48</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 62r.

<sup>49</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 163v.

having been told to do so the year before.<sup>50</sup> In order to secure the funds for the celebration of the Corpus Matins in 1712 the Cabildo acted promptly, and just days before the feast Joseph Pérez de Guzmán had produced the Matins Office of San Fernando, the only saint that occurred during the octave that year.<sup>51</sup> Pérez de Guzmán assured the Cabildo that he would continue doing the same with the offices of saints that coincided with the Corpus octave in the coming years in order to put them “in one single book made of parchment,” for which he was given an initial payment of 50 pesos.<sup>52</sup>

With some exceptions, most feasts for saints that occur during May and June in the Roman breviary use the Common offices, that is, the Common of Apostles, Common of Martyrs, Common of Confessors, Common of Virgins, and Common of non-Virgins. Therefore, the set of books that the Cabildo was to make for the Corpus octave included not only the Matins Office of Corpus Christi but also the Matins Offices just mentioned, as explained in detail in Chapter 1. The Cabildo commissioned two men—Costela and another individual named Cabañas—to notify the chapel master, Antonio de Salazar, that he had two months to write the plainchant melodies for the required Common offices. In the event that Salazar did not comply, Costela and Cabañas were given authority to

---

<sup>50</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 165r.

<sup>51</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 166v.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.



look for another person to complete the work, for which the payment was to be discounted from Salazar's salary.<sup>53</sup>

As illustrated by the case of Francisco Orozco, the foundation of anniversaries by a private donor was no simple matter. Then as now, patrons had very specific guidelines under which a donation could be made. Also, before a foundation was accepted by the cathedral, a majority of the members of the Cabildo had to be in agreement with these guidelines. Furthermore, if the specific guidelines stipulated in the foundation document were not observed during the celebration of a given feast, the cathedral ran the risk of losing the patron's favor, in which case, no funds were given to the Cabildo.

The foundation of the *Jubileo Circular*, a ritual that ensured the veneration and exhibition of the Holy Sacrament for forty hours during the Corpus octave, is another example of the complexities involved in the foundation process. The private foundation of the Corpus Matins Offices during the second decade of the eighteenth century caught the attention of individuals who sought to enhance the solemnity and importance of rituals during the Corpus Christi festivities as they raised their public profiles.

In 1745 the Cabildo received information that Don Juan Etanislao de Meñaca, a member of the Cabildo, had agreed to make a foundation with 9,000

---

<sup>53</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 167r.

gold pesos for the observance of the Circular Jubilee. Meñaca officially made his intentions known to the Cabildo on April 13, 1745 and all canons present at the meeting accepted the offer. On April 30, however, a member of the Cabildo said that official voting to accept Meñaca's endowment had not taken place according to Cabildo regulations, since only the dean and a few individuals were present during the session, and thus, a majority vote was not given. Moreover, it was stated that during the session Meñaca himself was present when voting took place and this was against Cabildo rules. In light of this statement the dean called for a new vote, but it took almost a year for the Cabildo to reconvene on the matter.

Why the delay? An act from March 17, 1746 shows that there were further interests involved in the distribution of the revenue generated by the 9,000 pesos among the canons. The Matins Offices during the octave of Corpus Christi required the singing of the *capellanes*—both *de Erección* and from the Lorenzana foundation—who were entitled to a especially allocated amount for their performance in the choir during this ritual. In Meñaca's stipulations for the ritual of the jubilee, however, no provisions were considered for those choir singers. The members of the Cabildo pointed out that since the *capellanes* were the ones doing most of the work during the Office, it was necessary to acknowledge them with an appropriate allocation, as it had been done with the Matins Offices for the Corpus octave. Moreover, the Cabildo maintained that, in order to welcome

Meñaca's foundation, it was necessary to observe the jubilee ritual at two different times: once during Matins and next when the Holy Sacrament was deposited *in custodia*. The funds from the foundation would thus be allocated in two parts: one for the choir singers who attended Matins and the other for the ones who attended during the deposit of the Sacrament. In this way, payments from the foundation were not given exclusively to the *capellanes* singing Matins. The dean was prompted by all members of the Cabildo to meet with Meñaca and adjust the documents of the foundation to include these new provisions, if the anniversary was to be accepted by the cathedral.<sup>54</sup>

Other endowments that were important for celebrating the Corpus octave included a foundation by archbishop Don Juan de la Serna of 1,800 gold pesos that generated an annual profit of 90 pesos. This income was applied to festivities during the octave in which all musicians from the cathedral's music chapel were to perform and sing. Also, the civil government of Mexico City donated an annual amount of 100 gold pesos to be distributed among the musicians of the chapel who attended throughout the octave to perform in the choir, each day from the time when the procession ended until noon (see Chapters 2 and 3). This donation was made in order to stop the performance of the Indian dances that usually took place during this time:

---

<sup>54</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 38, fol. 59v.

The Dean mentioned that the Noble City had requested the musicians from the chapel to perform and sing after Mass throughout the Corpus octave instead of the habitual dances of Moctezuma, which had caused some indecencies and lack of decorum for the Holy Sacrament.<sup>55</sup>

Unlike the controversial Meñaca endowment, these donations did not meet with any major conflict among Cabildo members. There is no doubt that the establishment of foundations was important to gather funds for the celebration of ceremonies. In this respect, private donations secured the payment of things as basic as incense and as significant as complementary payments to the salaries of *capellanes* and musicians from the chapel in charge of performing motets, hymns, antiphons, responsories and *villancicos* for different ceremonies.

The ritual of Corpus Christi celebrated at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico during the eighteenth century was sensitive to the influx of capital acquired by the Cabildo that could ensure the continued celebration of liturgical ceremonies. And although smaller foundations existed to sponsor the expense of basic items like wax and candles, it was foundations like those of Francisco Orozco, Juan de Meñaca, Juan de la Serna and the city government that ensured the most essential items for the feast of Corpus Christi, that is, the singing of the choir and the performance of the music chapel. As the backbone of any liturgical feast in New Spain, the performance of the music chapel and the choir *capellanes*

---

<sup>55</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 37, fol. 40v; see also Ordo, book 2, fol. 87v.

ensured the proper and solemn celebration of the Divine Office and Mass, as well as the playing and singing of antiphons, hymns and *villancicos* during the general procession. No less important, however, the donations by different patrons helped ensure their visibility and stature in the competitive social environment that surfaced during the octave of Corpus Christi.

### **III. Further Impact on Foundations and Anniversaries: 1720s-1740s**

The economic crisis that hit the Cathedral of Mexico during the first half of the eighteenth century further affected the allocation of private funds for the celebration of festivities during the week of Corpus Christi. Even though the period of 1720-1740 saw the partial recovery of the treasury, the Cabildo had yet to experience the lowest point in internal deficit. As by-product of the negligent mismanagement of finances by the *mayordomo*, the first fifty years of the eighteenth century were perhaps the hardest in the Cabildo's history. And this is something that was reflected by curtailing practices of ritual and ceremony at the Neo-Hispanic cathedral.

The effects on religious rituals were evident right from the beginning of the eighteenth century. As mentioned before, the Cabildo attempted to avoid any expenditures coming from the treasury's funds for any circumstances, regardless of importance. On August 3, 1700, for example, for the anniversary of the feast of

San Hipólito, one of the most important feast days in the city, the Cabildo decided that all expenses should be subtracted from the gross collection of tithes, since the office of foundations and anniversaries already owed a substantial amount of funds to the treasury.<sup>56</sup> Apparently, investments in real estate in the first half of the eighteenth century were not producing enough capital to cover the expense of religious ceremonies. But this was not the case with all religious celebrations. The foundation of the Matins Office for the feast of San Pedro, for example, enjoyed a consistent income from the Cabildo's investment in houses. Due to this income the *mayordomo* had 300 pesos available every year for the singing of Matins and fireworks at night.<sup>57</sup> It seems that the festivity of San Pedro only suffered the loss of the printed *villancicos*. As mentioned above, the chapel master was usually allocated 10 pesos, according to the foundation documents, to pay for these pieces. By 1711 the *villancicos* were not being printed anymore, and since the Cabildo agreed to keep paying the chapel master 10 pesos to cover solely the cost

---

<sup>56</sup> The feast of San Hipólito was celebrated on August 13, and it was the day that commemorated the take over of Mexico City by Hernán Cortés and his defeat of the Aztecs. Due to the massacre on the Spanish side and to honor fallen soldiers the king ordered that day to be celebrated as the anniversary of the city, for which this became a very important local festivity. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 220v.

<sup>57</sup> Of the 300 pesos 200 were destined for the *capellanes* and musicians who performed at Matins and 100 pesos for the fireworks. The books of payments from the treasury show that this anniversary was celebrated without financial problems from 1717 until 1749. Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, book 3, June 17, 1717, fol. 2v, and June 11, 1718, fol. 5v; see also book 6, June 28, 1749, without folio number.

of composition it is possible that the treasury financed the printing up to that year.<sup>58</sup>

The situation was perhaps more severe for other ceremonies that received forced cuts in funds for their production. If, on the one hand, the economy had reached a stable point during the third decade of the eighteenth century, on the other, it was surely not improving. Important celebrations close to the Corpus Christi octave suffered cuts, and salaries for *capellanes* were also reduced by half. In 1722 the accountant at the cathedral informed the Cabildo that the houses in which the funds for the feasts of the Holy Trinity and the Conception of the Virgin were invested had a delayed debt to the treasury. The cathedral had spent 600 pesos on the renovation and redecoration of these properties, and since there had not been patrons interested in renting them the above amount had not yet been recovered.

Therefore, the Cabildo decided to proceed with the observance of both celebrations by taking from the foundation funds only half of the usual amount. By doing this for two consecutive years, the canons argued, the 600 pesos would be recovered and the treasury would not suffer further losses. Moreover, the Cabildo decreed paying the *capellanes* half the usual amount for singing the Divine Office, and the musicians were expected to perform as part of their duties,

---

<sup>58</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 63v.

for which they had assigned yearly salaries, since the respective foundations did not mention any extra payment for the music chapel.<sup>59</sup> Other important celebrations were in the same circumstances, like the feast of San José, which had also a founded anniversary invested in real estate. The investment had been suffering losses through the first two decades of the eighteenth century, and on October 20, 1722 the Cabildo debated on whether there should be a sermon during the Mass for the saint or not. It seems that the endowment had only produced 11 pesos that year, and therefore, the canons decided to carry out the celebration as stipulated by the foundation document, giving 10 pesos to the celebrating priest and saving the extra coin in the treasury, which much needed it.<sup>60</sup>

But the octave of Corpus Christi suffered a more severe impact. As mentioned above, some ceremonies for the octave caught the favor of wealthy patrons who donated funds for the foundation of important anniversaries like the Matins Offices for the whole week, the observance of the Circular Jubilee, and the perpetual celebration of the renovation Masses of the Holy Sacrament (as mentioned in Chapter 3, these Masses were funded to be celebrated not only during the Corpus octave but every Thursday throughout the year.) Nevertheless,

---

<sup>59</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 30, fol. 26r.

<sup>60</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 30, fol. 55r.



the unstable economic situation and the increased debt deriving from further poor financial management during the 1740s (see Chapter 4), in addition to legal problems, caused the loss of funds assigned for the festivities and ceremonies of the octave, thus jeopardizing the ritual of the feast.

As illustrated above, an individual named Francisco Orozco had approached the Cabildo in 1710 with the intention of donating funds for the celebration of all Matins Offices during the week of Corpus Christi. However, by 1712 the Cabildo had not yet received the donation, since the celebrations were not observed as the patron stipulated, despite the efforts of the canons to comply. At this point no document has been located to show with certainty when the foundation was finally made. What is certain is that by 1720 the 20,000 pesos endowment had been lost. Allegedly, the Cabildo had invested the endowment in an *ingenio* that became the source of some type of litigation that went unresolved for several years.<sup>61</sup>

It is not known for what type of function the *ingenio* was used or the parties involved in the litigation process. It is known, however, that the cathedral had been involved before in litigations on the account of property which was also claimed by a second party, most often a convent from the regular clergy or a parish. In 1697, for example, the administrator of anniversaries appealed to the

---

<sup>61</sup> An *ingenio* was usually an *hacienda* or ranch with equipment to process and produce a specific product, like sugar cane, wheat or cotton, for example.

royal assembly, since priests from the nearby parish of Santa Cathalina Martir were claiming the property of one house that belonged to the cathedral. As was customary, the royal assembly mandated that all profits and benefits produced by that property were to be stopped at once until the conflict was resolved.

Apparently, the clerics from the parish argued that a donation for an anniversary to be celebrated at their parish had been invested in that house, which according to the priests, had been paying rent to the parish for a few years until then. The administrator of the cathedral argued that such house had been the property of the cathedral from an earlier time, when an individual named García de la Vega had founded a piety endowment, investing the funds in the alleged house on October 29, 1619. After much revision of the documents presented by both parties, the royal assembly ruled in favor of the cathedral, which proved to have older rights over the property, after which all revenue was redirected to the Cabildo.<sup>62</sup>

It is not known the nature of the dispute over the *ingenio* for the Corpus Matins. In any case, we know with certainty that the problem was not resolved immediately. On May 28, 1720 the dean asked the Cabildo to vote on whether or not the Matins Offices for the octave of Corpus Christi should be celebrated at all that year, since the funds were involved in litigation and the celebration had not received any payment the year before either. The canons agreed to celebrate

---

<sup>62</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 19, document 59, 9 folios.

Matins as usual and to continue the litigation until the funds were recovered.<sup>63</sup>

How the Matins Offices were celebrated without the anniversary funds is not described in the act. Two years later, nonetheless, we have notice of a possible procedure. It was clear at this point that the litigation was going to be a long process and funds would likely be on hold for quite a long time. The festivity of the octave of Corpus Christi, on the other hand, was too important a ceremony to just dismiss the event. On May 26, 1722 the dean informed the Cabildo of the situation and said that the Corpus Matins Offices would be celebrated and observed by those canons who voluntarily wanted to attend. Since there were no funds to pay the *capellanes* to sing in the choir he called on all clerics to attend on a voluntary basis, but those who could not attend were not forced to do so.<sup>64</sup>

It seems that this would become the standard procedure for the observance of the Corpus Matins ritual, since all throughout the second half of the eighteenth century we do not find a document mentioning the recovery of the foundation principal. Furthermore, acts from the 1740s still attest voluntary attendance to celebrate Matins during the octave. In these documents the dean mentioned that even though the foundation principal seemed to be lost by that time, he was “pleased to see how ceremonies were celebrated with all solemnity and propriety,

---

<sup>63</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 29, fol. 404r.

<sup>64</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 30, fol. 28r.

as if the foundation had been in effect.” The dean further urged the continued voluntary assistance of the cathedral canons to observe the Corpus Matins Offices in the same fashion in upcoming years.<sup>65</sup> Despite the efforts to resolve the litigation of the Corpus foundation, no records have been found showing an end to the conflict. Only an act from October 11, 1743 shows the intentions of a lawyer, Joseph Hidalgo, to render his services to the Cabildo to recover the funds of the foundation.<sup>66</sup> And even though the dean welcomed and assisted Hidalgo in his efforts the funds seem never to have been recovered.

Apparently, the voluntary attendance to the Matins Office during the Corpus octave was followed every year until it became a custom. Although the dean acknowledged that the canons were not obliged to attend Matins, the ceremonies were never lacking quorum in the choir. As late as 1760 we find documents urging attendance at Matins with the same solemnity and devotion that had been practiced in previous years, despite the funds for the anniversary being lost in litigation. According to an act from June 3, 1760 the importance of the attendance to this ceremony was regarded significant to the degree that canons working in diverse tasks left their posts to be present in the choir until Matins ended, then to continue with their duties.<sup>67</sup> It seems that the Cabildo was more

---

<sup>65</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 36, fol. 66r.

<sup>66</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 36, fol. 215r.

<sup>67</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 44, fol. 161r.

concerned with the continuation of the ritual in the exaltation of the Holy Sacrament “as to not disappoint the faithful congregation, as it was imperative that the people experience a ritual full of pomposity and solemnity to inspire their continued attendance at this celebration.”<sup>68</sup>

Through different archival sources the ritual for Corpus Christi appears perhaps as one of the most heavily attended festivities in the liturgical calendar along with the feasts of the Assumption of the Virgin, the Nativity of Christ, and Holy Week. And despite the severe economic conditions affecting rituals and ceremonies—including those that enjoyed private foundations, as we have seen thus far—the Cabildo made every effort to continue the solemn celebration of those that caught more of the fervor and faith of the cathedral’s congregation. Regardless of whether rituals for festivities of lesser rigor could be cancelled due to a lack of resources, the continuity of the Corpus Christi ritual had to be ensured. And this was applicable to all ceremonies in the octave, which included the renovation Mass of the Holy Sacrament.

The renovation Mass of the Holy Sacrament—celebrated not only during the octave but every Thursday of the year, for which it had received a private endowment to ensure the continuity of the ritual—also suffered the effects of a weakened economy in the cathedral. This was a ceremony that the Cabildo

---

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

relentlessly sought to continue as well, despite the capital for its celebration having diminished considerably. As did other ceremonies of the Corpus octave, the renovation Masses, as they were known, enjoyed a private foundation whose principal was invested in farms and houses. Since this was a sung Mass, the revenue generated every year by such investment served to pay the *capellanes*, as well as to allocate something extra to the musicians of the chapel. On February 4, 1749 Ildephonso Rojas, then administrator of anniversaries, informed the Cabildo that an act to impound some farms had been passed by the royal assembly against their current tenant. On those farms the cathedral had invested 21,300 gold pesos that served to finance the following ceremonies: the renovation Masses of the Holy Sacrament, the Mass for the Assumption of the Virgin (dedicatee of the cathedral) every Saturday, the feast of the Eternal Father, and four requiem anniversaries for other individuals.

Moreover, Rojas mentioned that the office of foundations and anniversaries owed 865 pesos for anniversaries that still needed to be collected, and due to current circumstances it was unlikely to receive any revenue from the above farms, for which reason it seemed impossible to celebrate all of the mentioned ceremonies that year. The Cabildo responded that it would provoke a big social scandal if both the renovation Masses of the Holy Sacrament and the Masses for the Virgin were cancelled, since a large and devoted congregation

attended those rituals. Under these circumstances, Rojas was told to continue paying the *capellanes* and ministers for the next two months for those two rituals only, after which the Cabildo would decide the next course of action. And in regard to the rest of the ceremonies (the feast of the Eternal Father and the requiem anniversaries) the Cabildo agreed at the same meeting to cancel the celebration of all of them until financial conditions improved.<sup>69</sup>

Rojas proceeded as told and continued to pay the musicians and *capellanes* for the next two months. The books of expenditures of the treasury show that indeed the musicians received extra money for their participation in the Masses of the renovation of the Holy Sacrament, although it is clear that the amount was reduced in 1749. The receipt for the release of money to pay musicians shows that in 1747 the chapel received 150 pesos to distribute among all performers for their participation during the first six months of that year.<sup>70</sup> In 1749, the amount released by Rojas was reduced by six pesos, and thus, the chapel received 144 pesos total.<sup>71</sup> In concordance with the Cabildo's instructions to Rojas to cut down expenses, the chapel continued receiving the reduced

---

<sup>69</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 39, fol. 368r.

<sup>70</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, book 4, fol. 1r.

<sup>71</sup> As explained in Chapter 3 there is a possibility that fewer musicians attended the ritual, and thus, the administrator paid wages to those that had attended, keeping the 6 pesos that were not disbursed in the treasury. What is certain is that, from this point on, the amount paid to the chapel for this ceremony did not increase, according to treasury records. Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, book 6, without folio number.

payment at least until 1750, when the administrator of anniversaries released another 144 pesos.<sup>72</sup>

As agreed, two months after the Cabildo ordered the continued payment for the renovation Masses Rojas once again approached the canons. Even though the impounded farms had been put up for auction in the last two months, and even though the properties were on good lands, there were no individuals interested in taking them. Given that the office of foundations and anniversaries could not guarantee at that point continued funding for the renovation Masses Rojas asked for instructions on what to do. The Cabildo knew that those farms had grown a good and substantial crop of wheat that year which needed to be collected. Due to the current situation of the farms (under the supervision of the royal assembly) it was imperative that the crop be collected soon, otherwise the royal judge could take the crop and sell it, or in the worse case, dispose of it. Therefore, the Cabildo decided to continue paying for the Masses from “whatever funds might be available” until the best way for collecting the crop was decided before the royal judge restored to do something “violent,” such as burn the wheat.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, book 6, without folio number.

<sup>73</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 39, fol. 433r.



## **Summary**

The information thus far presented stresses the direct impact that economic and political issues had on the development of religious practices in New Spain. The fact that these factors dictated the direction of ritual dynamics at the Cathedral of Mexico City undoubtedly questions the historical notion of continuous “solemnity and pomposity” in liturgical performance at the most important cathedral of the Americas. Understanding the deep impact of economic and political forces over the apparatus needed for religious festivities is crucial for a historical assessment of ritual performance. And within this historical framework, the imagined magnificence of religious celebrations, so vivid in the plural consciousness of individuals that cherish the glorious colonial past of the “City of Palaces” in New Spain, becomes an arena of contestation. In this light, the long-held historical idea of splendid liturgical festivities at the Cathedral of Mexico could be arguably more an act of wishful thinking than an honest appraisal of historical fact.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Further Considerations**

The information thus far presented has shown that in order to pursue a contextual assessment of religious practices it is necessary to consider ritual and ceremony as dynamic processes of not only liturgical, but also political and economic dimensions. The case of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico City unfolds a series of events that invariably affected the observance of religious celebrations during the first half of the eighteenth century. The evaluation of archival information has shown a rugged landscape marked by consistent deficit and economic hardship for the cathedral, as well as the struggle by the Cabildo to maintain the regular exercise of liturgical ceremonies and the apparatus needed for their performance.

As background to the severe recession of the first half of the eighteenth century, the ill economy of the cathedral during the sixteenth century clearly illustrates the variables and risks that the Episcopate had to confront in securing decimal revenue derived from cattle and agriculture, the main tithes-paying activities of the colonial period. The smallpox epidemic of 1576 that hit New Spain, killing fifty per cent of the Indian population (the part of the community primarily dedicated to work the land), resulted in a substantial reduction of tithes

from agriculture for the next ten years, thus triggering an internal deficit in the cathedral. This situation extended the meager conditions of the treasury that already existed back in 1540 when the Cabildo had to suspend the singing of polyphony in the choir due to a lack of income from tithes. In fact, even through the last quarter of the sixteenth century the income from tithes could hardly cover the assigned allowances for priests and canons in the cathedral.<sup>1</sup>

Considering financial information from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we reach the ineluctable conclusion that, in the colonial history of the Cathedral of Mexico, tithes never amounted to enough liquid assets to cover expenses for ritual and ceremony. External patronage was for the Cabildo the most important financial guarantee. And without a doubt private endowments from foundations and anniversaries became the quintessential subsidy for religious celebrations. Private endowments like the *Capellanías de Lorenzana*, and the Matins of San Pedro and Corpus Christi, among others, sought primarily to enhance the quality of performance of liturgical ceremonies, either by extending the number of singers in the choir or by providing financial incentives for canons, *capellanes* and musicians involved in religious celebrations. And although private patronage was already an established custom in the seventeenth

---

<sup>1</sup> John Frederick Schwaller, *Orígenes de la Riqueza de la Iglesia en México – Ingresos Eclesiásticos y Finanzas de la Iglesia 1530-1600*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1990, p. 40.

century, it was never as pervasive as it became in the eighteenth century. It would not be ludicrous to think that, given the weight that foundations had on the cathedral's treasury, the clergy might have exhorted patrons to show their piety and devotion to the church through these acts of generosity. In fact, some scholars have made reference to the power of persuasion that a priest could have next to someone in his or her final hours in the deathbed.<sup>2</sup> But beyond any speculation what is true is that by the end of the eighteenth century half of the income of the Episcopate in New Spain was derived from investments in real estate secured through the donation of private endowments.<sup>3</sup>

The assistance of the king was also a subsidy on which the Cabildo relied throughout most of the colonial era. Documents from 1700 point out a request to the king to lend his portion from the collection of tithes, a charity that monarchs had granted to the cathedral since 1621.<sup>4</sup> Other archival documents show that in fact the Spanish crown had lent these amounts to the canons since 1525, and this subsidy extended throughout the eighteenth century as well. In addition to the private patronage from foundations and anniversaries, Chapter 4 showed that the Cabildo had a history of subsidy from the king due to the incapacity of the Episcopate to cover expenses for ritual and ceremony from the income of tithes

---

<sup>2</sup> N. M. Farriss, *La Corona y el Clero en el México Colonial 1579-1821. La Crisis del Privilegio Eclesiástico*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1995, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 193v.

alone, an incapacity that, if anything, was aggravated by the consistent mismanagement of funds from the cathedral's treasury. During the second half of the seventeenth century, for example, one *mayordomo*—Antonio Robles—was responsible for the loss of 63,000 pesos. And if we consider that the amount owed to the treasury from the collection of tithes by non-paying individuals was in average 77,000 pesos, the loss is rather substantial (see Chapter 4).

Devaluation in the prices of seeds in 1700 was a further blow to internal economic conditions, forcing the Cabildo to re-evaluate expenses for religious practices. Thus, funds allocated to *capellanes* and musicians became seriously affected. For the canons it became impossible to fund all eight original positions of the *Capellanías de Lorenzana*. At some point during the first decade of the eighteenth century the Cabildo was unable to pay two of such appointments, and therefore, these had to be cancelled until 1735. But not only was money insufficient to maintain all of these posts; by the beginning of the eighteenth century the endowment of the *capellanías* was not even producing enough funds to pay the six assigned singers, and thus, the *capellanes* were relying on small charities that the Cabildo could disburse sporadically (Chapter 5).

Musicians were severely affected as well. In more than one occasion the Cabildo questioned the necessity of several members of the music chapel and asked to recognize incompetent musicians in order to dismiss them. This reform

was implemented as soon as the devaluation of agricultural goods impacted the treasury in 1700. On February 16 the *chantre* complied with a request by the Cabildo to endorse such reform, although he did not recommend the dismissal of any musicians, as allegedly, they were all needed. But in 1709 the Cabildo insisted on the revision of the music chapel, and thus, the chapel master Antonio de Salazar wrote to the canons expressing which individuals had not shown any progress in their instruments. In his letter of November 21 Salazar gives the names of at least three individuals without which the chapel could have done very well, namely, the singers Joseph de Guevara and Manuel de Cárdenas, and the harpist Diego Suárez.<sup>5</sup> In an ever-ongoing struggle to improve financial conditions the Cabildo asked for the re-evaluation of salaries to musicians in 1711, and in 1712 Salazar was prompted to consider dismissing unneeded musicians once again. In addition, the canons held a closed-door policy to any type of loan or charity requested by members of the chapel.

Such strict measures continued especially during the period of 1720-1740 when the treasury attempted to partially recover. On June 19, 1722, for example, the Cabildo denied a petition for a salary raise by Juan Pérez de Rivera, after which the *jueces hacedores* were asked to once again re-evaluate the salaries of

---

<sup>5</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, box 23, document 2, 2 folios.

the chapel.<sup>6</sup> Other musicians obtained the same response, like Vicente Ramírez (trumpet and oboe player) and Tiburcio Vásquez, who were turned down in 1731. Also, in 1734 Joseph González was denied a raise, although he was told that he would be considered for the next *capellanía* to become available.<sup>7</sup>

The impact of the recession of the first decades of the eighteenth century was further revealed in the making of specific items for the celebration of liturgical feasts. And this is something best reflected in the most important items used for liturgy and ritual, the chantbooks. Currently held in the west part of the cathedral building, the collection of chantbooks of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico offers today a wealth of unveiled information on ritual and ceremony. This collection of 114 books is composed of groups of volumes made in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Therefore, the chantbooks represent not only more than 300 years of liturgical and ritual history, but a history illustrating alternate factors, customs and aesthetics involved in ritual performance. By confronting a historical framework—drawn from archival information—with these books it is possible to suggest a context surrounding the making and use of these volumes.

---

<sup>6</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 30, fol. 31r.

<sup>7</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 33, fol. 25r.

Books made during the first two decades of the seventeenth century, for example, reflect impeccable craftsmanship. Figure 6.1 shows an example from the book containing the Mass and Office of the Dead, a book written in 1602. This is evident in the hand of the master scribe responsible for the perfect rotunda font, the detailed writing of chant notation, and the lavish composition of the illumination. From archival information we know that this book was made by Lorenzo Rubio in Mexico City in the year mentioned above.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, a cadelt capital letter on folio 60v bears the initials of the book maker (see Figure 6.2). Rubio was also involved in the making of three books for Holy Week, for which there is extant archival information relating the cost that the Cabildo paid to make these books, which in this case amounted to 545 pesos for the three volumes.<sup>9</sup> Consistent with the characteristics of these chantbooks is the so-called “Franco Codex,” a chantbook containing a series of Magnificats composed by Hernando Franco, chapel master of the cathedral from 1575 to 1585. Under the supervision of the chapel master Juan Hernández, the Cabildo released 200 gold pesos for the manufacture of this volume in 1611.<sup>10</sup>

In 1964 Robert Stevenson suggested that such generous expenditures on chantbooks, as well as other ritual items, were perhaps due to the preference for

---

<sup>8</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 183, document 49, 6 folios.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 5, fol. 240v.



music patronage from Fray García Guerra, archbishop at that time.<sup>11</sup> In addition to the making of the “Franco Codex,” Stevenson also points to García Guerra’s generosity towards the music chapel, which was assigned the amount of 150 pesos “for their extra music during the Corpus Christi octave in 1609....who enlivened the afternoons before Vespers with their *villancicos* and *chanzonetas*.”<sup>12</sup> From Stevenson’s account it is possible to suggest that the custom for the singing of *villancicos* and *chanzonetas* before Vespers during the octave was established by García Guerra. In 1609 the archbishop proposed that due to the importance that the Corpus festivities had for the Hispanic people, the music chapel ought to perform music before Vespers.<sup>13</sup> It is possible that this custom is what later inspired archbishop Juan de la Serna to give an endowment specifically for this purpose, from which members of the music chapel were paid 90 pesos to perform throughout the octave (see Chapters 2 and 3).

Taking into account the chantbooks made during the first two decades of the seventeenth century (which show consistent characteristic trademarks with the books made by Rubio), as well as the increased amount that the music chapel was paid for its performance during the Corpus festivities it is rather tempting to

---

<sup>11</sup> Robert Stevenson, “Mexico City Cathedral Music: 1600-1750,” *The Americas*, vol. 21, no. 2 (October 1964), pp. 111-135.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115, italics are mine.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

suggest that the cathedral experienced, if not a period of wealth, definitely one of economic stability that contrasted significantly with the eighteenth century.

Beyond any lack of appreciation for the music chapel and its members by the Cabildo, financial issues were perhaps the main cause that forced the canons to assign less funds for expenses derived from ritual and ceremony in the eighteenth century.

As a result of the foundation established by Francisco Orozco to celebrate the Matins Offices during the week of festivities for Corpus Christi in 1710, the Cabildo ordered the manufacture of a chantbook containing all Matins Offices for saints that occurred during the octave. Thus, in addition to the proper Office for the Holy Sacrament the book was to feature as well the Common offices for saints like San Fernando, San Felipe Neri, and San Antonio de Padua. However, one single book was not able to contain all Common offices, and therefore, the canons produced three volumes that contained all Matins Offices to be celebrated during the Corpus octave, commonly referred in Cabildo documents as *Libros de Corpus*. Regrettably, Cabildo acts do not offer information regarding the cost for the making of such books. The only reference found thus far is an act from 1712 mentioning that Joseph Pérez de Guzmán was given an initial payment of 50 pesos to start writing the books.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 27, fol. 166v.

The three chantbooks for the celebration of the Matins Offices during the octave show a rather dramatic contrast in manufacture compared to chantbooks made in the seventeenth century. Unlike the exemplars made by Lorenzo Rubio the Corpus books depict the sloppy calligraphic hand of someone that clearly was not a master scribe. The shape of the rotunda font (typical in the cathedral's chantbooks up to ca. 1730) is lost in some folios and is substituted by careless writing that looks more like italics, a deficiency that is also present in the music notation (see Figure 6.3). We can only speculate if this was due to the rush in which some items in the books were written. After all, the Cabildo was afraid that if the chant items for the Corpus Matins were not ready in time for the feast the private endowment to sponsor the ritual would not be granted by the patron (see Chapter 5).

Moreover, the quality of parchment used in the Corpus volumes is significantly lower compared to the finely treated folios in the books made by Lorenzo Rubio. While the former examples show extremely rough surfaces (sometimes looking like rawhide) the latter are rather smooth, clean and well prepared for writing. At present there is not a research study on the guilds of parchment makers and their products. Such a study could most definitely bring important information regarding the types of parchment available in New Spain and their use in the making of chantbooks for cathedrals and convents.

In addition to calligraphy and parchment making ornamentation is an element that without a doubt points towards a lack of funds during the time when these books were made. There can be little doubt that during the first two decades of the seventeenth century the Cathedral of Mexico had sufficient means to produce lavishly decorated chantbooks. Not only have Mexican scholars pointed towards the possible work of master illuminators in the cathedral's chantbooks of this period.<sup>15</sup> In fact, the design in the illuminations of some of the books from the seventeenth century is nothing short of astonishing. And although it is not possible yet to prove beyond any doubt that the hand of a master artist like Luis Lagarto, for example, is featured in any specific volume we cannot help to wonder about such possibility when we compare images between illuminations in some of the books and Lagartos' actual work (see Figure 6.4).

Contrasting with the artistically accomplished volumes of the seventeenth century the books of Corpus Christi are completely the opposite. The grotesque

---

<sup>15</sup> Guillermo Tovar de Teresa has suggested that the work of Luis Lagarto, a prolific Spanish artists of the sixteenth century, is featured in some of the chantbooks of the cathedral. In his book (cited below) Tovar de Teresa indeed offers compelling evidence that the Cabildo hired Lagarto's services in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. His art analysis, however, falls short to demonstrate which chantbooks might indeed have been illuminated by the Spanish artist. The examples he uses to illustrate his argument show sometimes the lack of imagination that characterizes the Lagarto paintings used by the author to correlate with the art in the chantbooks. In all fairness to Tovar de Teresa it is pertinent to note that he did not have access to the entire chantbook collection of the cathedral for a more thorough assessment, and therefore, he had no other choice but to use only two chantbooks for his analysis. Furthermore, the fact that none of the illuminations in the chantbooks up to 1612 bear a signature by Lagarto (unlike his paintings) calls for an in-depth art analysis of these illuminations by a scholar in art history proficient in Lagarto's style. Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Un Rescate de la Fantasía: El Arte de los Lagarto, Iluminadores Novohispanos de los Siglos XVI y XVII*, Madrid: Turner Libros, 1988.

and bare illustrations in the folios of the second and third books show the lack of an artist in the process, perhaps due to a lack of funds for the task (see Figure 6.5). Moreover, as promising as the opening folio of the second book might appear, all expectations vanish when we inspect other examples inside the book (see Figure 6.6). Also, proof of vandalism by choirboys depicted in some folios of the books raises the question of whether the volumes were valued less compared to other exemplars, although thus far insufficient archival information on the matter makes this a case for speculation. What is certain is that the deplorable manufacture of the three books during the years of 1712 and 1713 (corroborated by the signature and year of composition shown in the last folio of each book) is historically consistent with the economic hardship endured by the cathedral's treasury throughout the first two decades of the eighteenth century, as the observations on parchment, calligraphy, and illustrations demonstrate. This partial analysis of the chantbooks of Corpus Christi is primarily intended to further illustrate the effects that the harsh economic conditions had on ritual and ceremony at the Cathedral of Mexico.<sup>16</sup>

Another proof of the tight financial situation facing the cathedral in the eighteenth century is the budget cuts for funds assigned to ornamentation and

---

<sup>16</sup> At the moment I am involved in a thorough study of these primary sources in order to produce a contextual and historical assessment of the chantbooks and their relationship with dynamics surrounding ritual and ceremony at the cathedral.

preparations at the cathedral during the Corpus octave. Archival sources tell us that in 1601 and 1602 the Cabildo employed quite a large number of individuals to work on the ornamentation of the building as well as on other preparations.<sup>17</sup> The treasury not only released funds for nails, flowers, ropes and other items. The canons also paid wages to everybody involved with the preparations and paid to feed all individuals everyday for the whole week that the process lasted before festivities actually began. And while the feast never became less important in the eyes of the canons, by the end of the seventeenth century the 200 pesos usually released to cover preparations had been reduced to only 50 pesos.<sup>18</sup>

In our final assessment of economic conditions in the cathedral's treasury through the first half of the eighteenth century we are faced with the inquiry about a wider local context for these conditions. More than the internal financial conflicts of the cathedral alone, the information from the last five chapters points towards further and larger implications that affected the socio-economic landscape of New Spain. On the one hand, if it is true that internal mismanagement of resources played a critical role in the historical state of the treasury, on the other, external issues impacting the agricultural economy of New Spain definitely affected the colony at large. When we confront the periods of

---

<sup>17</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Material, box 1, document 3, 4 folios.

<sup>18</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Ministros, box 1, document 5, 1 folio.

economic decline and recovery for the cathedral described in Chapters 4 and 5 we find that these were affected by parallel events in the local agricultural economy during the eighteenth century, the basis of the Spanish colonial economic system.

It has been long established that New Spain had the most productive silver mines in the New World.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, during the eighteenth century New Spain was considered to be the largest and richest colony of the Spanish empire. In relation to the Episcopate, however, this is something that needs further inspection, given extant information from the second half of the eighteenth century. This was the period when salaries for musicians began to rise, a quite substantial music archive was produced, and the most impressive chantbooks of the cathedral's collection were manufactured. Scholars point toward the wealth that New Spain had in its mines, and as shown in Chapter 4, exploitation of precious metals began as far back as the sixteenth century. Given this wealth, how can we, then, explain the harsh economic conditions that impacted the cathedral throughout the first half of the eighteenth century? The truth is that, as wealthy as New Spain was, the colony had no real control over its internal economy.

In general, the steady production of silver in America served two main purposes: it became an asset for common resources used in the development of

---

<sup>19</sup> Richard L. Garner, "Precios y Salarios en México durante el Siglo XVIII," *Economías Coloniales. Precios y Salarios en América Latina, Siglo XVIII*, Lyman Johnson and Enrique Tandeter, eds., Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992, p. 83.

the colonial internal economy, and it was also used to cover expenses for highly priced imports, imperial taxes, as well as other financial obligations to the crown. Beginning in the sixteenth century New Spain, like other colonies in America, provided for the mercantile needs of Spain by providing metals and importing highly taxed products. At the same time that the economy began to expand, the costs for defending and administering the empire increased, and New Spain, more than any other Spanish colony, had the resources to cover such increase in expenses. Thus, during the eighteenth century the Spanish crown adopted a more aggressive policy towards the extraction of metals. In that way, while the imperial system extracted more money to fill the royal treasury, there was less money left to circulate in the internal economy of New Spain.<sup>20</sup>

This relates to the fact that, even in the Iberian Peninsula, the drain of liquid assets was pervasive during the 1700s. In fact, the coined metal of the peninsula suffered a devaluation throughout the eighteenth century with respect to the currency that arrived from the New World.<sup>21</sup> Spain held a system of double monetary circulation, which aimed to guarantee the prestige of American currency, highly in demand by European nations and used in commercial transactions with Asia.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the precious coined metals from the New World

---

<sup>20</sup> Garner, "Precios y Salarios en México," p. 83.

<sup>21</sup> Ricardo García Cárcel, *Historia de España Siglo XVIII. La España de los Borbones*, Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2002, p. 316.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.



were always destined to leave the imperial economic system. Although the production of silver tripled throughout the eighteenth century in the colony—shipping enormous quantities of coined metal to Spain—by the end of the century only one third of the gross production remained in the Iberian peninsula. The drainage of silver from Spain was as constant in the eighteenth century as it was in the two preceding.<sup>23</sup> Some scholars point out that, paradoxically, the more silver that was produced in New Spain, the less currency was available for internal circulation in the colony.<sup>24</sup> The reason was, undoubtedly, that currency was being exported.

Other scholars have pointed out that the lack of productivity in New Spain's internal economy triggered an inflation of prices in the agricultural sector.<sup>25</sup> In his essay "Precios y Salarios en México durante el Siglo XVIII," Richard L. Garner argues that, if anything, the eighteenth century showed a steady increase in the prices of crops (primary products eligible for decimal taxation by the church), more specifically, corn. And even though the colonial system oscillated between periods of abundant and meager crops, and presented at least two periods of significant scarcity of food, overall the prices of crops in New

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Garner, "Precios y Salarios en México," p. 86.

<sup>25</sup> John Coatsworth, "The Limits of Colonial Absolutism: The State in Eighteenth-Century Mexico," *Essays in political, economical, and social History of colonial Latin America*, K. Spalding, ed., University of Delaware, Latin American Studies Program, Occasional Papers and Monographs, no. 3 (1982), pp. 32-34, in Garner, "Precios y Salarios en México," p. 84.

Spain showed a consistent growth. Garner adds that, while there were times of abundance and low prices these were followed by periods when grains were rather scarce. Thus, the continuation of economic and demographic growth usually put more pressure on the immediate re-supply of grains with their corresponding augmented prices.<sup>26</sup>

As I mentioned in Chapter 4, the economic history of the Cathedral of Mexico during the first half of the eighteenth century depicts three main periods (1700-1720, 1720-1740, and 1740-1750) through which we are able to gauge deficits and recovery in the treasury. What is interesting is that Garner's study recognizes periods in agriculture during the first half of the eighteenth century that parallel with the chronological scheme laid above. In Chapter 4, I established that the cathedral's treasury had received meager revenue from crops in 1700 due to devaluation in the price of grains.<sup>27</sup> As a consequence, the Cabildo wrote to the king asking him to assist the treasury with the lending of his royal ninths. The devaluation of 1700 triggered a deficit that the canons sought to compensate by cutting expenses and salaries. I also showed how archival sources point towards the extension of this condition until 1725. Moreover, I showed that from 1725 to 1740 the treasury went through a period of partial recovery, after which it was

---

<sup>26</sup> Garner, "Precios y Salarios en México," p. 85.

<sup>27</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 193v.

affected by the mismanagement of Manuel Roman in 1745. After 1750, however, the cathedral was clearly in a better economic condition to pay for the elaboration of new chantbooks, the hiring of a new chapel master, and finally, the creation of a substantial music archive that still survives today.

In his study Garner stresses that the agricultural economy in the valley of Mexico experienced a period of crisis from 1710 to 1714. He further adds that throughout the 1720s and 1730s grain prices remained stable until the decade of the 1740s, in which prices experienced consistent increments.<sup>28</sup> Based on Garner's information it is possible to suggest that the cathedral's financial struggle of 1700-1720 was in part accentuated by the agricultural crisis that shook the valley of Mexico during the period of 1710-1714, in addition to the depreciation in value of grain prices in 1700. Moreover, the period of partial stability in the cathedral from 1720 to 1740 is consistent with stable prices of grains from 1720 to 1730. Finally, the five years of stability in the cathedral after the recovery period—1740-1745—are also consistent with the steady growth in prices of grains throughout the 1740s.

This also suggests that there are external factors pertinent to the local economy of New Spain that need to be considered further in order to account for fluctuations in the value of investments in real estate property by the church and

---

<sup>28</sup> Garner, "Precios y Salarios en México," pp. 95-96.

their impact on the financing of religious practices. Apparently, the lack of circulating capital was the chief cause of the steady inflation of grain prices throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>29</sup> The economic inflation in New Spain was not the product of an increment of circulating currency, the enormous production of silver notwithstanding. It was rather a consequence of the low productivity of the internal economy *vis à vis* increasing prices in the international market.<sup>30</sup> Scholars propose that economic policy of the eighteenth century in New Spain aimed towards the appropriation of the local wealth, thus withholding resources necessary for the operation of industries like haciendas and *ingenios*.<sup>31</sup> In addition to this, it is interesting to speculate to what degree this appropriating policy impacted the market of property sublease. In any case, real estate was likely affected by these economic factors, which invariably affected investments in properties.

As I mentioned above, the period reflecting the most scarcity of grains due to the agricultural crisis that swept through the valley of Mexico was 1710-1714. According to Garner's information, the price of grains from this period remained consistent in the decade of 1720 as well, although he acknowledges that his statistics need more substantial data to be evaluated.<sup>32</sup> Apparently, years depicting

---

<sup>29</sup> Garner, "Precios y Salarios en México," p. 84.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Garner, "Precios y Salarios en México," pp. 88, 92, and 95.

financial problems in the real estate market—according to archival records from the cathedral regarding investments—are 1700, 1720, and 1722. It was in these years that properties in which the Cabildo had invested funds to sponsor religious festivities experienced the most problems. In 1700, for example, the houses in which the principal of the foundation for the *Capellanías de Lorenzana* was invested were not producing revenue to pay the *capellanes*, thus prompting the Cabildo to halt salaries.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, conflicts over the *ingenio* in which the canons had invested the principal to endow the Matins Offices for the Corpus Christi octave caused the loss of these funds as of 1720.

Furthermore, the farms bearing the principal for the endowment of the feasts of the Holy Trinity and the Conception of the Virgin also reflected losses in 1722, since there were no patrons interested in leasing the properties.<sup>34</sup> There is no precise information for the last five years of the 1740s, although Garner mentions that 1749 had a rather meager grain crop. More data is needed at present to see what factors impacted the real estate economy during these five years. It was in 1749 that the Cabildo ordered the suspension of requiem anniversaries as well as the feast of the Eternal Father, since the property in which the endowment for those ceremonies was invested had been impounded.<sup>35</sup> Although a careful

---

<sup>33</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 32, fol. 206v.

<sup>34</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 30, fol. 26r.

<sup>35</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 39, fol. 368r.

economic analysis of eighteenth-century New Spain is beyond the scope of the present work, a thorough study of colonial economy, nonetheless, is needed in order to shed more light on local economic issues in the colony and their impact on investments used to secure religious practices in Mexico City.

In any case, it is impossible to assess the information from Garner's study without acknowledging existing parallels with events that occurred in the Cathedral of Mexico during the same periods. In addition to the devaluation of grain prices in 1700—which paralleled the reduction of salaries for *capellanes*, the cancellation of two *capellanías* from the Lorenzana endowment, and the possibility of losing the property in which the endowment was invested—the agricultural crisis of 1710-1714 described by Garner coincides with the Cabildo's desire to reduce the personnel in the music chapel, an initiative that the canons endorsed in 1700, 1709, 1711, and 1712 (see Chapter 5). In addition, it was during this time that the Cabildo held a tight oversight on expenditures, which led to attempts to reduce the chapel master's (Antonio de Salazar) income twice in 1711 and paralyzed the release of loans and salary increases to musicians as well.

But beyond the correspondence between the effects that the financial struggles of the cathedral's treasury had on religious practices and the scarce local economy in New Spain during the first half of the eighteenth century, what is truly needed is a historical study of socio-economic conditions after 1750 until

1800, a period that seems to show a dramatic contrast with the period covered by the analysis of the last five chapters. Presently there is not a study of Neo-Hispanic ritual practices during the entire eighteenth century. Due to the overwhelming amount of archival research needed to evaluate social, economic and political factors embedded in religious life, the present study aimed to view only the first fifty years of the century. However, the availability of information on a few specific issues after 1750 suggests a different socio-economic landscape for ritual and ceremony in the second half of the “century of lights.”

On one hand, we find that salaries for musicians dramatically increased towards the end of the century. In addition, the creation of an archive featuring a substantial amount of music composed and performed for the cathedral specifically shows a new initiative and means to secure this material.<sup>36</sup> In addition, it was during the second half of the eighteenth century that the Cabildo institutionalized and officially founded a school of choirboys (*Escoleta de Niños*

---

<sup>36</sup> Even though there had been prior attempts to create a music archive when Antonio de Salazar was chapel master, the Cabildo did not seem genuinely interested in the endeavor, even before Salazar’s time. In 1700 Salazar wrote to the canons saying that “when I was appointed as chapel master what I was given with the title of ‘archive’ were a few books shredded to pieces and thrown in a corner of the choir....and with respect to loose sheets of psalms, masses and motets I found nothing but the Office of the dead, the psalms, the responsories for the benedictus, and four psalms of Vespers of the chapel master Francisco Lopez....this is all, and no more, what was in that archive....and all of the music that has been sung and is currently sung is new [that I have composed]....and giving your illustriousness permission I will be delivering such new music so that the archive starts being formed.” To this the canons responded that “of the music delivered, not being of his obligation, the *jueces hacedores* will compensate [the expenses incurred by the chapel master.]” Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 160v.

*de Coro*). Finally, the cathedral's collection of chantbooks shows that after 1750 the treasury was in more affluent condition to cover the expense of manufacturing new books, some of which are of impressive quality and dimensions.

As Garner mentions in his study of prices and salaries for New Spain, indeed a thorough compilation of data and analysis is needed to weigh a relationship between these two elements. And although information on salaries for musicians and *capellanes* in the cathedral appears to be fragmentary, we do have a few pieces that raise an inquiry about economic improvements that might have taken place in the cathedral's treasury. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Antonio de Salazar, first chapel master of the eighteenth century, took the post in 1688 with an official salary of 500 pesos. During this time salaries for musicians oscillated between 50 and 250 pesos, depending on the ability of the individual. By 1733, when Manuel de Sumaya held Salazar's position, the salary received had been increased to 660 pesos per year, and the salaries for musicians ranged between 80 and 300 pesos.<sup>37</sup>

The little evidence thus far gathered from the third quarter of the eighteenth century does not reflect that salaries increased any further during the 1740s or 1750s. For example, partial records from 1745 and 1762 show at least that the salaries for proficient string players like Francisco del Castillo (dead by

---

<sup>37</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, box 1, document 14, 2 folios.



1745), or Timotheo Torres (who by 1762 had been serving in the cathedral for twenty years as choirboy, altar boy, acolyte, and musician) were still in the range assigned in 1733, since both individuals earned 200 pesos.<sup>38</sup>

Nevertheless, by the end of the eighteenth century we encounter payment records for the music chapel under the direction of Antonio Juanas. And in contrast with the 500-600 pesos salary range earned by Salazar, Sumaya, and Jerusalem, in 1805 the chapel master received a mind-numbing salary of 1,200 pesos. It seems that by the last decade of the eighteenth century salaries for the music chapel soared and payments for musicians ranged between 200 and 600 pesos, with the exception of talented and much sought-after singers, perhaps, like José Pulgar, who by 1805 had served the chapel for 13 years and was considered a “very good” *tiple* voice, for which he received a salary of 1,200 pesos, just like the chapel master.<sup>39</sup>

Added to this increase in salary rates for the music chapel, the second half of the eighteenth century saw also a dramatic improvement in the manufacture of chantbooks for the choir, especially books used for important festivities. In 1761 the Cabildo ordered the making of new volumes for the celebration of the Matins Offices during the week of Corpus Christi to Andres José Gaston y Balbuena,

---

<sup>38</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 37, fol. 169v, and book 45, fol. 169r.

<sup>39</sup> Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, box 150, document 38, 2 folios.

according to the opening folio of the book containing the Corpus Matins Office. Neither acts nor accounting records after 1760 give any information regarding the ordering or cost of the books. Therefore, all information on these volumes must be derived from a codicological appraisal of the books themselves. From a first glance it is evident that the treasury was in better disposition to cover the expense for volumes of this quality. In contrast with the books of Corpus made in 1712 and 1713 by José Pérez de Guzmán, Balbuena's books are true accomplishments of craftsmanship.

The ornamentation and binding of the volume for the Corpus Matins Office is by far more elaborate than the older counterparts. In fact, curators and conservationists have evaluated such binding as perfect, the work of a master bookmaker.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, the quality of the parchment proves to be by far superior compared with the older books. In addition to the parchment itself each folio shows to have been carefully prepared for writing through the application of a special coating, the substance of which needs still to be determined.

---

<sup>40</sup> I want to thank Thalía Velasco and Mónica Pérez for allowing me to work closely with their conservation team and for sharing this information about binding and methodology for large-format book making. Velasco and Pérez are currently working on an assessment of curatorial needs for the impressive collection of 114 chantbooks at the Cathedral of Mexico through a rescuing effort promoted by the Seminario Nacional de Música de la Nueva España y el México Independiente (Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México) and the Escuela Nacional de Conservación. I also want to thank Professor Lucero Enríquez for allowing me to form part of the research team for the "Proyecto Libros de Coro," a project aiming to thoroughly catalogue all 114 chantbooks.

Figure 6.7 illustrates that, in addition to the above physical characteristics, calligraphy and art also show rather dramatic improvements. Far beyond the sloppy calligraphic hand of the books by Pérez y Gúzman, the volumes made by Balbuena feature an impeccable use of stylus technique in both, notation and text. Moreover, the art and illuminations show not only a perfect application of gold leaf but also an imaginative and accomplished art design in more than one technique. Because of its binding, ornamentation, physical properties, calligraphy and artwork the chantbook for the Corpus Matins Office by Balbuena is a singular work of art, and according to conservationists, the best manufactured book in the whole collection.

As I mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the books of Corpus included three volumes featuring all Common Matins Offices to be celebrated during the octave. Based on information from an inventory of the chantbooks made in 1780 we know that in the second half of the eighteenth century the Cabildo had ordered the making of a new set of the three books.<sup>41</sup> However, the

---

<sup>41</sup> The books of Corpus made in 1712-1713 bear on the spine the numbers 71, 72, and 73, which are consistent with the description of books with these numbers in book inventories from 1749 and 1780. The inventory from 1749 contains an addendum from February 6, 1776, which mentions three new books corresponding to books 71, 72, and 73. The addendum reads: "Corresponding to numbers 71, 72, and 73 there are three new ones, and in the first and second one there is everything pertaining to Corpus, and in the third one the Common of Martyrs." Moreover, at the end of the inventory from 1780 there is also an addendum that reads "Libros Dorados" (golden books) describing seven books that were added to the numbered collection. Of these, the second, third and fourth books were new books for the Corpus festivity, the description of which reads as follows: "Second: which contains the Vespers with psalms, and Lauds with psalms also, of the Corpus festivity, first volume. Third: which contains all Matins with psalms of Corpus beginning

collection of chantbooks at the cathedral currently has only one chantbook made in 1761 for the Corpus Matins Offices, the one described above. Mónica Pérez, who currently works as conservationist of the collection, mentioned that the Museo del Virreinato in Tepozotlán has a modest collection of chantbooks as well. In this collection, Pérez mentioned, there seems to be a book, which according to her, shows the same characteristics of the Corpus book from the cathedral.

At present this author has not been able to visit the museum in order to evaluate the alleged chantbook. But it is possible that one of the other two books made by the cathedral in 1761 might be housed at this repository. Needless to say, a thorough investigation still needs to be undertaken in order to find all three books of Corpus made in 1761, and ultimately, compare them with their homologues from 1712-1713. A comparative analysis of this order should aim to

---

with the invitatory and ending with the hymn *Te Deum*, second volume. Fourth: which contains the Matins of one and many martyrs with their respective antiphons and hymns and psalms, but without Lauds, and its closing clasps are white, made out of metal.” The second book is consistent with the Corpus book from 1761 described above in the page. Furthermore, the inscription “Libros Dorados” is consistent with features in the binding that show the pervasive use of golden trimmings. From all this evidence it is most probable that the addendums of both inventories are citing the books made in 1761 as the “new books”. The present author compared the description of all seven golden books of the 1780 inventory with books currently held in the cathedral’s collection featuring golden trimmings like the ones in the book of Corpus from 1761, and all of the volumes matched in their content with the descriptions in the inventory. The only volumes that could not be located were the second and fourth books, which could probably be housed at the Museo del Virreinato in Tepozotlán, although this still needs to be corroborated. *Inventario de los Libros de Choro de esta Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de México* 1749, Archivo del Cabildo, Inventarios, box 1, document 6; also *Inventario de los Libro de Choro* 1780, Inventarios, box 1, document 3.

evaluate a historical development in the making of the new books with respect to the older versions, as well as possible changes in content in relation to the function of the books in ritual practices.

An analysis of the information thus far presented—relating to increments in salaries to the music chapel and improvements in chantbook making—suggests that the Cathedral of Mexico experienced a dramatic improvement in financial conditions during the second half of the eighteenth century. But what are the factors to which we can attribute these changes? On the one hand, New Spain experienced a consistent and substantial rise in the price of grains during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.<sup>42</sup> And perhaps this could point towards a possible cause considering the reduced production of grains during this period, which propelled an extensive demand for these products.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, Garner's argument of a lack of circulating capital in New Spain and the substantial export of coined silver to the Iberian Peninsula throughout the eighteenth century raises the question of how could the cathedral have improved its economy when there was an allegedly lack of liquid assets available in the colony.

---

<sup>42</sup> Garner, "Precios y Salarios en México," pp. 95-97.

<sup>43</sup> Garner, "Precios y Salarios en México," p. 96.

Further considerations in my study of the development of religious practices at the Cathedral of Mexico contemplate the analysis of a global socio-economic landscape in New Spain, although, as Garner mentions, archival information on the matter is rather fragmentary and very lacking. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the palpable economic improvements in the Cathedral of Mexico after 1750 are parallel with the Spanish Bourbon reforms that spread throughout New Spain during the second half of the eighteenth century. Scholars have pointed out that with the succession of the House of Bourbon to the throne, a new current of thought endorsing the ideals of the Enlightenment, and fueled by an invigorating focus on economics, swept through the Spanish territories.<sup>44</sup> Apparently, the development of literature in economics is a chief trait of the Bourbon reforms, mainly characterized by a concern to develop a stable national economy.

Weighing how this reforming platform produced changes in policies applied to social and political spheres in New Spain, and their ultimate impact on religious life, is an inquiry that needs to be addressed by a further study aiming to approach dynamics of ritual and ceremony as social processes influenced by newly emerging social, political, and economic diacritics.

---

<sup>44</sup> García Cárcel, *Historia de España Siglo XVIII*, p. 283.

## **Tables and Figures**

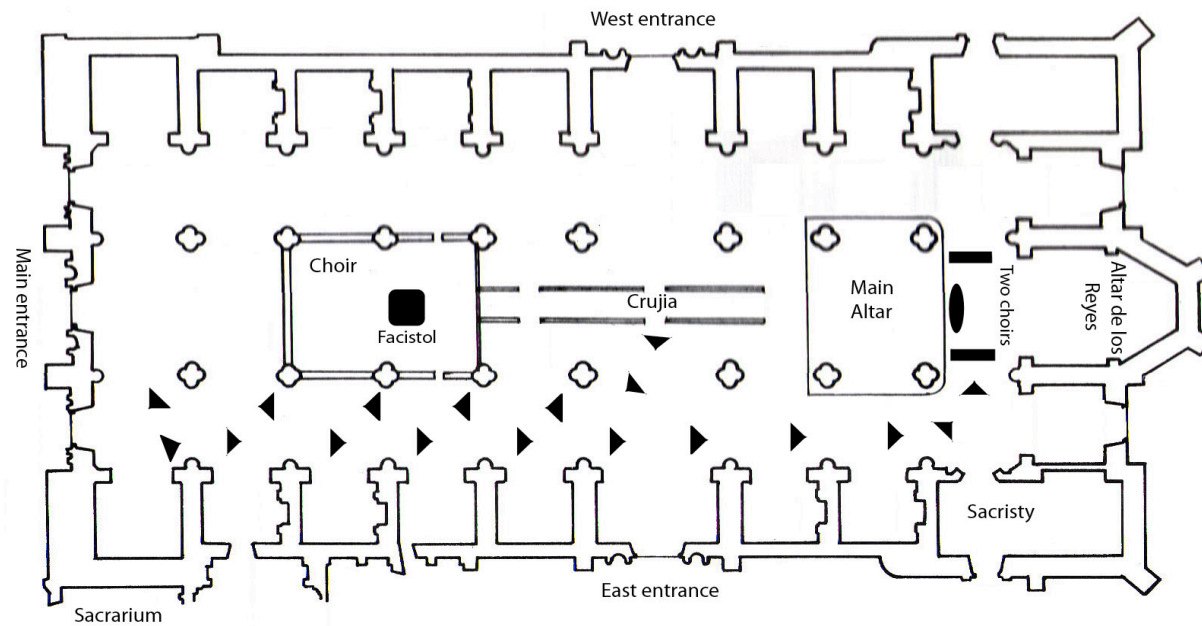
**Figure 1.1** Description of Times for the Celebration of Compline, Matins and Lauds

mañana despues de la ultima Misa. — Completas siempre se  
dizen inmediatamente a las Vigueras, y en el Ipo. e Qua-  
terna son a las tres y media de la tarde = Matines y Laudes  
se dicen poco rato despues de acabadas Completas, sino son  
canuades, por que siendole, se son a las quatro, o seis de la tarde  
conforme la detacion lo pide. Los de Nochebuena a las once de  
la Noche, y los de Resurreccion a las tres de la mañana.

Ordo, book 4, fol. 15r.



**Figure 1.2 Map of the Cathedral's Nave showing the Small Procession<sup>1</sup>**



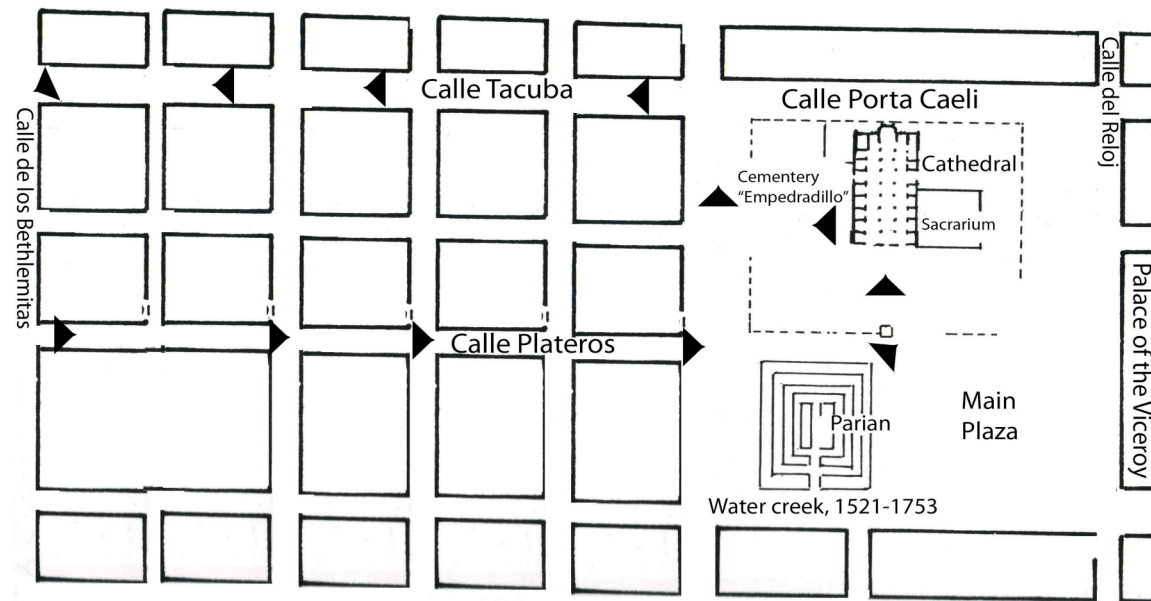
<sup>1</sup> Carlos Vega Sánchez, *Cómo Vemos la Catedral Metropolitana de México a principios del Siglo XXI*, Mexico: Corporación Impresora Libra, 2002, p. 24. The map presented here is a modified version of the map presented by Vega Sánchez due to the inclusion of information found in the ordinal of the cathedral. Archivo del Cabildo, Ordo, book 2, fol 34v.

**Figure 1.3** Description of Times for the Celebration of None and Vespers

*Vena se dice sp̄e. á las tres y la tarde, excepto en los di-  
 as de Quaresma que se dice sp̄e. antes de la Misa ultima = en  
 las Vigilias, y dias de An̄. Memner, e de extraordinaria Mem-  
 nidad = Vespers sp̄e. son á las tres y la tarde, e á las, e  
 despues de Vena, menos en el sp̄e. de Quaresma que son por la  
 mañana despues de la ultima Misa = Completas siempre se*

Ordo, book 4, fol. 34r.

**Figure 1.4 Map of the Route followed by the General Procession<sup>1</sup>**



<sup>1</sup> Carlos Vega Sánchez, *Cómo Vemos la Catedral Metropolitana de México a principios del Siglo XXI*, Mexico: Corporación Impresora Libra, 2002, p. 12. The map presented here is a modified version of the map presented by Vega Sánchez due to the inclusion of information found in the ordinal of the cathedral. Archivo del Cabildo, Ordo, book 2, fol 35v-37r.

**Table 1.1 Feasts in liturgical calendar: Rome, Spain, Mexico**

<b>May</b>	<b>Roman Breviary (1697)</b>	<b>Roman Breviary (1733)</b>	<b>Spain (1697)</b>	<b>Mexico (1697)</b>
26	Phillipi Confessoris	Phillipi Confessoris		
27	Joannis Papae et Martyris	Joannis Papae et Martyris	Maria Magdalena de Pazzis	
28				
29				
30	Felicis Papae et Martyris	Felicis Papae et Martyris	Ferdinandi III Regis	
31	Petronillae Virginis	Petronillae Virginis		
<b>June</b>				
1				
2	Marcellini, Petri et Erasmi Martyrum	Marcellini, Petri et Erasmi Martyrum		
3				
4				

**Table 1.1 Continued**

<b>June</b>	<b>Roman Breviary (1697)</b>	<b>Roman Breviary (1733)</b>	<b>Spain (1697)</b>	<b>Mexico (1697)</b>
5				
6	Norberti Episcopi et Confessoris	Norberti Episcopi et Confessoris		
7				
8				
9	Primi et Feliciani Martyrum	Primi et Feliciani Martyrum		
10	Margaritae Reginae Scotiae	Margaritae Reginae Scotiae		Primitivi Martyris
11	Barnabe Apostoli	Barnabe Apostoli		
12	Basilidis, Cyrini, Naboris et Nazarii Martyrum	Joannis et Facundo Confessoris	Joannis et Facundo Confessoris	
13	Antonii de Padua	Antonii de Padua		
14	Basilii Magni Episcopi et Confessoris	Basilii Magni Episcopi et Confessoris		
15	Viti, Modesti et Crescentiae Martyrum	Viti, Modesti et Crescentiae Martyrum		Viti Martyris

**Table 1.1 Continued**

<b>June</b>	<b>Roman Breviary (1697)</b>	<b>Roman Breviary (1733)</b>	<b>Spain (1697)</b>	<b>Mexico (1697)</b>
16			Joannis Francisci Regis Confessoris	
17				
18	Marci et Marcelliani Martyrum	Marci et Marcelliani Martyrum	Martyrum Cyriaci et Paulae Virginis	
19	Gervasii et Protasii Martyrum	Gervasii et Protasii Martyrum	Julianae Virginis	
20	Silverii Papae et Martyris	Silverii Papae et Martyris		
21			Aloysii Gonzaga Confessoris	
22	Paulini Episcopi et Confessoris	Paulini Episcopi et Confessoris		
23				
24	Nativitas Joannis Baptistae	Nativitas Joannis Baptistae		
25				
26	Joannis et Pauli Martyrum	Joannis et Pauli Martyrum		

**Table 1.1      Continued**

<b>June</b>	<b>Roman Breviary (1697)</b>	<b>Roman Breviary (1733)</b>	<b>Spain (1697)</b>	<b>Mexico (1697)</b>
27				
28	Leonis Papae et Confessoris	Leonis Papae et Confessoris		
29	Petri et Pauli Apostolorum	Petri et Pauli Apostolorum		
30	Pauli Apostoli	Pauli Apostoli		

**Table 1.2 Celebrations for May and June at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico City**

<b>May</b>	<b>Festivity</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Office</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
26	S. Phillipi Nerii	Duplex	Commune Confessoris non Pontificis	endowed
27	S. Mariae Magdalenae de Pazzis	Semiduplex	Commune Virginum	
28				
29				
30	S. Ferdinandi III Regis	Duplex 1st Class	Commune Confessoris non Pontificis	with octave
31	S. Petronillae	Simplex	Commune Virginum	
<b>June</b>				
1				
2				
3				
4				



**Table 1.2 Continued**

<b>June</b>	<b>Festivity</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Office</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
5				
6	S. Norbertii	Duplex	Commune Confessoris Pontificis	
7				
8				
9				
10	S. Primitivii	Duplex	Commune Unius Martyris	relic at cathedral
11	S. Barnabe	Duplex majoris	Commune Apostolorum	
12	S. Juan de Saagun	Duplex	Commune Confessoris non Pontificis	
13	S. Antonii de Padua	Duplex	Commune Confessoris non Pontificis	endowed
14	Basilii Magni Episcopi et Confessoris	Duplex	Commune Confessoris Pontificis	
15	S. Viti	Duplex	Commune Unius Martyris	relic at cathedral

**Table 1.2 Continued**

<b>June</b>	<b>Festivity</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Office</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
16				
17				
18	Martyrum Cyriaci et Paulae Virginis	Duplex	Commune Plurimorum Martyrum	
19	S. Julianae	Semiduplex	Commune Virginum	
20				
21	S. Aloysii Gonzaga Confessoris	Duplex majoris	Commune Confessoris non Pontificis	
22				
23				
24	Nativitas S. Joannis Baptistae	Duplex 1st Class	Proper	with octave
25				
26	Joannis et Pauli Martyrum	Semiduplex	Commune Plurimorum Martyrum	

**Table 1.2      Continued**

27				
28	Leonis Papae et Confessoris	Semiduplex	Commune Confessoris Pontificis	
29	Petri et Pauli Apostolorum	Duplex 1st Class	Proper	with octave
30	S. Pauli Apostoli	Duplex	Commune Apostolorum	

**Table 1.3      Dates for the beginning of the Corpus Christi Octave, 1710-1750**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Date</b>
1710	June 19 <sup>th</sup>	1726	June 20 <sup>th</sup>	1742	May 24 <sup>th</sup>
1711	June 4 <sup>th</sup>	1727	June 12 <sup>th</sup>	1743	June 13 <sup>th</sup>
1712	May 26 <sup>th</sup>	1728	May 27 <sup>th</sup>	1744	June 4 <sup>th</sup>
1713	June 15 <sup>th</sup>	1729	June 26 <sup>th</sup>	1745	June 17 <sup>th</sup>
1714	May 31 <sup>st</sup>	1730	June 8 <sup>th</sup>	1746	June 9 <sup>th</sup>
1715	June 20 <sup>th</sup>	1731	June 24 <sup>th</sup>	1747	June 1 <sup>st</sup>
1716	June 11 <sup>th</sup>	1732	June 12 <sup>th</sup>	1748	June 13 <sup>th</sup>
1717	May 27 <sup>th</sup>	1733	June 4 <sup>th</sup>	1749	June 5 <sup>th</sup>
1718	June 16 <sup>th</sup>	1734	June 24 <sup>th</sup>	1750	May 28 <sup>th</sup>
1719	June 8 <sup>th</sup>	1735	June 9 <sup>th</sup>		
1720	May 30 <sup>th</sup>	1736	May 31 <sup>st</sup>		
1721	June 12 <sup>th</sup>	1737	June 20 <sup>th</sup>		
1722	June 4 <sup>th</sup>	1738	June 5 <sup>th</sup>		
1723	May 27 <sup>th</sup>	1739	May 28 <sup>th</sup>		
1724	June 15 <sup>th</sup>	1740	June 16 <sup>th</sup>		
1725	May 31 <sup>st</sup>	1741	June 1 <sup>st</sup>		

**Table 1.4 Items performed by the Music Chapel found in the Cathedral's Music Archive<sup>1 2</sup>**

<b>Festivity</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>Comments</b>	<b>Call</b>
Corpus Christi	Matins	Invitatory, hymn and eight responsories	Indication "also for San Juan Bautista," by Antonio Juanas, 1808, for violins, oboes, trumpets and bass.	AM 0100
S. Felipe Neri	Vespers	Hymn <i>Pangamus Nerio</i>	By Antonio Juanas, 1816.	AM 0151
Corpus Christi	Vespers	Hymn <i>Tantum ergo</i>	By Antonio Juanas, 1816.	AM 0151
C.C.nP.	Matins	2 <sup>nd</sup> responsory <i>Iustus germinabit</i>	Indication "for S. Felipe Neri, S. Fernando," by Antonio Juanas, 1792.	AM 0152
Corpus Christi	2 <sup>nd</sup> Vespers	Magnificat antiphon <i>O sacrum convivium</i>	By Antonio Juanas, 1792.	AM 0153
C.C.P.	Matins	3 <sup>rd</sup> responsory <i>Iuravit Dominus</i>	By Antonio Juanas, 1792.	AM 0154
Corpus Christi	Matins	1 <sup>st</sup> responsory <i>Immolabit haedum</i>	By Antonio Juanas, 1794.	AM 0168
S. Pedro	Matins	Music for Matins	No itemized description.	AM 0180

<sup>1</sup> Information taken from Thomas Stanford, *Catálogo de los Acervos Musicales de las Catedrales Metropolitanas de México y Puebla de la Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia y otras Colecciones menores*, Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2002.

<sup>2</sup> C.U.M.= Commune unius Martyris; C.P.M.= Commune Plurimorum Martyrum; C.C.P.= Commune Confessoris Pontificis; C.C.nP.= Commune Confessoris non Pontificis; C.V.= Commune Virginum, C.A.= Commune Apostolorum.

**Table 1.4 Continued**

<b>Festivity</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>Comments</b>	<b>Call</b>
Corpus Christi	Lauds	Hymn <i>O salutaris hostia</i>	Hymn featured in the <i>Manual de Párrocos</i> for the Corpus procession, by Antonio Juanas, 1798.	AM 0193
Corpus Christi	Matins	Hymn <i>Sacris solemnis</i>	By Antonio Juanas, 1800.	AM 0196
Corpus Christi	Vespers	Antiphon <i>Sacerdos in aeternum</i>	By Antonio Juanas, 1800.	AM 0198
Corpus Christi	Matins	3 <sup>rd</sup> responsory <i>Respexit elias</i>	For four and eight voices with violins and trumpets. By Antonio Juanas, 1801.	AM 0205
C.A.	Matins	1 <sup>st</sup> responsory <i>Ecce ergo mitto</i>	Indication “for the feasts of the apostles.” By Antonio Juanas, 1800.	AM 0207
Corpus Christi	Vespers	Hymn <i>Pange lingua gloriosi</i>	For four and eight voices with violins, oboes, trumpets and bass. By Antonio Juanas, 1801.	AM 0208
Corpus Christi	Vespers	Hymn <i>Pange lingua gloriosi</i>	With violins, oboes, trumpets and bass. By Antonio Juanas, 1806.	AM 0219
C.V.	Matins	1 <sup>st</sup> responsory <i>Veni sponsa Chrsiti</i>	For four and eight voices with organ and violins for S. Theresa. By Antonio Juanas, 1806.	AM 0220
C.P.M.	Matins	3 <sup>rd</sup> responsory <i>Tradiderunt corpora sua</i>	For four and eight voices with bass and organ, for S. Cosme and S. Damian. By Antonio Juanas, 1805.	AM 0223
Corpus Christi	Matins	8 <sup>th</sup> responsory dominica infra octava <i>Homo quidam fecit</i>	For solo with violins, trumpet <i>obbligata</i> and bass. By Antonio Juanas, 1806.	AM 0228

**Table 1.4 Continued**

<b>Festivity</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>Comments</b>	<b>Call</b>
Corpus Christi	Matins	5 <sup>th</sup> responsory <i>Accepit Iesus calicem</i>	For four voices with violins, trumpets, organs and bass. By Antonio Juanas, 1794.	AM 0311
Corpus Christi	Mass	Sequence <i>Lauda Sion salvatorem</i>	For eight voices with violins, oboes, trumpets, organs and bass. By Antonio Juanas, 1793.	AM 0312
Corpus Christi	Mass	Sequence <i>Lauda Sion salvatorem</i>	For four and eight voices with violins and trumpets. By Antonio Juanas, 1801.	AM 0325
Corpus Christi	Mass	Sequence <i>Lauda Sion salvatorem</i>	For four voices with violins, trumpets and bass. By Antonio Juanas, 1802.	AM 0327
Corpus Christi	Mass	Offertory <i>Sacerdotes Domini incensum</i>	For four and eight voices with violins and trumpets. By Antonio Juanas, 1802.	AM 0329
Corpus Christi	Mass	Sequence <i>Lauda Sion salvatorem</i>	For four voices with violins and trumpets. By Antonio Juanas, 1803.	AM 0333
Corpus Christi	Matins	Invitatory, hymn and eight responsories	With violins, oboes, trumpets and bass. By Antonio Juanas, 1806.	AM 0334
Corpus Christi	Vespers	Magnificat antiphon <i>O quam suavis est Domine</i>	By Antonio Juanas, 1792.	AM 0344
Corpus Christi	Vespers	Magnificat antiphon <i>O quam suavis est Domine</i>	With <i>ripieni</i> , violins, trumpets and bass. By Matheo Tollis de la Rocca, 1777.	AM 0433
C.C.P.	Matins	Responsory of Matins of Confessor Bishops	Without specification, for tenor solo with violins, trumpets and bass. By Matheo Tollis de la Rocca, 1778.	AM 0437

**Table 1.4 Continued**

<b>Festivity</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>Comments</b>	<b>Call</b>
C.C.nP.	Matins	Five Responsories	Without specification. Indication “for S. Felipe Neri,” for four voices and solo with <i>ripieno</i> , violins and bass. By Ignacio de Jerusalem, no date.	AM 0512
S. Pedro	Matins	1 <sup>st</sup> responsory	Indication “motet for the procession of S. Pedro,” for four voices with violins, trumpets and bass. By Ignacio de Jerusalem, no date.	AM 0526
S. Pedro	Matins	4 <sup>th</sup> responsory	For Matins of S. Pedro, with violins and bass. By Ignacio de Jerusalem, 1758.	AM 0535
C.A.	Matins	Invitatory and hymn	Indication “for Matins of S. Pedro,” for four voices with violins, trumpets and <i>ripienos</i> . By Ignacio de Jerusalem, 1762.	AM 0540
C.A.	Matins	Invitatory and hymn	Indication “for Matins of S. Pedro.” By Ignacio de Jerusalem, no date.	AM 0551
C.C.nP.	Matins	Invitatory and hymn	Indication “for Matins of S. Felipe Neri.” No date.	AM 0639
C.C.nP.	Matins	7 <sup>th</sup> and 8 <sup>th</sup> responsories <i>Iste est qui ante</i> and <i>Sint lumbi vestri</i>	Indication “third nocturne of Matins of S. Felipe Neri. No date.	AM 0644
S. Felipe Neri	Matins	Invitatory, hymn <i>Noctifum Neri</i> , and 3 <sup>rd</sup> responsory <i>Amore vulneratus lungebat</i>	Indication “Matins of S. Felipe Neri,” for four voices, organ and orchestra. Responsory for <i>triple</i> solo. By Francisco Delgado, no date.	AM 0707
Corpus Christi	Mass	Sequence <i>Lauda Sion salvatorem</i>	With violins and trumpets. By “Carpani”, 1794.	AM 0705



**Table 1.4 Continued**

<b>Festivity</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>Comments</b>	<b>Call</b>
S. Pedro	Matins	8 <sup>th</sup> responsory <i>Quem dicunt homines</i>	Indication “8 <sup>th</sup> responsory for the matins of S. Pedro,” for solo with violins, bass, trumpets, clarinets, oboes, <i>timpani</i> and organ <i>obbligato</i> . By Juan Bautista del Aguila, 1781.	AM 0701
Corpus Christi	Vespers	Magnificat antiphon <i>O quam suavis est Domine</i>	With violins, oboes, viola, trumpets, organ and bass. By Matheo Manterola, 1817.	AM 0706
Corpus Christi	Lauds	Hymn <i>O salutaris hostia</i>	Does not appear on chantbooks but featured in <i>Manual de Párrocos</i> , for three voices and orchestra. By J. C. Camacho, 1885.	AM 0743
Corpus Christi	Matins	4 <sup>th</sup> responsory <i>Cenantibus illis</i>	For two voices, by F. de J. Canales dedicated to mother Josefina Vargas of the convent of San Gerónimo, 1861.	AM 0745
S. Pedro	Matins	8 <sup>th</sup> responsory <i>Quem dicunt homines</i>	Indication “8 <sup>th</sup> responsory in the Matins of S. Pedro,” for solo voice with two violins, viola, oboe, two clarinets, two trumpets, bassoon, and bass. By Antonio Gómez, no date.	AM 0793
Corpus Christi	Mass	Mass for the Holy Sacrament	Indication “Mass for the sacrament on the hymn <i>Sacris solemniss</i> , no date.	AM 0810
C.U.M.	Matins	Invitatory, hymn and responsories for Matins for S. Felipe de Jesús	Invitatory <i>Regem martyrum Dominum</i> , 1 <sup>st</sup> resp. <i>Iste sanctus prolege</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> resp. <i>Iustus germinabit</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> resp. <i>Iste cognovit iustitiam</i> , 4 <sup>th</sup> resp. <i>Honestum fecit illum</i> .	AM 0827-0832
Corpus Christi	Vespers	Hymn	Indication “hymn In festo Corporis Christi <i>Tantum ergo</i> .”	AM 0840

**Table 1.4 Continued**

<b>Festivity</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>Comments</b>	<b>Call</b>
S. Pedro	Matins	4 <sup>th</sup> responsory <i>Respexit Elias. Tu es Petrus. Domine si tu es jube me venire.</i>	Indication “Aria for full orchestra,” by José Antonio Gómez y Olguín.	AM 0842
S. Pedro	Matins	7th responsory <i>Ego pro te rogavi Petre</i>	Duet accompanied by two violins, viola, clarinets, trumpets, organ <i>obbligato</i> , bass organ and continuo. By José Antonio Gómez y Olguín.	AM 0846
Corpus Christi	Matins	4 <sup>th</sup> reponsory <i>Cenantibus illis accepit</i>	For four voices and organ <i>obbligato</i> . By José Antonio Gómez, 1846.	AM 0852
Corpus Christi	Matins	Invitatory <i>Christus Regem adoremus</i>	For four voices with two violins, viola, flutes, clarinets, bugles, trumpets, trombones.	AM 0860
Corpus Christi	Vespers	Magnificat antiphon <i>O quam suavis est Domine</i>	<i>Tiple</i> duet with bass, by J. Luna, 1849.	AM 0880
Corpus Christi	Matins	Hymn <i>Sacris Solemnis</i>	For four voices with two violins, two clarinets, two trumpets, bass, organ and timpani. By Mateo Manterola.	AM 0888
Corpus Christi	Matins/ Mass	Invitatory, hymn and sequence.	By A. M. Pacheco.	AM 0912
C.U.M.	Matins	Invitatory <i>Regem martyrum Dominum</i> , hymn and eight responsories	By Antonio Valle.	AM 0935
Corpus Christi	Matins	1 <sup>st</sup> and 8 <sup>th</sup> responsories <i>Immolabit haedum</i> , and <i>Misit me vivens</i>	For two voices, 1858.	AM 0941

**Table 1.4 Continued**

<b>Festivity</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>Comments</b>	<b>Call</b>
Corpus Christi	Matins	1 <sup>st</sup> , 4 <sup>th</sup> and 5 <sup>th</sup> responsories <i>Immolabit haedum, Cenantibus illis, and Accepit Iesus</i>	1 <sup>st</sup> responsory for three voices and the other two for solo voice. By Antonio Valle, 1845.	AM 0948-0950
Corpus Christi	Matins	Hymn <i>Sacris solemnis</i>	For two and four voices with two violins, viola, two flutes, two clarinets, two trumpets, bass and organ <i>obbligato</i> . By Jesús Zumelso.	AM 0968
Corpus Christi	Matins	6 <sup>th</sup> responsory <i>Ego sum panis</i>	For two voices and organ <i>obbligato</i> .	AM 1242
Corpus Christi	Lauds	Hymn <i>Salutaris hostia</i>	No annotations.	AM 1577
Corpus Christi	2 <sup>nd</sup> vespers	Magnificat antiphon <i>O sacrum convivium</i>	For eight voices, by Antonio de Salazar.	AM 1679
C.C.P.	Matins	3 <sup>rd</sup> responsory <i>Iuravit Dominus</i>	For eight voices, by Antonio de Salazar.	AM 1680
C.C.P.	Matins	7 <sup>th</sup> responsory <i>Amavit eum Dominus</i>	For four voices, by Antonio de Salazar.	AM 1681
C.C.P.	Matins	4 <sup>th</sup> responsory <i>Inveni David</i>	Indication “for S. Ildephonso,” for six voices. By Antonio de Salazar, 1703.	AM 1682
S. Pedro	?	Villancico <i>Pedro amado, dulce, bueno, yo te adoro</i>	Aria for two voices with violins and bass. By Ignacio de Jerusalem.	AM 1791
S. Pedro	?	Villancico <i>A la milagrosa escuela de Pedro</i>	Indication “villancico for opposition exam?” By Ignacio de Jerusalem.	AM 1792

**Table 1.5      Items for Matins Common Offices Performed by the Music Chapel<sup>1 2</sup>**

<b>Feast</b>	<b>Invitatorium</b>	<b>Responsoria</b>
C. P. M.	<i>Regem Martyr</i>	1. <i>Absterget Deus</i> , 2. <i>Viri sancti</i> , 3. <i>Tradiderunt corpora</i> , 4. <i>Sancti tui</i> , 5. <i>Verbera carni</i> , 6. <i>Tanquam aurum</i> , 7. <i>Propter testamentum</i> , 8. <i>Sancti mei</i>
C. U. M.	<i>Regem Martyrum</i>	1. <i>Iste sanctus protege</i> , 2. <i>Iustus germinavit sicut</i> , 3. <i>Iste cognovit iustitiam</i> , 4. <i>Honestum fecit illum</i> , 5. <i>Desiderium anime</i> , 6. <i>Stolla iucunditatis</i> , 7. <i>Corona aurea</i> , 8. <i>Hic est vere martyr</i>

---

<sup>1</sup> According to items found in the music archive of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico, as listed in Thomas Stanford, *Catálogo de los Acervos Musicales de las Catedrales Metropolitanas de México y Puebla de la Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia y otras Colecciones menores*, Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2002.

<sup>2</sup> C.U.M.= Commune unius Martyris; C.P.M.= Commune Plurimorum Martyrum; C.C.P.= Commune Confessoris Pontificis; C.C.nP.= Commune Confessoris non Pontificis; C.V.= Commune Virginum, C.A.= Commune Apostolorum.

**Table 1.5      Continued**

<b>Feast</b>	<b>Invitatorium</b>	<b>Responsoria</b>
C. C. P.		1. <i>Auge serve bone</i> , 2. <i>Ecce sacerdos magnus</i> , 3. <i>Iuravit Dominus</i> , 4. <i>Inveni David</i> , 5. <i>Posui adiutorium</i> , 6. <i>Iste est qui ante deum</i> , 7. <i>Amavit eum dominus</i> , 8. <i>Sint lumbi vestri</i>
C. C. nP.		1. <i>Auge serve bone</i> , 2. <i>Iustus germinabit sicut</i> , 3. <i>Iste cognovit iustitiam</i> , 4. <i>Honestum fecit illum</i> , 5. <i>Amavit eum dominus</i> , 6. <i>Iste homo perfecit</i> , 7. <i>Iste est qui ante deum</i> , 8. <i>Sint lumbi vestri</i>

**Table 1.5      Continued**

<b>Feast</b>	<b>Invitatorium</b>	<b>Responsoria</b>
C. V.	<i>Regem virginum</i>	1. <i>Veni sponsa Christi</i> , 2. <i>Difusa est gratia</i> , 3. <i>Specie tua et pulchritudine</i> , 4. <i>Propter veritatem</i> , 5. <i>Dilexisti iustitiam</i> , 6. <i>Afferentur regi virgines</i> , 7. <i>Hec est virgo sapiens</i> , 8. <i>Media nocte clamor factus</i>
C. A.		1. <i>Ecce ego mitto vos</i> , 2. <i>Tollite iugum</i> , 3. <i>Dum steteritis</i> , 4. <i>Vidi coniunctos</i> , 5. <i>Beati estis</i> , 6. <i>Isti sunt triumphatores</i> , 7. <i>Isti sunt qui viventes</i> , 8. <i>Isti sunt viri sancti</i>

**Table 2.1      Salaries for Music Chapel – 1709<sup>1 2</sup>**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>POSITION</b>	<b>SALARY</b>
1. Francisco Ponze	Singer	250 pesos
2. Miguel del Rosal	Singer	125 pesos
3. Francisco de Atienza	Singer	400 pesos
4. Guillermo de Carvajal	Singer	250 pesos
5. Carlos de Aguilar	Singer/ choirboys instructor	150/ 200 pesos
6. Tiburcio Vásquez	Singer	200 pesos
7. Manuel Días	Singer	200 pesos
8. Juan de Cisneros	Singer	100 pesos
9. Simón de Guzmán Vallín	Singer	250 pesos
10. Miguel de Herrera	Singer	200 pesos
11. Luis Beltrán del Castillo	Singer	78 pesos
12. Diego López de Lois	Singer	250 pesos
13. José Pérez de Guzmán	Singer	250 pesos
14. Juan de Rivera	Singer	100 pesos

---

<sup>1</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, box 23, document 2, September 28, 1688, 1 folio.

<sup>2</sup> The archival source for this information is a letter from Antonio de Salazar, chapel master at that time, to the Cabildo explaining the proficiency, salary, and in some cases, the instrument played by each individual. The document does not give account of the salary earned by Salazar. Other archival references, however, point out that Salazar earned a yearly salary of 500 pesos, and an additional 200 pesos for teaching the choirboys. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 25, fol. 239v.

**Table 2.1      Continued**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>POSITION</b>	<b>SALARY</b>
15. Juan de Orense	Singer	100 pesos
16. José Guevara	Singer	100 pesos
17. Manuel de Cárdenas	Singer	200 pesos
18. Manuel Sumaya	Organ	300 pesos
19. Juan Télles	Organ	300 pesos
20. Juan de Esquivel	Organ	200 pesos
21. Perón de Zárate	Bass viol	300 pesos
22. Juan de Marsán	Bass viol	300 pesos
23. Antonio de Silva	Bass viol/ shawm	200 pesos
24. Diego Suárez	Harp	200 pesos
25. Domingo de Castañeda	Trumpet	120 pesos
26. Francisco del Castillo	Bass viol	100 pesos
27. José de Anaya	Bass viol	50 pesos
28. Miguel Ordoñez	Trumpet	?



**Table 2.2      Salaries for Music Chapel – 1732<sup>1 2</sup>**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>SALARY</b>
1. Manuel Sumaya	332 pesos, 7 tomines
2. Miguel de Rojas	59 pesos, 7 tomines
3. Tiburcio Vásquez	117 pesos
4. Luis Beltrán del Castillo	39 pesos, 4 tomines
5. Domingo Dutra	240 pesos, 5 ½ tomines
6. José González	91 pesos, 4 tomines
7. Simón de Guzmán	99 pesos, 4 tomines
8. José de Guevara	47 pesos, 6 tomines
9. Miguel de Herrera	111 pesos, 6 granos
10. Antonio de Silba	142 pesos, 3 ½ tomines
11. Francisco de Castillo	89 pesos, 1 tomin
12. Juan de Rivera	109 pesos, 2 ½ tomines
13. José de Amaya	89 pesos, 3 ½ tomines

---

<sup>1</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, box 1, document 14, July 28, 1732, 2 folios.

<sup>2</sup> The document only provides the names of individuals and their salaries, it does not specify what instrument they played or if they were singers. This description is for the first payment of salaries after six months of employment. In order to know the yearly salary of each individual one would just need to multiply the salaries in this document by two.

**Table 2.2      Continued**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>SALARY</b>
14. Antonio Cerezo	122 pesos, 2 ½ tomines
15. Salvador Zapata	109 pesos, 6 ½ tomines
16. Thadeo de Torquemada	105 pesos, 3 tomines
17. Francisco Pedrosa	73 pesos, 5 tomines
18. Vicente Ramírez	72 pesos
19. Francisco del Villar	47 pesos, 7 ½ tomines
20. Miguel Massías	143 pesos, 5 tomines
21. Joaquín Lozano	145 pesos, 3 tomines
22. Sebastián Quintana	96 pesos, 4 ½ tomines
23. Nicolás Gil	72 pesos
24. Luis Claro	137 pesos, 1 tomin
25. José Laneri	149 pesos, 4 tomines
26. Antonio Rodríguez Gutiérrez	149 pesos, 4 tomines
TOTAL PAID: 2,984 PESOS	

**Table 2.3      Salaries for Music Chapel – 1733<sup>1</sup>**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>SALARY</b>
1. Manuel Sumaya	330 pesos, 4 ½ tomines
2. Miguel de Rosas	57 pesos, 7 tomines
3. Tiburcio Vásquez	115 pesos, 3 tomines
4. Luis Beltrán	35 pesos, 5 tomines
5. Domingo Dutra	242 pesos, 6 granos
6. José González	92 pesos, 6 granos
7. Vicente Ramírez	72 pesos, 6 ½ tomines
8. Simón de Guzmán	99 pesos, 4 tomines
9. José de Guevara	47 pesos, 7 tomines
10. Miguel de Herrera	109 pesos, 3 ½ tomines
11. Antonio de Silva	143 pesos, 5 tomines
12. Francisco de Castillo	93 pesos, 5 tomines
13. Juan de Rivera	112 pesos, 6 tomines
14. José de Anaya	87 pesos, 7 tomines
15. Antonio Cerezo	111 pesos, 3 ½ tomines

---

<sup>1</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Fábrica Espiritual, box 1, document 14, January 21, 1733, 2 folios.

**Table 2.3      Continued**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>SALARY</b>
16. Salvador Zapata	106 pesos, 5 tomines
17. Thaeo Torquemada	105 pesos, 1 tomin
18. Francisco Pedrosa	74 pesos, 2 tomines
19. Francisco del Villar	47 pesos, 1 tomin
20. Miguel Macías	142 pesos, 6 granos
21. Joaquín Lozano	139 pesos, 5 tomines
22. Sebastián Quintana	92 pesos, 6 ½ tomines
23. Nicolás Gil	69 pesos, 3 ½ tomines
24. Luis Claro	134 pesos, 6 granos
25. José Laneri	149 pesos, 4 tomines
26. Antonio Rodríguez Gutiérrez	148 pesos, 5 ½ tomines
TOTAL PAID: 2,952 pesos, 6 tomines, 6 granos	

**Table 2.4      Tithes Income and Distribution for 1721<sup>1</sup>**

TOTAL COLLECTION:	232,696 pesos, 6 tomines
General costs of collection	52,703 pesos, 4 tomines
Tithes not collected in 1720	2,502 pesos, 4 ½ tomines
One fourth to archbishopric	44,998 pesos
Treasury	19,999 pesos
Royal ninth to the king	20,000 pesos
Fund for hospitals	10,000 pesos
Fund for Cabildo	5,665 pesos, 3 tomines
<hr/>	
TOTAL:	155,868 pesos
Available for distribution among members of the Cabildo	76,829 pesos

---

<sup>1</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 30, fol. 64v.

**Table 2.5      Tithes Income and Distribution for 1733<sup>1</sup>**

TOTAL COLLECTION:	288,532 pesos, 5 tomines, 1 grano
General costs of collection	56,253 pesos, 3 tomines
One fourth to archbishopric	58,074 pesos, 6 tomines, 7 granos
Treasury	19,356 pesos, 5 tomines
Royal ninth to the king	25,808 pesos, 6 ½ tomines
Fund for hospitals	19,356 pesos, 5 tomines
Fund for Cabildo	5,184 pesos, 7 ½ tomines

---

TOTAL: 184, 035 pesos, 1 tomin, 7 granos

Available for distribution among  
members of the Cabildo 104,497 pesos

---

<sup>1</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 33, fol. 58v.

Figure 6.1 Chantbook with Office and Mass of the Dead



Folios 1v and 2r



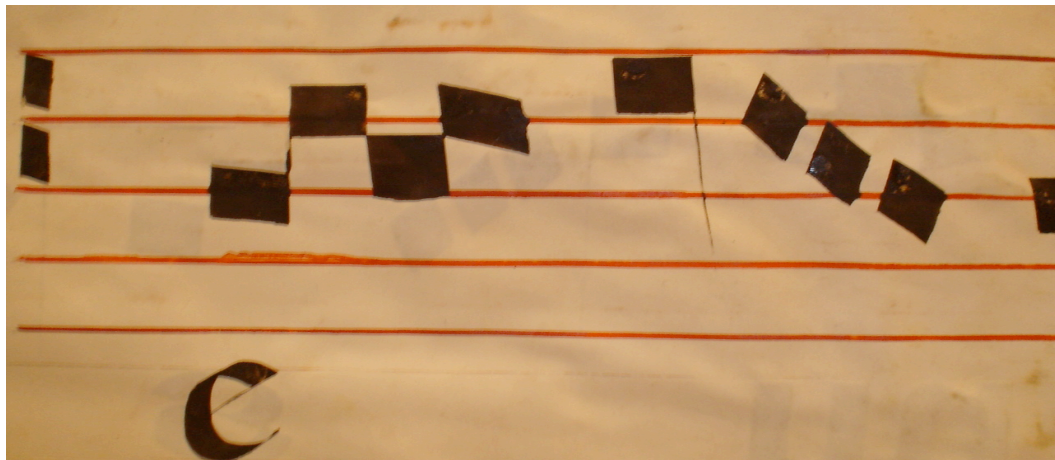
Folios 3r and 7v

**Figure 6.2** Lorenzo Rubio's Initials on Chantbook with Office and Mass of the Dead, fol. 60v





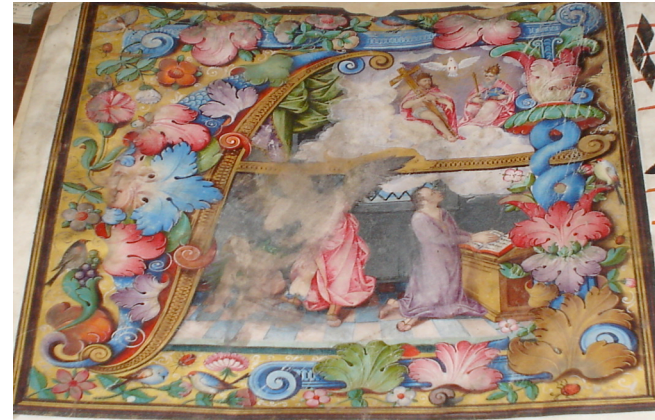
**Figure 6.3** Book of Corpus from 1713 featuring Common Offices, Calligraphic Examples, fols. 10v, 11v, and 40r



**Figure 6.4 Comparison of Chantbook Illuminations with Luis Lagarto's Work**



Luis Lagarto, “La Anunciación” (1610),  
Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City



Chantbook for the Office of the Guardian Angel



**Figure 6.5** Illustrations in Second and Third Books of Corpus, 1712-1713



Second Book of Corpus, fol. 16v



Third Book of Corpus, fol. 19v

Figure 6.6 Illustrations in First Book of Corpus, 1712

Folio 1r



Folios 74r (top) and 79r (below)





**Figure 6.7 Calligraphy, Illumination and Illustration in the Book of Corpus, 1761**

Opening page (not foliated)



From top to bottom: page 1, 19, and 47



## **Bibliography**

### **Primary Sources**

#### **Archivo General de la Nación**

Bienes Nacionales. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City.

Volume 578, 1654

Volume 703, 1671

Cofradías y Archicofradías. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City.

Volume 15, 1814

General de Parte. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City.

Volume 3, 1557

Volume 13, 1670-1675

Volume 15, 1674-1677

Volume 57, 1777

Hospitales. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City.

Volume 47, 1768

Reales Cédulas. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City.

Volume 4, 1654-1657

Volume 5, 1654-1657

Volume 36, 1713

Volume 153, 1792

#### **Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México**

Fondo Cabildo. Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Mexico City.

Box 6, 1650

Box 8, 1664-1669

Box 9, 1667-1669

Box 11, 1677

Box 16, 1686

Box 18, 1692

Box 19, 1695-1697

Box 24, 1707

Box 26, 1713

Box 47, 1743

Box 57, 1741  
Box 62, 1744  
Box 78, 1757  
Box 145, 1803  
Box 150, 1805  
Box 151, 1806  
Box 153CL, 1725  
Box 178, 1752  
Box 183, 1576-1596  
Box 184, 1646-1671  
Box 185, 1674-1716  
Box 186, 1726-1737  
Box 187, 1769  
Box 188, 1785  
Box 193, XVIII-XIX centuries; without specific dates  
Box 196, XVIII century; without specific dates

Fondo Episcopal. Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Mexico City.

Box 17, 1686  
Box 32, 1627  
Box 193, XVIII century; without specific dates  
Box 183, 1602

### **Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal**

Actas de Cabildo. Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Mexico City.

Volume 88-A, 1768  
Volume 648-A, 1612

Ayuntamiento. Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Mexico City.

Cedulario de N. C. de México, volume 436a, 1522-1682  
Fiestas Religiosas, Book 1066, 1694-1696  
Volume 3712, 1686-1790

### **Catedral Metropolitana de México**

Actas de Cabildo. Archivo del Cabildo. Catedral Metropolitana de México, Mexico City.

Book 4, 1588-1605  
Book 5, 1606-1616  
Book 8, 1626-1632  
Book 19, 1673-1677

Book 23, 1691-1695  
Book 24, 1695-1697  
Book 25, 1698-1701  
Book 27, 1710-1714  
Book 29, 1717-1721  
Book 30, 1722-1727  
Book 32, 1731-1734  
Book 33, 1734-1736  
Book 34, 1736-1737  
Book 35, 1737-1741  
Book 36, 1741-1744  
Book 37, 1744-1745  
Book 38, 1745-1747  
Book 39, 1747-1749  
Book 40, 1749-1751  
Book 44, 1759-1762  
Book 45, 1761-1762

Aniversarios. Archivo del Cabildo. Catedral Metropolitana de México, Mexico City.  
Book 3, 1549-1677

Biblioteca. Archivo del Cabildo. Catedral Metropolitana de México, Mexico City.  
Book 121, *Directorio Anual según el Gobierno y práctica de esta Santa Metropolitana Iglesia de México, y añadido un modo fácil para hallar las Misas y Oficios Propios de los Santos que se celebran anualmente*, 1785.

Capellanías. Archivo del Cabildo. Catedral Metropolitana de México, Mexico City.  
Box 1, 1767

Contaduría. Archivo del Cabildo. Catedral Metropolitana de México, Mexico City.  
Book 4, 1730-1787

Correspondencia. Archivo del Cabildo. Catedral Metropolitana de México, Mexico City.  
Book 3  
Book 18  
Book 25  
Book 30  
Box 1, 1530-1700  
Box 2, 1747  
Box 15, 1689-1742  
Box 23, 1688-1745



Edictos. Archivo del Cabildo. Catedral Metropolitana de México, Mexico City.

Box 1, 1656-1722

Box 2, 1693-1720

Box 5, 1779

Fábrica Espiritual. Archivo del Cabildo. Catedral Metropolitana de México, Mexico City.

Book 3, 1717-1718

Book 4, 1747

Book 6, 1749-1752

Box 1, 1652-1831

Fábrica Material. Archivo del Cabildo. Catedral Metropolitana de México, Mexico City.

Book 7, 1748

Book 12, 1788-1794

Box 1, 1601-1602

Box 2, 1615-1619

Inventarios. Archivo del Cabildo. Catedral Metropolitana de México, Mexico City.

Box 1, 1735-1936

Ministros. Archivo del Cabildo. Catedral Metropolitana de México, Mexico City.

Box 1, 1655-1686

Ordo. Archivo del Cabildo. Catedral Metropolitana de México, Mexico City.

Books 2 and 4, *Diario Manual de lo que en esta Santa Iglesia Catedral Metropolitana de México se practica y observa en su altar, coro, y demás que le es debido hacer en todos y en cada uno de los Días del Año*, 1751.

Reales Cédulas. Archivo del Cabildo. Catedral Metropolitana de México, Mexico City.

Book 2, 1540-1583

Book 6, 1742

### **Secondary Sources**

Apel, Willi. Gregorian Chant. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958.

Baker, Geoffrey. "Music at Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco." Early Music 32, no. 3 (2004): 355-67.

Bataillon, Marcel. Erasmus y España. Translated by Antonio Alatorre. Second ed. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966. Reprint, 1996.

- Bradshaw, Paul. "Cathedral and Monastic: What's in a Name?" Worship. 77, no. 4 (2003): 341-353.
- Brill, Mark. "The Oaxaca Cathedral *Exámen de Oposición* and the Quest for a Modern Style." Latin American Music Review. 25, no. 1 (2005).
- Burns, Robert Ignatius. "The Organization of a Medieval Cathedral Community: The Chapter of Valencia (1238-1280)." Church History. 31 (March 1962): 14-23.
- Casillas, José Gutiérrez, ed. Historia de la Iglesia en México. Seventh ed. V vols. México: Editorial Porrúa, 1921. Reprint, 2003.
- Catalyne, Alice Ray. "Music of the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries in the Cathedral of Puebla, Mexico." Anuario 2 (1966): 75-90.
- Díaz-Cayeros, Patricia. "Espacio y Poder en el Coro de la Catedral de Puebla." Relaciones 25, no. 97 (2004): 219-51.
- Farriss, N. M. La Corona y el Clero en el México Colonial 1579-1821, La Crisis del Privilegio Eclesiástico. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1995.
- García-Cárcel, Ricardo. Historia de España Siglo XVIII - La España de los Borbones. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2002.
- Garner, Richard L. "Precios y Salarios en México Durante El Siglo XVIII." In Economías Coloniales - Precios y Salarios en América Latina, Siglo XVIII, edited by Lyman Johnson and Enrique Tandeter, 81-118. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992.
- Holweck, F. G. "Ecclesiastical Feasts." *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 6, September 1909. <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06021b.htm>> (31 March 2006).
- Jiménez, Víctor. "Relojes y Arquitectura en México." *México en el Tiempo* 36, (May/June 2000), in *México Desconocido* 2002. <[http://www.mexicodesconocido.com/espanol/cultura\\_y\\_sociedad/arte/detalle.cfm?idcat=3&idsec=14&idsub=52&idpag=1967](http://www.mexicodesconocido.com/espanol/cultura_y_sociedad/arte/detalle.cfm?idcat=3&idsec=14&idsub=52&idpag=1967)> (14 April 2006).
- Mazín-Gómez, Oscar. El Cabildo Catedral de Valladolid de Michoacán. Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1996.

- McKinnon, James W. "The Origins of the Western Office." In The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages, edited by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer, 63-73. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Mershman, Francis. "Feast of Corpus Christi." *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 6, 1908. <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04390b.htm>> (31 March 2006).
- Ricard, Robert. La Conquista Espiritual de México. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1947. Reprint, 2000.
- Rivera, Mariano Galván, ed. Concilio Tercero Provincial Mexicano. Barcelona: Manuel Miró y D. Marsá, 1870.
- Robles, Antonio de. Diario de Sucesos Notables. Edited by Antonio Castro Leal. Second Edition ed. 3 vols, Colección de Escritores Mexicanos. México: Editorial Porrúa, 1946. Reprint, 1972.
- Rubin, Miri. Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Sánchez-González, Ramón. Iglesia y Sociedad en la Castilla Moderna: El Cabildo Catedralicio de la Sede Primada (Siglo XVII). Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha: Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Toledo, 2000.
- Schwaller, John Frederick. Orígenes de la Riqueza de la Iglesia en México: Ingresos Eclesiásticos y Finanzas de la Iglesia, 1523-1600. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1990.
- Shiels, Eugene W. King and Church. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1961.
- Stanford, Thomas. Catálogo de los Acervos Musicales de las Catedrales Metropolitanas de México y Puebla de la Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia y Otras Colecciones Menores. Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2002.
- Stevenson, Robert. "Mexico City Cathedral Music: 1600-1750." The Americas 21, no. 2 (1964): 111-35.
- . Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- . Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961.

- Storey, William G. "Liturgy of the Hours: Cathedral versus Monastery." *Worship*. 50, no. 1 (January 1976): 50-70.
- Sullivan, James J. "The Athanasian Creed." *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 2, 1907. <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02033b.htm>> (5 April 2006).
- Taft, Robert. *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986. Second revised edition, 1993.
- Talbot, Michael. "Ore Italiane: The Reckoning of the Time of Day in Pre-Napoleonic Italy." *Italian Studies* 40, (1985): 52-53.
- Teresa, Guillermo Tovar y. *Un Rescate de la Fantasía: El Arte de los Lagarto, Iluminadores Novohispanos de los Siglos XVI y XVII*. Madrid: Turner Libros, 1988.
- Turrent, Lourdes. *La Conquista Musical de México*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993. Reprint, 1996.
- Vega-Sánchez, Carlos. *Cómo Vemos a la Catedral Metropolitana de México a principios del Siglo XXI*. México: Corporación Impresora Libra, 2002.
- Viqueira-Albán, Juan Pedro. *Relajados o Reprimidos: Diversiones Públicas y Vida Social en la Ciudad de México durante el Siglo de Luces*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1987. Reprint, 2001.

## **VITA**

Jesús Alejandro Ramos Kittrell was born on June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1972 in Monterrey, Nuevo León, Mexico, the son of Jesús Gilberto Ramos Vega and Sofía Dalila Kittrell Guzmán. He began his music studies in 1988 at the Universidad Regiomontana majoring in classical guitar performance. In 1993 he was accepted at the School of Music of The University of Texas at Austin where he received the degree of Bachelor of Music. In 1999 he continued graduate studies at The University of Texas School of Music in historical musicology, where he completed the degree of Master of Music with a focus on Twentieth-Century music. In 2001 Mr. Ramos was accepted as a doctoral student in historical musicology with a research emphasis on Mexican colonial sacred music. His research was recognized with prestigious awards such as the E. D. Farmer Endowed Fellowship and the Republic of Mexico “Solidaridad” Presidential Endowed Fellowship from the Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies, as well as the William S. Livingston University Continuing Fellowship.

Permanent Address: Ave. San Jemo #225, Colonia San Jemo

C. P. 64640, Monterrey, Nuevo León – México

This dissertation was typed by the author.