

ORDO IN CHORO SERVANDUS: RULES FOR THE CHOIR  
IN COLONIAL MÉXICO

by

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of their interlibrary loan office to borrow the microfiche containing the *Ordo*, this work would surely have been more difficult to complete. Furthermore, I am truly grateful to the Harlingen Public Library which facilitated the initial interlibrary loan request for the document and allowed access to their microform readers once it arrived.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Description</b>
ACCMM	– Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México
ACTAS	– Actas Capitulares
AHAM	– Archivo Historico del Arzobispado de México
S/N	– Sin Número (Without [folio] Number)

## NOTES REGARDING THE DOCUMENTS

There is a noticeable chronological space between the two versions of the document utilized in this study. The *Ordo in Choro Servandus* that I have translated for this study is the third printed edition and dates to 1797. The original promulgation of these rules was written significantly earlier in 1570, and initially the rules were only meant to be used within the Metropolitan Cathedral of México. Eventually, they were implemented in a widespread manner throughout the province of New Spain, when added to the legislation of the Third Mexican Provincial Council of 1585. The proceedings of the council, which was convoked by the third archbishop of México, Pedro Moya de Contreras, still had to be authorized by the Holy See and the Spanish Crown prior to publication. There are two previous editions of the *Ordo in Choro Servandus*, both of which were printed in México during the seventeenth century. Although the third edition is printed in Latin, the two earlier impressions are in Castilian Spanish and have been consulted after translations were made of the Latin document so as to verify the accuracy of the translation. This also allowed a way to illustrate any changes made within the multiple publications, especially, since it was three years after the initial translated of the document (See Appendix) before an archival copy of the original 1570 document was found and able to be compared to the later edition. I have retained all orthographic peculiarities within my translation of the *Ordo* as they appear in the original source and no attempt has been made to modernize the style of the text.

## NOTES REGARDING COLONIAL CURRENCY

The variation in amounts of worth for colonial-era currency in New Spain fluctuates wildly between the values of coins from Spain and South America, thus making comparisons difficult and contradictory. While the value of currency will always be at the mercy of immediate market conditions and inflation, there must be some semblance of consistency in evaluating monetary denominations. For the purposes of this study monetary values and their Iberian counterparts will be drawn from John Frederick Schwaller's *Origins of Church Wealth in Mexico: Ecclesiastical Revenues and Church Finances 1523-1600*. Schwaller's work is relevant to the time period in question for this thesis, thus making it an ideal source. Mexican currency mentioned throughout this thesis is compared against the maravedí. The maravedí is an accounting unit derived from a medieval Moorish coin used throughout Spain prior to the era of exploration. Each peso is divisible into 8 *reáles* (also known as *tomines*) and each *real* is divisible into 12 *granos* or essentially 96 *granos* in all.<sup>1</sup>

Denomination	Composition	Worth in Maravedís
Peso de minas	Silver	485
Peso de oro común	Silver	300
Peso de tepuzque	Alloy	272

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<sup>1</sup> John Frederick Schwaller, *Origins of Church Wealth in Mexico: Ecclesiastical Revenues and Church Finances, 1523-1600* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), 4-5.

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

The *Ordo in Choro Servandus* [Order to be Observed in the Choir] is an often-cited choral rule book utilized by those studying the musical culture of the Metropolitan Cathedral of México. Although this document has been referenced in various publications, its mention is merely a footnote within most studies. Only a few sources provide any significant details beyond acknowledging the existence of these rules and providing a cursory summary of the rule(s) that are necessary to an author's particular point; however, the set of rules as a whole are largely ignored. In the early twentieth century, studies by Lota Spell, Steven Barwick, and Robert M. Stevenson focused on the available archival sources in the major cathedrals of Mexico, Central, and South America, especially extant musical scores. While a reference to the *Ordo in Choro Servandus*—or one of its other published titles—can be found in at least one of their respective published findings, the references themselves are not comprehensive. In each case, the rules are relegated to some minor listing of choral reform matters within the Metropolitan Cathedral of México. Lota Spell's article in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* cites one particular rule without mentioning the set as a whole.<sup>2</sup> The inclusion of this rule is the last in a series of many "regulations for improvement of the choir" taken from the *Actas de Cabildo* of the Mexican cathedral. The rule utilized is also one of the least often cited and conveys some of the specific sung requirements of chapter members, as well as the punishment for not learning to sing them.<sup>3</sup> Although Spell uses one of the most comprehensive sources of the rules from the García Icazbalceta

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<sup>2</sup> Lota Spell, "Music in the Cathedral of Mexico City in the Sixteenth Century," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 26, no. 3 (August 1946): 307, accessed July 6, 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2508352>.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Collection, the rules are not her primary or even secondary concern in the article. Her focus remains on the musical styles of the period as well as presenting a chronological account of music within the Mexican cathedral throughout the sixteenth century.

A chronological station on a timeline presenting a synopsis of Neo-Hispanic polyphonic development is the only treatment the rules receive in Robert M. Stevenson's *Music in Mexico*.<sup>4</sup> Stevenson makes no reference to individual mandates, however, he does comment on the document claiming that it was modeled after the Constitutions of the Pontifical Choir presented by Pope Paul III in 1545.<sup>5</sup> This assertion is highly unlikely as Schuler states that singers who reveal secrets pertaining to the Sistine Chapel are treated as perjurers and as such are subject to punishment.<sup>6</sup> Although the Pauline Constitutions do contain similar regulations, the *Actas de Cabildo* of the Mexican cathedral do not indicate that it ever received a Spanish singer who was formerly a singer in the Papal Chapel.<sup>7</sup> Conversely, Steven Barwick at least presents three rules in a discussion of complaints from the cathedral chapter to the archbishop, but unfortunately he does not cite them as such.<sup>8</sup> In fact he makes absolutely no mention of the rules as a set and states that the second archbishop of México "insisted" upon these rules regarding silence in the choir. The larger subject matter of both Stevenson and Barwick's

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<sup>4</sup> Robert M. Stevenson, *Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1952), 85.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Richard Schuler, "The Cappella Sistina," *Caecilia A Review of Catholic Church Music* 90, no. 4 (Winter 1963-1964): 146.

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of Spaniards as singers in the Papal Chapel see Robert M. Stevenson *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976) and Richard Sherr, *Music and musicians in Renaissance Rome and other courts* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1999) especially Chapters X, XI, and XII.

<sup>8</sup> Steven Barwick, "Sacred Vocal Polyphony in Early Colonial Mexico" (PhD diss. Harvard University, 1949), 63.

monographs pertain to early polyphony in New Spain. It is no wonder why the rules did not figure prominently within their individual works. Nonetheless, in the latter half of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries further examinations of the *Ordo in Choro servandus* began to appear in other studies regarding the Mexican cathedral.

In his doctoral dissertation concerning the life and works of Archbishop Alonso de Montúfar, O.P. Magnus Lundberg provides not only a specific mention of the rules as an organized whole but also the impetus for the creation of the document.<sup>9</sup> In addition to recognizing the organizational stature of the document he also cites nineteen of the rules. This is only superceded by Javier Marín López, who lists all but five of the rules in his doctoral dissertation.<sup>10</sup> Despite including a copious number of Montúfar's regulations into their dissertations, the inclusion itself merely equates to a list in comparison to the remainder of their respective works. In addition, both scholars do state the importance of this document but cede deference to the Jesuit scholar Ernest J. Burrus. Burrus's work, *Ordenanzas para el coro de la catedral mexicana*, is the only other indepth study of this document, aside from my own. Although his comparison of two separate editions of the document illuminates the subtle changes made over time and through multiple impressions, he himself states that his work reproduces the document in order to salvage a bibliographic treasure.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Magnus Lundberg, "Unification and Conflict: The Church Politics of Alonso de Montúfar OP, Archbishop of Mexico, 1554-1572" (PhD diss. Swedish Institute of Missionary Research, 2002), 192.

<sup>10</sup> Javier Marín López, *Música y músicos entre dos mundos la catedral de México y sus libros de polifonía (siglos XVI-XVIII)* (PhD diss. Universidad de Granada, 2007), 38-40.

<sup>11</sup> Alonso de Montúfar and Ernest J. Burrus, *Ordenanzas para el coro de la catedral mexicana, 1570* (Madrid: J. Porrúa Turanzas, 1964), 19.



While Burrus presents Montúfar's rules as a whole, they are not explicitly examined leaving the reader to wonder why or how each rule came to be necessary within a cathedral setting. The rules of any organization provide uniform structure in order to further the mission or goals of the organization; however, if the rules are not enforced consistently the goals of the organization cannot be met. The most considerable distinction between Burrus's work and my own is that this thesis endeavors to continue where Burrus left off by examining each ordinance individually, thus determining the extent of clerical abuse within the cathedral choir in relation to the Divine Office. In this instance the term choir refers not to the group of highly trained singers, but the choir of clerics who were obligated to sing based upon their benefice. This simple acknowledgement completely changes how the rules are not only read but interpreted. With the exception of a specific mention in Barwick's *Sacred Vocal Polyphony*, this concept of the choir has largely been assumed to be common knowledge.<sup>12</sup>

The edition Burrus refers to is the 1682 impression. It is the first known impression of the rules, except that the final line of that and every subsequent edition reads: *México the sixteenth day of January in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy*.<sup>13</sup> That is a separation of one hundred twelve years in-between promulgation and publication. Both Burrus and Lundberg acknowledge an earlier version of the rules based on the final statute which commands the archiepiscopal secretary to preserve a copy of these rules in the curial archive as proof of their publication, yet neither Burrus nor Lundberg appear to have utilized the document in their respective studies. Burrus really questions the existence of the earlier version by saying that there are "allusions to three

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<sup>12</sup> Barwick, "Sacred Vocal Polyphony," 63.

<sup>13</sup> See Appendix.

editions in Castillian Spanish.”<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, Lundberg does cite the sixteenth century copy found in the cathedral archive, but he makes no mention of the differences between it and the edition utilized by Burrus, chief among them being the number of rules. Throughout the various studies the number of applicable rules found in Montúfar’s rulebook fluctuates between forty-two and forty-six, however, the handwritten copy found in the archive only contains sixteen.<sup>15</sup> An even more neglected aspect of the document—than a concise rendering of the number of rules—is the way in which they were enforced. Even though Burrus presents every rule in its entirety in his study, never is there a discussion of the point system utilized to reduce a singer’s salary. This point system is based upon negligence and error, and the number of points incurred varies based upon the severity of an infraction. Unfortunately, the tabulation of this point system has yet to be deciphered; however, this thesis contains a brief discussion of this and other penalties incurred by members of the choir and their implications upon choral salaries.

The status of polyphony in the New World is also called into question throughout the document. Despite the wide variety of modern texts propagating polyphony in the New World, the preamble of the *Ordo in Choro Servandus* quite clearly states that it is a prescription of the proper order to celebrate the Divine Office with absolutely no mention

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<sup>14</sup> Montúfar and Burrus, *Ordenanzas*, 15.

<sup>15</sup> Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México (hereafter ACCMM) Reales Cédulas, Libro 3, Documento 18 s/n. This particular source, while cataloged as a Real Cédula, or Royal Decree, is not actually a royal decree, but rather a collection of documents that were bound together. The items contained within this tome date between 1528 and 1674 with a total of 580 folios, none of which are numbered. After consulting with the archivist, the decision was made to simply list entries from this source with the abbreviation s/n (sin numero) or without [folio] number.

of the Mass.<sup>16</sup> As the Divine Office is primarily comprised of psalms, I contend that Gregorian chant was not supplanted by polyphony in the early Mexican church. Indeed, polyphony is shown to be integral only to major feast days and special occasions, such as the arrival of a new viceroy or archbishop. However, chant remained far more prevalent in the Mexican church due to the limited number of proficient singers.

Furthermore, this study is in no way meant to undermine or discredit the work of previous scholars, chapelmasters, or cathedral singers, but to illuminate the social implications associated with being a musician employed by cathedrals in colonial New Spain, as well as expand upon previously held conceptions of choral practices within the literary repertory, and re-evaluate the types of available documentation utilized by researchers studying the musical heritage of the early cathedral choir of México.<sup>17</sup> In order to better understand the situation of the early Mexican cathedral choir, we must first examine the origins of the Mexican Church and its establishment in the New World through the transplantation of Spanish customs and traditions.

The Spanish expeditionary force led by Hernán Cortéz, in conjunction with an indigenous alliance, laid siege and decimated the once grand capital city of Tenochtitlán in 1521.<sup>18</sup> It was in the midst of the rubble that Cortéz commanded a church to be built

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> A differentiation must be made between New Spain and México. Any reference made to “México” is not to the modern day Latin American country, but to the archiepiscopal See located in modern day Mexico City. Any mention of “New Spain” refers to the territory at large. During the colonial era New Spain spread from modern day Guatemala to the American Southwest.

<sup>18</sup> Bernal Diaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, ed. and trans. by John M. Cohen (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Classics, 1963), 404 and 412.

from the stones of the fallen temples in what was once a large temple complex.<sup>19</sup> This same church would later be elevated to the status of a cathedral in the 1530s, only to be demolished in 1628. The demolition of the original edifice allowed construction to continue, as enough of the new cathedral had been completed to hold services.<sup>20</sup> Bernal Diaz del Castillo's personal account in his memoir, *The Conquest of New Spain*, documented that Cortéz attempted to convert pre-Hispanic temples into makeshift churches by destroying idols and replacing them with crosses.<sup>21</sup> After the destruction of Tenochtitlán, Spanish missionaries soon arrived in droves to begin the second conquest of the New World: the conversion of souls.<sup>22</sup> The arrival of twelve Franciscan friars in 1524 marked the beginning of Spanish efforts to formally convert the indigenous population, but also what would soon become the source of numerous disputes between regular and secular clergy. The regulars obeyed their abbot and not the bishop or archbishop, as the secular clergy did, thus resulting in numerous conflicts relating to jurisdiction. The growing number of monasteries and religious orders easily outnumbered the secular clergy in the sixteenth century, which in turn reduced the available tithing for the newly founded cathedral. The lack of a stable Spanish citizen base did not help, either. Expeditions in search of precious stones and metals began almost immediately after the razing of Tenochtitlán thus limiting the available tithe that could be collected

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<sup>19</sup> Manuel Toussaint, *La Catedral de México y el sagrario metropolitano; su historia, su tesoro, su arte* (México: Porrúa, 1973), 17.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 17

<sup>21</sup> Diaz del Castillo, *Conquest of New Spain*, 62,81-83, 121-125, 176-178, and 201-202.

<sup>22</sup> Osvaldo F. Pardo, *The Origins of Mexican Catholicism: Nahuatl Rituals and Christian Sacraments in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 2-3 and 95.

from the agricultural goods produced by Spanish citizens in the New World.<sup>23</sup> If the regulars were not enough of a distraction, the civil authorities created yet another source of interference in their attempts to settle ecclesiastical matters. In short, the sociopolitical undercurrent of the New World was in constant flux. While many of the same cultural, juridical, and societal customs and traditions were transplanted to the New World, thus attempting to recreate what was left behind in Spain, we find that many have been transformed significantly and in some cases have developed into something almost entirely new. Hence, one must consider the *Ordo in Choro Servandus* in this context. In order to properly examine the Mexican cathedral choir as an institution we must also navigate through the socio-political undercurrents of the time. Thus by examining the information contained within the *Ordo in Choro Servandus*, in both historical and cultural contexts, I will argue that the attempts to institute the norms of the Spanish cathedral choirs in the Mexican Metropolitan Cathedral were more of an evolution than an automatic installation.

In Chapter 2, I will present my preliminary argument for evolution rather than direct installation of Spanish norms by using general background information pertaining to the document. In Section 2.3 I will address the multiple ecclesiastical and provincial councils held in New Spain during the sixteenth century in order to illustrate the early choral ordinances enacted in both the Metropolitan Cathedral of México and throughout the Province of New Spain. As I will show, these councils provided a framework for some of the most basic tenets leading to the completion of the *Ordo in Choro Servandus* and its use. Later, in section 2.4, I will introduce the document as a whole and begin to

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<sup>23</sup> Diaz del Castillo, *Conquest of New Spain*, 412-413.

dissect it piece by piece, thus exposing the multiple layers of its organizational structure and demonstrating the far-reaching effects these ordinances contain not only for the Metropolitan Cathedral of México but all suffragan dioceses as well. In order to accomplish this dissection I have crafted a categorical separation of the rules, based on careful evaluation of the quality of each mandate. The categories utilized for this purpose are: General Directives, General Procedures, Ceremonial Procedures, Musical Obligations, and Dereliction of Duty. While the first two categories seem redundant, they are focused on comportment and protocol respectively. The rules will then be scrutinized further, based on the punishments imposed for infractions relating to an individual's service within the Mexican cathedral choir. These punishments offer a much more personal perspective concerning the cathedral singer's economic situation.

The third chapter pertains to the ritual and ceremonial nature of the Mass and Divine Office as set forth in the *Ordo in Choro Servandus*. To elaborate on the entire psalmodic cycle of the breviary, with all the intricacies and anomalies of each liturgical hour and type of Mass, would necessitate a work of its own. For this reason primary focus will be placed on a few particular and peculiar ceremonies and rituals, based upon their continued reference, or lack thereof, within the *Ordo in Choro Servandus*, with only brief attention to other elements of the Divine Office or Mass. For instance, the Office of Matins is the most often described Hour in the *Ordo in Choro Servandus* and will warrant a sizeable portion of the discussion in section 3.4. Examining Matins separately from the whole will allow an opportunity to view the implementation of the rules within the context of a single Hour. Still, other items mentioned in the *Ordo in Choro Servandus*—such as the *seña*—are rather cryptic, leaving no sort of context to them, thus necessitating

an investigation and brief explanation of the ritual. This auxiliary investigation—which can be found in section 3.5 and could be a paper of its own accord—will require the examination of a similar ritual from the Metropolitan Cathedral of Quito in Ecuador. By comparing the modern-day version of the *reseña* with archival information from the Mexican *Actas Capitulares*, particular elements of the ceremony regain clearer parameters than are present within the *Ordo in Choro Servandus*. Furthermore, information pertinent to the Divine Office and the Mass is littered throughout this thesis, when referring to specific rules or particular individuals and their duties.

I examine the cathedral structure as a whole in the fourth chapter. This will be done by viewing the cathedral from three separate aspects: hierarchical structure, musical structure, and architectural structure. The first aspect will isolate the individuals associated with the day-to-day functions of the cathedral as found in both the *Ordo in Choro Servandus* and the cathedral's Bull of Erection to gain a reference as to how the transplanted hierarchy may have functioned. Sections 4.2 and 4.3 will contain this information. In addition, section 3.6 will expound on other obligations or functions these individuals may have fulfilled within the cathedral. The combination of these three sections provides valuable information concerning the liturgical and paraliturgical duties of the cathedral's hierarchy. The second aspect will pertain to the musical obligations of these individuals as prescribed by both of the afore-stated documents. The musical obligations of the hierarchy caused a surprising amount of friction within the metropolitan cathedral from the earliest days of its existence. Analyzing the musical obligations of individual members within the Mexican cathedral offers an unexpected glimpse into the sociopolitical interactions between members of the choir. Section 4.4

discusses these musical obligations, while section 3.5 expands our understanding of the qualities necessary to obtain a benefice within a Spanish cathedral. Finally, in section 4.7 I will discuss the architecture and physical structure of the cathedral. There are a number of references to specific locations and physical markers throughout the *Ordo in Choro Servandus*. Including such a discussion is imperative to this study in order to establish a setting for the uses of the rules within a ritualistic framework.

Many of the obligations found in the cathedral's erection can also be found within the *Ordo in Choro Servandus*. The ambiguous nature of the erection document allowed the prelate and the Chapter to interpret the mandates how they saw fit. When these same items are viewed through the *Ordo in Choro Servandus*, these mandates become less implied and more explicit, thus providing evidence of the cathedral choir's need for revision and change. Further evidence of such changes will be provided throughout each chapter as I examine the cathedral choir through both the *de jure* and *de facto* systems. The first is based on the legalized and proscriptive nature of various codes of law, while the latter is derived from primary accounts such as the *Actas Capitulares*. The accounts provided by the two written source types offer a conflicting glimpse into the efficacy of the Mexican Metropolitan Cathedral choir in the sixteenth-century.

The primary focus of this thesis will be concentrated upon the order and process in which music was employed within the choir of the early cathedral structure in New Spain. This will place particular emphasis on the Divine Office and the Mass, as defined by the *Ordo in Choro Servandus* and set forth by the second archbishop of México, Alonso de Montúfar. In addition to a detailed analysis, both historical and cultural, of the *Ordo in Choro Servandus*, this thesis will also examine the proceedings of the first three



Mexican Provincial Councils; archival records relating to the finances of the cathedral choir found in the Archivo Historico del Arzobispado de México (AHAM); and Cathedral Chapter records found in the Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitana de México (ACMM), demonstrating both the reliance on tradition and the need for reinvention within the Mexican Cathedral Choir.

In order to facilitate this task, I include a fully-translated side-by-side Latin–English transcription of the *Ordo in Choro Servandus* (See Appendix). Throughout this study, the document which I translated will simply be referred to as the *Ordo*. Indeed, this thesis provides the first known English translation of the *Ordo in Choro Servandus*. The edition utilized in this study was printed in Mexico City by Mariano Zuñiga y Ontiveros at the request of the Bishop of Michoacán, Antonio de San Miguel, and dates from 1797. While this is not the first, nor the last, known impression of these rules, it is the most prevalently found within the holdings of multiple libraries and institutions around the world, according to WorldCat.<sup>24</sup> This document has existed in various editions and titles from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. The peculiarities of these other editions will be discussed in Chapter 2.1. The ideas, events, and regulations contained within this document may seem to revolve around the mundane—and it is very possible that this was so for the cathedral musicians of the time—but these pages reveal a rigid hierarchal spectrum that seems to have been either overlooked or merely assumed to be common knowledge.

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<sup>24</sup> “Ordo in choro servandus.” *OCLC Worldcat*, accessed March 6, 2016.  
[https://www.worldcat.org/title/statuta-ecclesiae-mexicanae-necnon-ordo-in-choro-servandus-curante-vallisoletanae-ecclesiae-capitulo-sumptus-suppeditante/oclc/20021558&referer=brief\\_results](https://www.worldcat.org/title/statuta-ecclesiae-mexicanae-necnon-ordo-in-choro-servandus-curante-vallisoletanae-ecclesiae-capitulo-sumptus-suppeditante/oclc/20021558&referer=brief_results)

## 2.1 The Rules

In the early 1960s the eminent Jesuit historian Ernest J. Burrus, S.J. edited a work he considered a “small bibliographic gem and precious liturgical text of the Spanish colonial era.”<sup>25</sup> His study, entitled *Ordenanzas para el Coro de la Catedral Mexicana*, contrasted two different editions of the *Ordo in Choro Servandus* ascribed to Alonso de Montúfar, the second archbishop of México. The texts utilized in Burrus’s study are based on a 1682 edition of the rules for the choir of the Metropolitan Cathedral of México and a Spanish translation of a Latin version of the rules expanded and heavily annotated by Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana y Butrón, the twenty-first archbishop of México.<sup>26</sup> Burrus uses the second text to illustrate the changes in wording between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Archbishop Lorenzana’s Latin version of the *Ordo* was appended to his collection of the first three Mexican Provincial Councils and later translated into Spanish by P. Basilio Arrillaga, S.J., who was not aware of the original Spanish version of 1570.<sup>27</sup> Burrus alludes to several other editions of this document, including two from 1710 and 1859, both printed in Mexico City, as well as an 1870 edition published in Barcelona.<sup>28</sup> Overall, Burrus’ work provides insight into the various editions and publications of this document, as well as clarifying some of the more obscure terms utilized throughout. Unfortunately, the work merely presents the set as a whole and does not offer reasons for the existence of individual rules aside from being a complement to the first two Mexican Provincial Councils, which were convened by archbishop Montúfar. As I argue in this thesis, when viewed as a whole these rules

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<sup>25</sup> Montúfar and Burrus, *Ordenanzas* 19.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 15-16.

provide a general understanding of what was expected of musicians in the Mexican Cathedral, but when separated and examined individually that picture becomes much broader and significantly altered, providing information not only of a historical context but of an economic and sociopolitical nature as well.

A series of organizational graphics has been created and developed to facilitate navigation through the *Ordo in Choro Servandus* and will be presented throughout this chapter. These graphics will include general background information relating to the original source, an exploration of the role of provincial councils, and a contextual grouping of the rules, all ultimately supporting my in-depth analysis in subsequent chapters.

## 2.2 The First Choral Rule Book of the Cathedral of México

Although the *Erectio* of the Mexican Cathedral stipulated the duties and obligations of the dignities and canons, the choir was initially ruled by whatever traditions and practices could be recalled by the members. The amount of traditions and practices was as numerous and varied as were the individuals who came from the furthest reaches of the Iberian Peninsula to the New World. According to the first entry in the *Actas Capitulares*, there were originally seven known members of the choir: Don Manuel Flores, Don Alvaro Temiño, Don Rafael de Cerbantes, Juan Bravo, Juan Xuarez, Miguel de Palomares, and Cristóbal de Campaya. They were also members of the governing body of the cathedral known as the *cabildo*.<sup>29</sup> During a meeting of the *cabildo* on March

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<sup>29</sup> AACMM, *Actas*, Lib. 1, 01marzo1536, fols. 1r-2r. The *cabildo* will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 4.

1, 1536, Cristóbal de Campaya—one of the first canons of the Mexican cathedral—was ordered to return to the Spanish Court, which at the time was in session in Seville, and petition the crown for various concessions on behalf of the Mexican *cabildo*. Included in his instructions were orders to seek out Peña in the cathedral at Seville and hand him an undisclosed letter sent by the *cabildo* of the newly formed Mexican Church. While it is not specified what was in the letter, the entry in the *Actas Capitulares* continues with a list of items required for the Divine Office. Among the diurnals, dominicals, and other choir books requested by the first bishop, Juan de Zummárraga, was a *regla de pergamino*. According to the capitular order this parchment book was to contain the rules of the choir for the fledgling cathedral.<sup>30</sup> One hundred *Castellanos de minas*<sup>31</sup> were given to Campaya specifically to pay for these books. Interestingly, there is also a note reading that if it were not enough to pay for all the materials, then he was to at least send the *regla* as well as a psalter with psalm tones and an antiphonary containing the hymn tones for the entire year. The next entry in the *actas* concerning Campaya appears two years later in October of 1538 after he had returned to México with various pay receipts for the items specified above. Unfortunately, the first *reglamento de coro* for the Mexican Cathedral is currently nowhere to be found in the Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México (ACMM). The only known references to this early *regla* are those previously cited from the *Actas Capitulares* of the cathedral.

The loss of items from archives is unfortunately not as unusual an occurrence as it might seem. On July 12, 1859 President Benito Juárez passed a law secularizing not only

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., fol. 3r.

<sup>31</sup> Schwaller, *Origins of Church Wealth*, 4-5. Castellanos de minas are silver coins that can be divided into 8 *tomines* and each *tomin* can be divided into 12 *granos*. The amount listed (100 *Castellanos*) is worth approximately 48,500 *maravedís*.

the country but also many of the various holdings of the Catholic Church. Article 12 of the law stated: "The books, prints, manuscripts, paintings, antiquities and any other objects belonging to the suppressed religious communities shall be applied to museums, libraries and other public establishments."<sup>32</sup> Steven Barwick has also posited that numerous archival holdings were either looted or destroyed through military action, as churches and monasteries were often used for billeting.<sup>33</sup> There is also the possibility that the original *regla* could have been renamed when and if it were ever re-bound at a later date. For instance, Juan Ruíz Jiménez has noted that such an example exists in the Institución Colombina known as the *Regla Vieja*.<sup>34</sup> This volume relates to the statutes and rules of the choir, but it is listed as Book 1 of Section 3 which houses all the liturgical volumes within the *Fondo Capítular* of the *Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla*.

Even without the original document, we can infer specific information relating to the regulation of the choir during that same time period, based upon subsequent entries within the *actas capitulares*. Within the *actas* there are various rules for the choir that are interspersed in-between entries relating to the monumental task of establishing the royal and pontifical rights bestowed upon the cathedral against interferences from civil authorities. Many of these statutes are highly specific, which begs the questions: Were these not addressed in the original *regla* or were they clarifications? While it would be easy to make multiple assumptions based solely on the information within the *Ordo*, the

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<sup>32</sup> Fondo de Origen. Biblioteca Nacional de México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, <http://bnm.unam.mx/index.php/hnm-fondo-reservado/fondo-de-origen>.

<sup>33</sup> Barwick, "Sacred Vocal Polyphony," 1.

<sup>34</sup> Juan Ruíz Jiménez, "The Libro de la Regla Vieja of the Cathedral of Seville as a Musicological Source," in *Cathedral, City and Cloister: Essays on manuscripts, music and art in old and new worlds*, ed. Kathleen Nelson (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2011), 245.

archival documentation shows that the answer to this question is far more complex.

Furthermore, there are also other entries relating to service in the choir that can be found in the documents relating to the acts of the Mexican Provincial Councils. Given that these are fewer in number than those in the *actas*, I will begin my argument for evolution with the earliest and most comprehensive example of an attempt at creating order out of the chaotic nature of the early Mexican Church and choir.

### 2.3 The Mexican Provincial Councils

In 1524, three years after Spanish and *Tlaxcalan* forces subdued the *Mexica*,<sup>35</sup> missionaries from Europe arrived to continue the task of transforming the natives into Spanish subjects through the teaching of Christian doctrine.<sup>36</sup> It was during this time that the Catholic Church began to expand its reach throughout the province, but the unique circumstances posed many problems and questions for the missionaries and the establishment of the Church in the New World. Although not exactly councils or synods, a number of *Juntas Eclesiásticas* or ecclesiastical meetings took place between 1524 and 1555, prior to the first provincial councils.<sup>37</sup> The vast majority of these meetings, especially those held prior to 1535, were of an ecumenical and doctrinal nature.<sup>38</sup> These meetings were held by the various mendicant orders already arrived in New Spain for the

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<sup>35</sup> Pronounced mɛ-shí-kə, these are the people commonly referred to as the Aztecs. *Mexica* is the term these peoples used to refer to themselves. Miguel León Portilla et al., *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006), xiii.

<sup>36</sup> Pardo, *Origins of Mexican Catholicism*, 2-3.

<sup>37</sup> Cristóforo Gutiérrez Vega, *Las primeras juntas eclesiásticas de México (1524-1555)* (Roma: Centro de Estudios Superiores, 1991), 23.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 30-37, 39-42, and 54-61.

purpose of evangelization, but social and moral questions that plagued the territory were not excluded from discussion. The Franciscans and Dominicans were the primary proponents for establishing norms for the spiritual welfare of the indigenous neophytes and opponents of the social implications brought on by the *encomienda* system and other forms of forced labor. Although these meetings primarily discussed the best way to evangelize their neophyte charges, the only diocese that had been created thus far in New Spain when these juntas first began was that of Tlaxcala (later Puebla). A number of dioceses continued to form throughout New Spain after 1530, as can be seen in Table 2.1, but their establishment did not exactly equate to cohesion.<sup>39</sup>

Table 2-1 Establishment of each Diocese in New Spain within the 16<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>40</sup>

Diocese	Erected	Suffragan	Elevated
Tlaxcala (Puebla)	13Oct1525	Seville	11Aug1903
México	2Sept1530	Seville	12Feb1546
Santiago de Guatemala	18Dec1534	Seville	16Dec1743
Antequera (Oaxaca but stretched to Veracruz)	21Jun1535	Seville	23 Jun 1891
Michoacán (later Valladolid then Morelia)	11Aug1536	Seville	26Jan1863
Chiapas (San Cristóbal de las Casas)	19Mar1539	Seville	N/A
Guadalajara (erected from Michoacán)	13Jul1548	México	26Jan1863
Yucatán	19Nov1561	México	11Nov1906
Manila (Philippines)	6Feb1579	México	14Aug1595

The first such attempt to codify ecclesiastical norms throughout the entire province came in the form of a conciliar mandate promulgated in 1555 by the First

<sup>39</sup> For more on the Juntas Eclesiásticas and the native questions see Cristóforo Gutiérrez Vega, *Las primeras juntas eclesiásticas de México 1524-1555*. (Rome, 1991); Osvaldo F. Pardo, *The Origins of Mexican Catholicism: Nahuatl Rituals and Christian Sacraments in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*. (Ann Arbor, 2004); and Viviana Díaz Balsera, *The Pyramid Under the Cross: Franciscan Discourses of Evangelization and the Nahuatl Christian Subject in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*. (Tucson, 2005).

<sup>40</sup> Santiago de Guatemala and Manila were the only dioceses to be elevated to an archbishopric during the colonial era. Source: [www.Catholic-Hierarchy.org/country/mx.html](http://www.Catholic-Hierarchy.org/country/mx.html) (Accessed March 6, 2016).

Mexican Provincial Council. The council was convened by the second Archbishop of México, Alonso de Montúfar, nine years after the Diocese of México was elevated to the status of archdiocese. Each of the Mexican Provincial Councils focused on a particular aspect or problem facing the Mexican Church. All councils were concerned with spiritual, sacramental, and reform matters, but the specific subject matter varied based upon newly acquired royal *cédulas*,<sup>41</sup> papal bulls,<sup>42</sup> *motu proprio*, and other authoritarian decisions sent from Europe. The First Mexican Provincial Council enacted ninety-three separate ordinances not including those reserved specifically for the ecclesiastical courts.<sup>43</sup> The enforcement of episcopal jurisdiction in the new territory was prominently emphasized especially since the Mexican Church was no longer a suffragan diocese to Seville. Beginning in 1546 the dioceses of Tlaxcala (Puebla), Santiago de Guatemala (Guatemala), Antequera (Oaxaca), Michoacán, Chiapas, and Guadalajara (Jalisco) were now subject to the newly elevated Archbishopric of México.<sup>44</sup>

Archbishop Montúfar convened a Second Mexican Provincial Council in 1565, a decade after the First Mexican Council. It was at this council that the Mexican bishops swore an oath of obedience to the decrees of the Council of Trent, which had adjourned two years previously in 1563. The acts of the Second Mexican Council consist of twenty-

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<sup>41</sup> A *cédula* is a decree issued by the King of Spain. Contrary to precedent the Spanish king assigned priests and bishops to vacant positions in the New World and not the pope. See Chapter 4.

<sup>42</sup> A papal bull is an elaborate and solemn papal pronouncement issued in the form of a decree or privilege while a *motu proprio* is more akin to an executive order and literally translates to: "On his own impulse."

<sup>43</sup> Cristóforo Gutiérrez Vega, *Primer Concilio Provincial Mexicano: Comentario* (Roma: Athenaeum Pontificium Regina Apostolorum, 2007), 188-195.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 121-122.



eight chapters, most of them clarifications on the decrees of the First Mexican Council.<sup>45</sup> Between the first two councils there are a total of five statutes relating to service in the choir while celebrating the Divine Office. These decrees were mandated to be implemented throughout the archdiocese and the province. Capítulo XX of the First Provincial Mexican Council mandated the uniformity of the Divine Office throughout the entire province of New Spain. It stated that all suffragan dioceses are to celebrate the Divine Office in conformity with the Metropolitan Cathedral.<sup>46</sup> This statute specifically extended to all clergy regardless of their standing, dignity,<sup>47</sup> or preeminence. Prior to this enactment the various forms in use were considered a great disorder and confusion from one diocese to another.<sup>48</sup> Unfortunately, there is no mention of an order, rubric, or formula for complying with the statute. Statutes mandating conformity to the Metropolitan Cathedral are very much standard protocol of the era. Cristóforo Gutiérrez Vega notes that there is an identical mandate in the 1545 Provincial Synod of the Diocese of Palencia in Spain.<sup>49</sup> Strangely, Capítulo catorce of the Second Council mandated that the Divine Office was to be celebrated as in Seville.<sup>50</sup>

While the two enactments appear to be divergent, they are more complementary than they seem. First and foremost, a concluding note in the legislation of the Second Mexican Council states that the new council should be seen as a complement of and not a

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<sup>45</sup> ACCMM, *Reales Cédulas*, Lib. 3, Doc. 14, s/n.

<sup>46</sup> Gutiérrez Vega, *Primer Concilio*, 139-141.

<sup>47</sup> In this particular instance “*dignity*” refers to the “*dignidades*” a specific clerical tier within the cathedral hierarchy which will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 4.

<sup>48</sup> Gutiérrez Vega, *Primer Concilio*, 139-140.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>50</sup> ACCMM, *Reales Cédulas*, Lib. 3, Doc. 14, s/n. “*Capitulo catorce que se hagan los oficios divines con forme a lo sevillano. Cosa es muy decente que todas las iglesias sufraganea desta iglesia de mex<sup>co</sup> se conformen con ella al Rezar del oficio divino mayor y menor....*”

substitute for the decrees of the First Mexican Council.<sup>51</sup> In doing so, the bishops wished to reaffirm the decisions of the First Mexican Council through clarifications of the original legislation. Secondly, although the Diocese of México was no longer suffragan to the Diocese of Seville—and had not been for nearly twenty years at the time of the second council—the mandate of conformity creating a focal shift from the Metropolitan Cathedral to Seville is nothing more than a retroactive reminder. Despite the previous statute to conform the recitation of the Divine Office to the Metropolitan Cathedral, the customs of Seville were already in place and had been since as early as 1534 due to the suffragan nature of the early Mexican Church. However, the Constitutions of the Mexican See state in *Pars I § XXXII* that the Divine Office should be said “according to the custom of the Church in Seville until, and for however long, a Synod is to meet.”<sup>52</sup> Even though two separate Synods had taken place in New Spain the traditions of Seville remained in use because the final statement of Capítulo catorce of the Second Council contains a caveat relating to the time frame in which the council was held. Whereas the Mexican bishops swore an oath of obedience to the decrees of the Council of Trent, a copy of Trent’s legislation did not reach Mexico City in time for the convocation of the Second Mexican Council in 1565. With the impending revisions to the liturgical forms and manuals in mind, the Second Mexican Council reiterated the Sevillian form until new breviaries arrived from Spain. Eventually the papal bull, *Quo primum*, promulgated in 1570 by Pope Pius V, imposed a common rite on the Western Church but provided an

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<sup>51</sup> ACCMM, *Reales Cédulas*, Lib. 3, Doc. 14, s/n.

<sup>52</sup> Antonio San Miguel, *Statuta ecclesiae mexicanae necnon ordo in choro servandus*. (Mexici: Apud Marianum Zunnigam, 1797), 31. “*Officium verò divinum diurnum pariter, & nocturnum, tam in Missis, quàm in horis fiat semper, & dicatur secundum consuetudinem Ecclesiae Hispalensis, donec, & quousque Synodis celebretur.*”

exception for those rites which had been approved for two hundred years.<sup>53</sup> While the church in Seville would have been eligible for such a dispensation, the church in the New World was not, despite the continued use of the Rite of Seville. Even after the newly revised breviaries arrived in February of 1583, archival evidence fails to demonstrate that the recently codified Tridentine Rite had supplanted the traditions of Seville in México.<sup>54</sup> What is more, the legislation of the first and second council was never approved by Rome and the legitimacy of the laws and mandates contained within them were in doubt. For this reason the Third Mexican Council took on the responsibility of reviewing and implementing the decrees of Trent in New Spain.<sup>55</sup>

The Council of Trent left much to be decided by the individual dioceses, and the Province of New Spain took full advantage of the concessions allowed by it in the form of a Third Provincial Council.<sup>56</sup> The Third Mexican Council was convened in 1585 by the third archbishop of México, Pedro Moya de Contreras. He was the first diocesan priest elected to the episcopacy of México and the only archbishop to simultaneously hold the positions of Inquisitor General and Viceroy of New Spain.<sup>57</sup> In his tome on Moya de Contreras' episcopacy, Stafford Poole refers to the Third Mexican Council as the "Mexican Trent," and rightly so. This particular council would set longstanding

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<sup>53</sup> Pius V, *Quo primum*, Encyclical letter concerning the imposition of a common Western Rite, Papal Encyclicals Online, July 14, 1570, <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius05/p5quopri.htm> (Accessed March 6, 2016).

<sup>54</sup> ACCMM, *Reales Cédulas*, Lib. 3, Doc. 27, 26Feb1583, s/n.

<sup>55</sup> Ernest J. Burrus, "The Third Mexican Council (1585) in the Light of the Vatican Archives," *The Americas*, 23/4 (April 1967): 390.

<sup>56</sup> Council of Trent, and H. J. Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (Rockford, Ill: TAN Books, 1978), 194-195 and 240.

<sup>57</sup> Stafford Poole, *Pedro Moya de Contreras: Catholic Reform and Royal Power in New Spain, 1571-1591* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 38 and 121.

precedents that reached as far North as the American Southwest and West to the Philippine Islands. Despite being followed by two more provincial councils convened in México during the eighteenth century, the third enjoyed the most enduring preeminence throughout the province as it was considered the code of ecclesiastical law for the Mexican Church and beyond for over three centuries. Within modern-day Mexico and parts of the American Southwest these particular enactments would remain in place until the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century, when they were replaced by those of the First Vatican Council. Furthermore, it allowed for the fulfillment of the enactments and decrees of Trent to be implemented in New Spain, while molding much of the legislature to fit with local customs and traditions.

In addition to implementing the canons and decrees of Trent, the Third Mexican Council also sought to regulate the members of the *cabildo*.<sup>58</sup> According to Lourdes Turrent, the conciliar petitions were concentrated into four specific points: to seek autonomy for the cabildos; to circumvent the importance of previous Councils; to rectify the abuses of clergy in the cathedral; and to augment their prebends.<sup>59</sup> While all of these petitions were of significance to the council, it is the third of the above stated grievances—to rectify the abuses of the clergy in the cathedral—that is paramount to this study. This one area comprises the primary basis for the vast majority of the statutes contained within the *Ordo*. The two previous bishops of México, Juan de Zumárraga and Alonso de Montúfar, both sent numerous letters and petitions to the Spanish Crown

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<sup>58</sup> Lourdes Turrent, “El Cabildo de la Catedral Metropolitana, el Culto y el Tercer Concilio Provincial Mexicano,” *El Ritual Sonoro Catedralicio en la Nueva España y el México Independiente*, (2010): 22, accessed September 19, 2013, <http://ritualsonoro.org/ritualsonoro/descargas/lourdes/04.pdf>.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

outlaying the problems and possible solutions to the unruly members of the choir, but it is Moya that provides reasoning as to why these problems were occurring. Many of the problems his predecessors faced continued throughout his own episcopacy. In a document sent to the Council of the Indies, Moya provides an evaluation of each individual clergy member within the Archdiocese of México.<sup>60</sup> It is Moya's opinion that there was a general lack of education among the diocesan clergy. Of the 156 priests within the archdiocese, no less than fifty were considered to be "educationally deficient" in some way or another. The document goes so far as to suggest that a number of the clergy were illiterate to some degree.<sup>61</sup> This same document caused Stafford Poole to question the motivations of peninsular priests who migrated to the New World. He states that more opportunities would have been available in Spain for well-educated priests, thus giving them less incentive to leave the peninsula.<sup>62</sup> However, it can be posited that the creation of new dioceses in the New World provided more opportunity for advancement than in the peninsula. To further illustrate this point, I will utilize the reconquest of Granada from Muslim Spain as a comparative example. Although the Christianization of Granada took place simultaneously with that of New Spain—and would assumedly hold the same opportunities—David Coleman states in his book *Creating Christian Granada* that the mendicant orders far outnumbered the diocesan clergy.<sup>63</sup> This, coupled with public perceptions of greedy diocesans that cared little for

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<sup>60</sup> Pedro Moya de Contreras, et al., *Cinco cartas del Illmo. y Exmo. Señor D. Pedro Moya de Contreras, Arzobispo-Virrey y Primer Inquisidor de la Nueva España* (Madrid: Ediciones J. Porrúa Turanzas, 1962), 121-151.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 122-151.

<sup>62</sup> Poole, *Pedro Moya De Contreras*, 48.

<sup>63</sup> David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1570* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 96.

the spiritual welfare of the Christian population, led to fewer diocesan parishes within Granada with fewer parishioners and fewer opportunities based on minimal tithing to secular churches in Granada. A lack of tithing can be seen in the secular churches of early colonial México, but this is offset by the separation of Spanish and Indian churches, the continued erection of churches and cathedrals, and a growing Spanish immigrant population throughout the province in the latter half of the sixteenth century.<sup>64</sup>

The general lack of education was not the only problem that may have led to further reforms. The issue of priests who had wives, mistresses, or concubines had been discussed as early as the First Mexican Council in 1555. Although legislation had been passed by the First Council, clerics continued to land on the shores of Veracruz with women accompanying them who claimed to be their “mothers, sisters, or nieces.”<sup>65</sup> Prior to Moya’s episcopacy, Archbishop Montúfar wrote a similar description of the diocese in 1570 and sent it to the Council of the Indies. In it there is a request to the *visitador* that he should investigate the public lives of the priests in the diocese. Specifically, the *visitador* was to find out if priests wandered the streets at night playing vihuelas or singing “villancetes” or even publicly displaying their affection for women to the extent of hand holding or allowing them to ride on their mules or horses.<sup>66</sup> While the document itself does not provide evidence of such things, the request alone suggests enough circumstantial evidence to warrant such an investigation. In addition, the greed and avarice seen in the cabildos of Spain was plainly evident in the New World, as many of the secular priests neglected their sacred duties in pursuit of owning ranchlands with

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<sup>64</sup> Schwaller, *Origins of Church Wealth*, 10-13, 22-23, 46-47.

<sup>65</sup> Gutiérrez Vega, *Primer Concilio*, 161-162 and 164-166.

<sup>66</sup> Alonso de Montúfar and Luis García Pimentel, *Descripción del arzobispado de México hecha en 1570 y otros documentos* (Mexico: J.J. Terrazas e hijas imps, 1897), 307.

cattle and other livestock while others owned mines.<sup>67</sup> Still, others gambled on everything from cards and dice to cock fights and bullfights.<sup>68</sup>

Stafford Poole succinctly describes the situation above by stating:

Although about a third of the clergy were criticized for some defect of character or education, it is significant and a little surprising that the percentage was not higher. Conditions in the colony were new and strange, even after half a century. Before Trent there was no formal system for educating, and training priests, the general level of the diocesan clergy was rather low, and the Catholic Reformation had yet to make its full impact. Moya was fortunate to have had as many good priests as he did.<sup>69</sup>

Although Stafford Poole's assessment of Moya's clergy seems rather harsh, the Province of New Spain was much quicker to implement the Tridentine legislature than many of its peninsular counterparts. The papal Bull, *Benedictus Deus*, conferring approbation of the decrees and canons of Trent, encouraged the sovereign lords of Europe to aid their clerical hierarchies in the dissemination of the council's ordinances within their respective dioceses.<sup>70</sup> The most often noted form of encouragement utilized by the Spanish crown was the convocation of a provincial council. Primitivo Tineo provides multiple dates for provincial synods within the Spanish realm that examined and implemented the enactments of Trent.<sup>71</sup> He notes, however, that the Archbishopric of Seville did not comply with the legislative mandate found within the confirming bull of

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<sup>67</sup> John Frederick Schwaller, *The Church and Clergy in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 157-161.

<sup>68</sup> Poole, *Pedro Moya de Contreras*, 158; ACCMM, Edictos, Sereteria de Gobierno, Caja: 1, Exp: 69, 1684, *Edicto sobre que ningún clérigo de orden sacro, ni de menores órdenes, ni persona que vista hábito clerical vaya al juego de los gallos*.

<sup>69</sup> Poole, *Pedro Moya de Contreras*, 48-49.

<sup>70</sup> Council of Trent and Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of Trent*, 275.

<sup>71</sup> Primitivo Tineo, "La recepción de Trento en España (1565) Disposiciones sobre la actividad episcopal," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*, No. 5 (1996): 245 and 259.

Pope Pius IV, and neither did it comply with the royal mandate that a provincial council be celebrated in order to apply the decrees of Trent.<sup>72</sup> Figure 2-1 provides a timeline illustrating the ecclesiastical meetings and councils of New Spain in reference to those held in Europe, both before and after the Council of Trent.<sup>73</sup> To provide an even broader perspective, Figure 2-1 also includes provincial councils celebrated on the European continent as found in Pallavicino et al., *Historia del Concilio de Trento* and Robert Bireley's, *The Refashioning of Catholicism*.

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 245.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 241, 245, 246, 256, 259, and 274; Gutiérrez Vega, *Las primeras juntas*, 21, 30, 39, 53-77, 79, 81, 91, 103-104, 105, 112, 115-116, 120-122, 141-143; Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 56 and 60; and Pallavicino et al., *Historia del Concilio de Trento* (Madrid: Imprenta de J. Martín Alegría, 1846), 30-31, Accessed March 6, 2016, <https://books.google.com/books?id=mCV1huir3UAC>.



1512 – Fifth Council of the Lateran (Italy)  
 1524 – Ecclesiastical Meeting (México)  
 1526 – Ecclesiastical Meeting (México)  
 1531 – Ecclesiastical Meeting (México)  
 1532 – Ecclesiastical Meeting (México)  
 1536 – Ecclesiastical Meeting (México)  
 1537 – Ecclesiastical Meeting (México)  
 1538 – Ecclesiastical Meeting (México)  
 1541 – Ecclesiastical Meeting (México)  
 1544 – Ecclesiastical Meeting (México)  
 1545 – Council of Trent begins (Italy)  
 1546 – Ecclesiastical Meeting (México)  
 1551-1552 – First Provincial Council of Lima (Peru)  
 1555 – First Mexican Provincial Council (México)  
 1563 – Council of Trent ends (Italy)  
 1564 – Council of Reims (France)  
     Provincial Council of Tarragona (Spain)  
 1565 – Provincial Council of Granada (Spain)  
     Second Mexican Provincial Council (México)  
     Council of Naples (Italy-Spanish Territory)  
     Council of Sicily (Sicily)  
     Provincial Council of Cambrai (Low Country-Spanish Territory)  
     Provincial Council of Toledo (Spain)  
     Provincial Council of Valencia (Spain)  
     Provincial Council of Zaragoza (Spain)  
     Provincial Council of Compostela-held in Salamanca (Spain)  
     Council of Milan (Italy)  
 1567-1568 – Second Provincial Council of Lima (Peru)  
 1569 – Provincial Council of Salzburg (Austria)  
 1573 – Provincial Council of Salzburg (Austria)  
 1581 – Council of Rouen (France)  
 1582 – Provincial Council of Toledo (Spain)  
     Third Provincial Council of Lima (Peru 1582-83)  
 1583 – Council of Reims/ Council of Burdeos/Council of Tours (France)  
 1584 – Council of Bourges (France)  
 1585 – Third Mexican Provincial Council (México)  
     Council of Aix (France)  
 1590 – Council of Tolosa (France)  
 1609 – Council of Narbona(France)  
 1624 – Council of Burdeos (France)

Figure 2-1 Timeline of Ecclesiastical Councils, Meetings, & Synods in relation to Trent

It is rare to see laudatory accounts within either Montúfar's or Moya's description of the archdiocese. Indeed, the problem was far more widespread than we are led to believe. Prior to the convocation of the Third Mexican Provincial Council, a number of letters from all reaches of the province flooded the attending bishops requesting the discussion of various aspects of colonial life. Domingo de Salazar, bishop of the newly erected Diocese of Manila in the Philippines, sent delegates to México with an extensive list of grievances and requests to be ruled upon by the council.<sup>74</sup> Many of these letters, as well as the original council proceedings, are currently housed within the Bancroft Library in Berkeley, California. While I have not examined the original proceedings of the Third Council, it is of note that the final section of nearly every printed edition made within the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been devoted specifically to the choir. Known by various names due to the multiple impressions, the *Orden que debe observarse en el coro*—utilized in Burrus's study of the same name and the Spanish equivalent of the document found in the Appendix of this study—could be referenced as a post-Tridentine document, but a number of elements had already been implemented as early as the First Mexican Provincial Council in 1555. Isolated sections of the document also appear within the legislation of the Second Provincial Mexican Council and in an independent *regla* specifically crafted for the Metropolitan Cathedral choir. Two very basic and generalized mandates concerning the choir and the Divine Office can be found within the legislation of the first council. These two particular pieces of legislation were the result of unruly chapter members in the choir in which the bishops saw fit to regulate while convened in the council. As previously discussed, Capítulo XX makes an explicit

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<sup>74</sup> El Obispo de las Philipinas, Christoval Velazco, and Ernest J. Burrus, "Salazar's Report to the Third Mexican Council," *The Americas* 17, no. 1(1960): 65.

mandate that the praying of the Divine Office and celebration of the Mass are to conform throughout the province to the rite utilized by the Metropolitan See without deviation. Prior to this enactment the various forms in use were considered a great disorder and confusion from one diocese to another.<sup>75</sup> Capítulo XX of the first council's legislation contains the first official mandate to discuss musical standards from an ecclesiastical perspective, but it was Capítulo XXI that asserted the appropriate comportment within the choir. In reality these mandates were quite commonplace—as compared to other contemporary choral rule books—and related to the universal rules and restrictions against speaking, conversing, joking, or reading in the choir, although a mention of the *pax* is confounding. It states that when the offering of peace is to be made during mass that it not be given to anyone who does not possess an illustrious standing within the hierarchy.<sup>76</sup> Another reason for these mandates was to bring a sense of dignity to the early Mexican church. In many cases the Divine Office or elements of the Mass were either omitted or hastily said, as evidenced by an example provided within Capítulo XXI. It was brought to the council's attention that a number of clerics were only singing the *Credo* until they reach the *homo factus est*, at which point they reverted to saying what remained. In response the council mandated that the *Credo*, *Gloria*, *Preface*, and *Pater Noster* always be sung under penalty of a monetary fine each time any was omitted or spoken.<sup>77</sup>

Aside from these two mandates found in the First Mexican Provincial Council there are three others that can be found in Chapters fourteen, sixteen, and seventeen of

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<sup>75</sup> Gutiérrez Vega, *Primer Concilio*, 139-140.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

the Second Mexican Provincial Council. The confusion and conflict of Capítulo catorce already having been resolved a second discussion is not necessary, but Capítulos dieciséis and diecisiete of the Second Council illustrate the abuses committed by members of the metropolitan *cabildo* as well as those of suffragan dioceses. Absenteeism, whether total or partial, was a problem in the choir. Capítulo dieciséis provides a rubric concerning the order of services an individual was obligated to or excused from attending based upon the weekly rotation. For example, should a cleric be obligated to sing at Matins he is excused from Prime, although this particular enactment is in contradiction to a previous royal decree. In July of 1541 a royal *cédula* arrived commanding that all dignities, canons, and prebendaries attend the Hours they are obligated to serve in addition to a requirement of attendance for Prime.<sup>78</sup> Capítulo dieciséis continues with a number of exceptions to each example that are further complicated by the ordinances found in Capítulo diecisiete. While there are notable exceptions for attendance there is also the possibility of being granted license to exit the choir. In order to exit the choir once the Divine Office had begun one must seek permission from the President—he who presides over the choir—which duty generally fell to the Dean. According to the council, a number of individuals were seeking permission upon entering the choir, having exited and not returning until the prayer, thus avoiding their obligation to sing the psalms yet still gaining full revenues despite their absence. In order to circumvent this practice, the council mandated that permission may still be granted but presence for a certain number of psalms was necessary to obtain revenues for that Hour. Should there be three psalms, attendance is required for two and the prayer. If there are five psalms attendance is required for three in

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<sup>78</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 1, 2 August 1541, fol. 41r-41v.

order to not lose the Hour.<sup>79</sup> Despite the promulgation of these enactments in the legislation of the provincial councils, additional regulations continued to appear in the *actas capitulares*. In fact, between 1538 and 1569 there are roughly twenty-two entries found interspersed throughout the *actas capitulares* pertaining to regulations or clarifications within the ritual or ceremonial aspects of the choir.<sup>80</sup> In 1563 the members of the *cabildo* agreed to compile all rules concerning divine worship in the cathedral that could be found within the *actas*; unfortunately the task was never accomplished, at least not by the *cabildo*.<sup>81</sup>

In 1569 while preparing for a general visitation of the Council of the Indies, the visitador, Juan de Ovando, requested that Montúfar provide a copy of the current rules for service in the choir.<sup>82</sup> While the document itself dates back to 1570, the rules had been in use much earlier. Attempts to organize the rules of the choir predate the request made by Ovando, but they are not known to have been completed, nor had they been previously compiled or assembled as a cohesive group.<sup>83</sup> Aside from complying with the visitador's request, the document served to regulate an unruly choir so that the Divine Office could be sung in a more reverent and solemn manner. When compared together, Capítulo XXI of the first council is more akin to a set of guidelines than actual rules. Montúfar's use of specific consequences to reinforce desired comportment proved to be a versatile model for the Third Council in their attempt to rectify the abuses of the clergy within the choir.

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<sup>79</sup> ACCMM, *Reales Cédulas*, Lib. 3, Doc. 14, s/n.

<sup>80</sup> Jorge A. Torres, "Did They Make It Up As They Went Along? Choral Rules in the Mexican Cathedral, 1536-1585," paper presented at International Symposium on the Intersecting Practices in the Production of Sacred Music, ca. 1400-1650, Austin, Texas, May 2-3, 2015.

<sup>81</sup> Lundberg, "Unification and conflict," 192.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

## 2.4 Organizational Structure of the *Ordo*

A copy of the document Archbishop Montúfar sent to Juan de Ovando can be found within the ACCMM. It begins with a rather large introduction contained in one paragraph followed by the rules themselves and ends with another long paragraph mandating obedience to the ordinances. The rules within this original untitled document were not numbered but marked with a curved letter “v” that was underlined, thus signifying the beginning of each paragraph. A thick diagonal line similar to a backslash (/) denoted the end of each individual mandate. The exceptions to these demarcations are the preamble or introduction, the final section mandating obedience, and the thirteenth paragraph. Of the eighteen paragraphs there are sixteen rules. All rules, save for rule twelve (paragraph thirteen), are marked as stated above. The entire document is contained within two folios utilizing both the front and back of each. By contrast, the 1797 edition—translated in the Appendix—consists of forty-two numbered rules which are ordered differently from the original document and vary from simple directives, to complicated exceptions to rules. Some directives are extremely short and concise, while others are exceedingly long and detailed. There are some instances where a detailed directive is followed by several shorter ones (or vice versa) that all belong to the same vein or ceremonial procedure. For example, Rule XII of the 1797 edition details who is to enter the choir first when in procession; however, the statute contains five exceptions to protocol when entering the choir and beginning the Hour. A number of rules are quite commonplace (as compared to contemporary choral rule books), but the descriptions vary widely based on the content and context of a rule. For the purposes of this study, the content within the Appendix has been categorized in the following way: General

Directives, General Procedures, Ceremonial Procedures, Musical Obligations, and Dereliction of Duty. To see these categories in this order within the document would allow for the greatest of ease in analyzing the document; unfortunately, the order of the rules is somewhat erratic. This is illustrated by the fact that a fair number of rules reappear much later in the document, either stating the same information in a new way, or providing an expanded explanation of the same rule. For instance, the rule mandating “All are to sing in the choir” is a glaring example of this seemingly random repetition. The first reference is made in Rule VII, but is then expanded upon in Rule XXXVIII where a detailed description of what specifically is to be sung is stated. Rule VII is the most often-cited rule in the literature, yet Rule XXXVIII, which provides even more information, is rarely, if ever, mentioned. In order to better understand the seemingly haphazard nature of the rules, a reference summary of the *Ordo* (Appendix) is provided in Table 2-2.

Table 2-2 Summary of rules within the *Ordo in Choro Servandus*<sup>84</sup>

No.	Rule
1-2.	Do not talk in the choir*
3.	No joking, games, or laughing in the choir*
4.	All must respect the President (Dean)*
5.	Stand and uncover head at prescribed times*
6.	Comportment during the Gospel*
7.	All must sing in the choir*
8.	No wandering during Mass or the Hours*
9.	When and how to aid the Sochantre*
10.	No reading or private prayer during the Hours*
11-15.	How and when to enter the choir (11*)
16.	Negligence due to error and lack of preparation
17.	Failure to celebrate Mass
18.	Omission of duty
19.	Dressing in the cope
20-22.	Procedural chain of command
23.	How to pray the minor hours of Our Lady
24.	Pausation between verses
25.	All priests must assist in ceremonies
26-27.	How and when to exit the choir
28.	Dereliction of duty
29.	When to enter after Matins has begun
30-31.	Attendance in Mass and Sermon
32.	Negligence due to error and lack of preparation
33.	Days where absence is inexcusable
34-35.	Celebration of Mass during the Hours
36.	What is to be sung during High Mass
37.	Comportment during processions
38.	Prebends must be able to sing their office*
39.	Comportment between clergy*
40.	How to gain permission in the choir*
41.	Proper attire when outside of the cathedral*
42.	The apuntador and his duties; observance, lecture, and propagation of these ordinances, rules and constitutions*

Table 2-2 lists each rule of the *Ordo* in order of appearance within the document, but many of the rules in Table 2-2 are able to fit into multiple categories based upon their function. For this reason, it is necessary to also assess the qualities of each

<sup>84</sup> Rules designated with an asterisk (\*) denote the original 16 rules of the 1570 document found in the Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México.



category for comparative purposes in demonstrating the overarching nature of the regulations and statutes contained within the *Ordo*. Given that the *Ordo* is a non-hierarchical set of rules, I have crafted five categories to distinguish each ordinance. By separating the rules based upon these qualities, the *Ordo* can then be examined further in a categorical manner as well. The qualities are as follows:

- I. General Directives: relating to comportment and behavior
- II. General Procedures: relating to referential reverence; entering and exiting choir; requirements for permission/leave; exceptions to punctual attendance; non-liturgical dress
- III. Ceremonial Procedures: relating to Divine Office; Mass; seating assignments; proper liturgical attire denoting special ceremonial significance
- IV. Musical Obligations: relating to sung requirements for the Divine Office, Mass, and any other liturgical celebration
- V. Dereliction of Duty: relating to lack of preparation and general negligence or error

Table 2-3 Categorical separation of the rules

<i>Ordo</i>	Category I	Category II	Category III	Category IV	Category V
Rule	1-2. Do not talk or pass notes in the choir 3. No joking, games, or laughing in the choir 4. All must respect the President (Dean) 6. Comportment during the Gospel 7. All must sing in the choir 8. No wandering during Mass or the Hours 9. When and how to aid the Sochantre (Subcantor) 10. No reading or private prayer during the Hours 13-15. How and when to enter the choir 30-31. Attendance in Mass and Sermon 32. Negligence due to error and lack of preparation 34-35. Celebration of Mass during the Hours 37. Comportment during processions 38. Prebends must be able to sing their office 39. Comportment between clergy 41. Proper attire when outside of the cathedral 42. The apuntador and his duties; observance, lecture, and propagation of these ordinances, rules and constitutions	5. Stand and uncover head at prescribed times 9. When and how to aid the Sochantre (Subcantor) 11-12, 15. How and when to enter the choir 23. How to pray the minor hours of Our Lady 26-27. How and when to exit the choir 29. When to enter after Matins has begun 40. How to gain permission in the choir 41. Proper attire when outside of the cathedral 42. The apuntador and his duties; observance, lecture, and propagation of these ordinances, rules and constitutions	5. Stand and uncover head at prescribed times 13-14. How and when to enter the choir 19. Dressing in the cope 21-22. Procedural chain of command 23. How to pray the minor hours of Our Lady 25. All priests must assist in ceremonies 41. Proper attire when outside of the cathedral 42. The apuntador and his duties; observance, lecture, and propagation of these ordinances, rules and constitutions	7. All must sing in the choir 24. Pausation between verses 36. What is to be sung during High Mass 38. Prebends must be able to sing their office	16. Negligence due to error and lack of preparation 17. Failure to celebrate Mass 18. Omission of duty 20. Procedural chain of command 28. Dereliction of duty 33. Days where absence is inexcusable 34-35. Celebration of Mass during the Hours 42. The apuntador and his duties; observance, lecture, and propagation of these ordinances, rules and constitutions

By utilizing these categories it is possible to evaluate the qualities of each rule. Table 2-3 provides a simplified grouping of the rules in the *Ordo* based upon the above stated categories. Arguably, the most interesting outcome of classifying the rules in this manner is the realization that Category IV, which is relegated to musical obligations, is actually the least populated section in the table while the first category, devoted to comportment, contains the largest amount of regulations. While this finding does not exactly equate to a definitive reason for the individual rules we begin to understand the rationale behind their creation. Between these two categories, only two rules are held in common: Rule VII and Rule XXXVIII. As previously stated, these two particular rules can be considered extensions of each other, yet their placement in two different categories is significant for two reasons. The extended nature of many of the rules allows them to be classified in multiple categories. The second reason this dual placement is significant is because it speaks to both the lack of formal education for diocesan clergy in New Spain and the pervasive obstinacy of clerics to learn how to sing. Category V, while not even the second largest list within the table, contains nine entries related to dereliction of duty. Unfortunately, each of those listed in Category V is quite varied from the others and does not offer the same picture of an unruly choir as described by the first three archbishops of México. It does, however, illustrate the apathy many clerics felt towards their liturgical duties and demonstrates that absenteeism continued to be rampant within the early cathedral. Category II and III are primarily derived from Spanish customs within the Iberian cathedrals and were consequently transferred via the suffragan nature of the early Mexican Church, although Rule XIX in Category III does pose a question of custom. The

use of the cope<sup>85</sup> and regulations concerning its use are found within an entry of the *actas* dated the eighth of January 1542. Throughout this capitular mandate, multiple occasions are cited for the wearing of the cope by all, yet the *Ordo* only mentions specific individuals who are to wear the cope rather than the entire choir. Without examining the use of the cope in pre-Tridentine Seville, it is difficult to determine whether this was based on previous custom or a newly formed tradition in the Mexican See.

Although the information in Table 2-3 illustrates that the rules are able to fit multiple categories, the table does not provide adequate space to demonstrate why they are capable of being categorized in this way. Simply put, the various rules are able to fit into multiple categories, due to the lengthy nature of certain rules. Theoretically, many of these longer rules could have been divided to create a totally separate entry within the document. The final statute in the *Ordo* is a perfect example of a lengthy entry that could have been separated into multiple paragraphs.

XLII. The Punctator shall faithfully carry out the measures of all that has been said above, and if he has not done so, he should be punished double, and bear this heavy burden upon his conscience. The afore stated Rules, Ordinances, & Constitutions by virtue of holy obedience, must be observed under the penalties contained within the choir of this our Holy Church, nor is it lawful to infringe upon them, violate in whole, or in part, and we place this responsibility over the conscience of the President, and Punctator, to whom we entrust the execution of them, we declare that those who do otherwise incur the penalties ipso facto, & notice of this our Decree, Rules, Ordinances and the law contained in it, should be made known on the first day of the Chapter, at the usual place, hour, & time. And then a parchment shall be affixed in a place where that law can be read & understood by all Prebendaries, & no man would dare to remove them from there under the pain of excommunication, whose absolution we reserve. Moreover, we order the Archiepiscopal Secretary to preserve these rules, & Constitutions in the curial archive, as proof of their publication.

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<sup>85</sup> Medieval copes were known as *cappa pluviale* and as the name implies also served a functional purpose in the form of a rain coat. Many contained a hood as well; however, the cope discussed here is a liturgical vestment resembling a cloak with an open front requiring a clasp and a non-functional embroidered, ornamental hood.

In reading this excerpt of the final rule in the *Ordo*, there are several details that cannot be gained simply by examining the information in Table 2-2 or Table 2-3. The rules are regulated by a variety of means, but the most interesting and bewildering way of maintaining the status quo is through the use of a point system. The utilization of points was based upon a demerit system with various point values corresponding to the severity of the infraction. The compilation of points was the responsibility of a single individual called the *apuntador*.<sup>86</sup> The points would then be tallied and read aloud to all members of the *cabildo* once every two months in a sort of public reprimand.<sup>87</sup> Beyond public shame and embarrassment, the ultimate result was a reduction in salary. Unfortunately, many of the early *cuadrantes*, or notebooks that were used to document the points during the viceregal period, are either lost, in private collections, or were destroyed in one of three wars, thus making reference to them all the more difficult. Many of the *cuadrantes* found in the ACCMM date from later in the viceregal period or even to the era of independence. Still, various chapter records, edicts, and pay receipts can provide a general, although sporadic, idea concerning the application of points against a singer's salary as well as revealing the true nature of certain rules.

Each member of the choir was subject to reprimand based on the point system found in the *Ordo*. The origin of the point system is not known, but the first mention of singers being "marked" is made as early as 1539 in an entry within the *Actas Capitulares*.<sup>88</sup> This particular mark was instituted to curb absenteeism during the Divine Office and Mass. It is highly doubtful that the early "mark" and the later point system

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<sup>86</sup> Translates to: *point taker*

<sup>87</sup> Turrent, "El Cabildo Catedral Metropolitana," 13-14.

<sup>88</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 1, 07enero1539, fol. 9r.

were one and the same, as certain rules within the *Ordo* contained a specific number of points utilized in a demerit system, but there are two things that are notably irregular. First and foremost is the fact that the reprimands of the cathedral choir are based on this system of points. The use of fines to maintain order in the choir is nothing new. Various punishments have been imposed on singers for centuries; the most common were monetary fines. The revised Constitutions of Paul III for the Pontifical Choir stipulated a fine of ten *julii* to singers who accepted work outside the Sistine Chapel.<sup>89</sup> However, a fine based on the accumulation of points is quite unique. This is not to say that monetary fines were not assessed in the *catedral metropolitana*, but this presents the next problem. None of the points correspond to a specific monetary amount.

Records indicating monetary fines are found in the *actas*, edicts, and pay receipts, but none of these examples provide us with enough information for associating a point value with a specific monetary amount. In fact, all of the above cited fines are specific to individual events and carry no resemblance to a fine based on the point system. For example, an edict of 1677 carried a fine of ten pesos should anyone arrive late to any of the Holy Week services in the cathedral.<sup>90</sup> In this particular instance the amount of the fine is incredibly high in comparison to a months' worth of points. The ten pesos would have been tallied for each infraction of the edict for this period of time, yet under non-festal circumstances the reduction to a singer's salary would have been significantly less, although there is always an exception.<sup>91</sup> In the case of an assistant only referred to by his

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<sup>89</sup> Schuler, "The Cappella Sistina," 146.

<sup>90</sup> ACCMM, *Edictos*, Caja 1, Exp. 61, 6abril1677 Secretaría Capitular, Edicto para que los capellanes, acólitos, y músicos no falten la semana santa al coro.

<sup>91</sup> AHAM, Caja 4, Exp. 2, Vale por 53 pesos y 2 reales para Jacinto Tello, capellán de coro de la Catedral Metropolitana (1641); Caja 4, Exp. 6, Carta de pago del licenciado

last name, Garcia, 419 points were accrued between the months of March and May of 1856.<sup>92</sup> Unfortunately, there are no details concerning the amounts fined, much less the reason for the infractions. To further complicate the matter not all of the rules have an assigned point value. Of the forty-two rules, only fourteen have an assigned point value as a punishment. The rules with this particular punishment usually indicate the amount of points fined at the end of the rule and read in several variations of: “under the penalty of,” “under pain of,” or “at the loss of.” The last example is curious in comparison to the rest of the rules that have a point attached to them. While the point system is demerit based, it was understood that the accumulation of points would result in reduced pay, yet the loss of a point arguably seemed more promising than the penalty or pain of a point. Despite the altered wording, the “loss” continues to signify a loss in revenues gained. The other punishments that are not associated with a point value can be divided into nine groups. A tenth group does exist, in addition to those that do not include a point value, but this grouping has neither a point value nor a specified punishment attached to it. There are four rules that fall into this category and are all general directives that must be observed as a matter of custom or tradition. Table 2-4 below elaborates further on the matter.

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Jacinto Tello, de 51 pesos, por lo corredor de un año de la capellanía de García de Vega, hasta 12 de agosto de 1640.

<sup>92</sup> ACCMM, *Puntos de Ministros*, Caja 1, Exp. 1, Ubi. 21.1, 1854-1858, Fols.3-5.

Table 2-4. Penalties for infraction of choral rules

<b>Penalty</b>	<b>Rule</b>
One (1) point	1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 15, 26, 37
Two (2) points	18, 19, 41
Three (3) points	N/A
Four (4) points	3, 20
Loss of revenues for each Hour of that day	4, 30, 31, 32
No mention of points (General Directives)	5, 21, 22, 33
Fined (loss of) a specific Hour	7, 10-14, 16, 23-24, 27-29, 31, 34-35, 40
Loss of perquisites (obvenciones) [extra pay]	12, 28
Loss of two (2) days distributions	17
No specific point value but points mentioned	25
Penalty shall be increased	1, 37, 38
Total or proportional loss of benefice	38, 39
Fined double	42
Excommunication	42

Unlike Table 2-3 there are only two rules that can be divided into more than one grouping, due to their extended nature. Rule VII stipulates that all are to sing in the choir, but if found to be disobedient the singer is fined for that entire Hour. The second half of that rule states that if any tone other than what the Chantre or Sochantre has intoned is sung, then a lesser punishment of one point is applied to the tally. Rule XXXI can also be divided with the first half of the rule being the more severe half. This particular rule pertains to absence when the Sermon is said, yet there is an exception listed within the rule that allows for a lesser punishment if the singer had permission to be absent. The harsher punishment was the loss of multiple Hours while the lesser was the loss of only one Hour. It is within the lesser of these two punishments that we find a majority of the rules. A total of fifteen different rules—equaling roughly 36% of the document—fall into this punishment category. There are two punishments that do however stand alone.

Within the *Ordo*, the punishment of a doubled fine is reserved specifically for the apuntador, should he fail to uphold the choral ordinances and fine individuals based upon



those statutes, yet three other rules specifically show that their fine can be increased based on contumacy. Contumacy aside, this regulation is paired with another seldom enforced mandate within the document, but is only isolated due to its reference to the apundator and his duty of enforcing the rules of the choir. In contrast, the least commonly utilized, or even applicable punishment is the final one within the table. The *actas* illustrate that while this was a rarely used punishment in the choir, it was directed at individual members of the choir on account of their activities outside of it. The *Ordo* reserves this punishment for those that attempted to remove the copy affixed to a *tablilla*, or notice board in the sacristy, but examples of punishment by excommunication can be found throughout the proceedings of the various Mexican Provincial Councils. In fact the use of excommunication increased with each additional provincial council. The first council only contained three specific cases for its use, whereas thirty years later that number had increased to twenty-four specific circumstances, where excommunication was an acceptable form of clerical and lay punishment throughout the Province of New Spain.<sup>93</sup> Nowhere is this more evident in the choir than during the episcopacy of Alonso de Montúfar. The members of his *cabildo* were admonished thusly for meeting clandestinely throughout the city.<sup>94</sup> A number of others were threatened with excommunication for various reasons not even specified in the *Ordo*. The punishment was also evidently utilized against laity who did not pay the tithe.<sup>95</sup> Excepting those

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<sup>93</sup> Rosa María Martínez de Codes, “La pena de excomunión en las fuentes canónicas de la nueva España,” in *Quinto Centenario*, Número 12, (1987): 67, <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=80388>, (accessed September 5, 2015).

<sup>94</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 1, 07junio1557, fol. 131r-131v.

<sup>95</sup> AHAM, *Cabildo Haceduría*, Jueces Hacedores, Caja 4, Exp. 11, 1684, Diversos autos decretos y citaciones de tablilla a los deudores de diezmos de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de México, a pedimento de su mayordomo administrador Bernabé de Aguilar y Noriega.

whose did not pay the tithe, a majority of these examples were directed towards the cathedral's canons who later petitioned the crown to intervene. While the punishment seems harsh, it was well established in the Iberian Peninsula, so much so that the punishment of excommunication for faults in the choir can be found as early as the seventh century in the *Regulae Monachorum* of St. Isidore of Seville. His interpretation is vastly different than the excommunication practiced by Montúfar. Humiliation and repentance are at the heart of both, but the situation in New Spain was far more drastic in nature. According to Isidore's first definition of excommunication, the excommunicate would be separated from the rest of his brethren during the Divine Office but not expelled from the monastery. While separated he was denied food rations and would prostrate himself on the floor in the middle of the choir to demonstrate his repentance; however, if the period of excommunication exceeded two days, bread and water were distributed after dark.<sup>96</sup> In contrast, Montúfar's use of excommunication can be described as arbitrary and capricious based upon various letters sent to the Royal Audiencia and the Spanish crown by members of the *cabildo*. Then again, we must recall Montúfar and Moya's descriptions of the archdiocese to the Council of the Indies and the statements against the Mexican clerics.

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<sup>96</sup> Isidorus Hispalensis, Edited by Chadwyck-Healey. *Regula Monachorum* from Patrologia Latina Database, Vol. 83, (1996): CAPUT XVIII, De excommunicatione, <http://ora-et-labora.net/regulaisidori.html>, (accessed March 6, 2016).

## 2.5 Conclusion

The numerous faults in the choir and lack of solemnity in the Divine Office plagued archbishops Montúfar and Moya de Contreras and can be traced even earlier than their own episcopacies to that of Juan de Zummárraga and the erection of the metropolitan cathedral. The Canonical Hours are of considerable importance not only to monastic life, but to cathedral life as well. In fact, with the exception of the last three examples, all punishments in Table 2-4 stem from use within the Divine Office. Beyond the request by Juan de Ovando prior to his visita of the archdiocese, a considerable amount of time spent *In Choro*—due to the obligations of clerics to sing—brought forth significant changes in the cathedral choir throughout the early sixteenth century. The implementation of the earliest *regla* is not known to have taken a firm hold within the cathedral, thus resulting in numerous additional mandates to the choir throughout the *actas capitulares* of the Mexican cathedral. These additions were in turn collected and assembled under the auspices of the second archbishop of México, Alonso de Montúfar, to create what would later be the foremost document for service in the cathedral choirs of New Spain and beyond. The cathedral was by no means a monastery, but the earliest members in its service did originate from the various orders scattered throughout the Iberian Peninsula. Many of the rules in the earliest form of the *Ordo* are reminiscent of ordinances found within the *regulae* of the various mendicant orders. While these particular rules are no longer utilized due to changes in the liturgy brought about by the First and Second Vatican Councils, a number of elements are still retained in the Metropolitan Cathedral of México. Upon a recent visit to the metropolitan cathedral in November of 2014 I noticed that Rule V was still in use. During Lauds and Terce the

canons present *in choro* stood and removed their birettas during the doxology of each psalm. It is not known whether these elements are specific requirements of the Divine Office or if they have been retained out of habit and custom. In either situation an exploration of the Divine Office is necessary to ascertain the ceremonial and ritualistic nature of the *Ordo in Choro Servandus*.

### 3.1 CEREMONY & RITUAL IN THE MEXICAN CATHEDRAL CHOIR

Regulations concerning the personal and collective behavior within religious communities can be traced not only across millennia but also across sects and denominations. In the first 500 years after Christianity became the official state religion of the Roman Empire more than a dozen *Regulae* were circulating throughout the cloisters of Western Europe.<sup>97</sup> The most prominent and proliforous of these regulae is the Rule of St. Benedict, which not only governed the behavior of an individual within the community but the community itself in the form of *ora et labore*. To pray and to work was the overwhelming precept that dominated day-to-day life in many monastic communities. While many rural monasteries had no written rule at all, the lengthy diurnal and nocturnal prayers are just as frequent there as they were in cloisters with a written rule.<sup>98</sup> Each of these quotidian forms of communal prayer can be found in the Divine Office, prayers that continue to be an integral part of the liturgical day within the Metropolitan Cathedral of México, although to a significantly smaller scale than in the colonial period. This chapter will focus primarily on the corporate ceremonies and devotions of the Mass and the Divine Office as prescribed in the *Ordo*. These ceremonies are of paramount importance to the Catholic world not only for the sacred connotations embraced within these institutions, but also for the intercessory nature in which they provide for the world as a whole. The context of the Divine Office and the Mass are broad in scope but will provide a detailed image depicting the proper procedure and

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<sup>97</sup> Joseph Dyer, "Observations on the Divine Office in the Rule of the Master," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography: Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. by Rebecca A Baltzer and Margot E. Fassler (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 75.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

etiquette expected of the cathedral choir as outlined in the *Ordo*. In order to facilitate this broadened view, it is necessary to subdivide the rules yet again between those that pertain to the Mass and those that relate to the Divine Office. Unfortunately, in examining the liturgical uses of the Mexican church as prescribed in the *Ordo*, a number of items will become muddled, because of the lack of detail in certain rules despite the extended nature of those same entries in the *Ordo*. Some of the ceremonies listed are no longer celebrated in the metropolitan cathedral, much less the Catholic Church at large. In one particular instance, as I will highlight below, the pertinent information is spread between three separate continents and two different time periods, thus bringing into question the homogeneity of this particular ritual and its usage in the Mexican Church. It is for this reason that several ceremonies will be specifically highlighted based upon the frequency of their reference within the *Ordo* or the noticeable obscurity of the ceremony itself within available resources.

### 3.2 Mass

In comparison to the current form, lay participation in the Mass was minimal prior to the Second Vatican Council. According to the 1962 Missal, the Low Mass, which is also the simplest form, required only a priest and an acolyte. They were the only participants in the Mass, as the congregation observed silently. A large number of the prayers recited by the priest were then repeated by the acolyte, who was the symbolic representative of the congregation and the world at large. Still, other prayers were not recited aloud at all. The only way the congregation knew that a change had taken place

was due to the priest proclaiming the doxology of a prayer in a loud voice or an acolyte ringing hand bells, thus breaking the silence.

The celebration of the Mass is not only the most important liturgical observance in the Roman Rite, but it is also a combination of two early Christian services: a liturgy of readings and prayers as well as a liturgy of thanksgiving culminating in the Eucharist.<sup>99</sup> The structure of the Mass is fairly consistent in the Ordinary, or prayers that remain the same in nearly all Masses, except in the penitential seasons of Advent and Lent. Examples of the Ordinary include the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus, and Angus Dei, but the Proper sections of the Mass are specific to each day and contain, a varied set of prayers and readings that are previously determined based upon the liturgical calendar. The days within the liturgical calendar are determined by their classification. The classifications can be drawn from two overlapping sources: the Temporale, which revolves around the seasonal cycle, and the Sanctorale, which provides fixed dates for specific feasts. The church's New Year begins with the arrival of Advent—the four weeks preceding Christmas—which varies between the end of November and the beginning of December. Since this section of the cycle is mutable it can be found in the Temporale as that calendar is concerned with the liturgical seasons.<sup>100</sup> Conversely, the Sanctorale is slightly more reliable from year to year, although, there are a few exceptions. Feast days of saints are perpetually prescribed to fall on the same date within the calendar every year unless that day happens to be a Sunday or a feast day of greater importance and rank, such as Corpus Christi. Such a situation would create a

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<sup>99</sup> John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 19.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 49-53.

conflict with the Temporale resulting in a transfer of the lesser feast to another day.<sup>101</sup>

Little information regarding either of these two calendars is able to be obtained from the *Ordo*. The only reference to specific feast days can be found within Rule XXXIII, but the reference is all encompassing. Rather than mentioning the feast days specifically by name the entry begins: “*On the feasts of Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Apostles, that are called on their own offices...*” thus creating a vague yet all encompassing statement that allowed for perpetual use without revision. The entry continues to discuss mutable feasts, demonstrating that the overwhelming majority of feasts utilized in the early Mexican Church were derived from the Temporale. This is quite interesting as the Mexican liturgical calendar was derived from the Spanish church in Seville and Hispanic feasts would have been contained within the Sanctorale, yet none of these feasts are mentioned within the *Ordo*. This is not to say that those feasts of Spanish origin were not celebrated in México or New Spain, but that they simply were not mentioned within the *Ordo*. Rule XXXIII does, however, provide the importance of the feasts that are mentioned. The entry continues with the mandate that none are to be given license or permission to be absent beginning at Vespers of the feast—which would fall on the preceding day—until Sext on the day following the feast. The fact that there is no mention of a punishment for absence without excuse on any of the prescribed feast days is notable, given the frequent mention of absence and its penalties in the *Ordo*.

Consequences for absenteeism with or without permission have a prominent place within the *Ordo*. The loss of two days’ distributions is prescribed for those who are

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<sup>101</sup> For a detailed analysis of the Temporale and Sanctorale see John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991), Chapter 3.



absent from Mass. The specific details relating to the distributions are not stated. In some cases, such as in Seville, the distribution could have been food rations of wheat or bread. While it is not the harshest punishment, it is still one of the most severe. If the rule is read in its entirety, there is also reference to the loss of Hours, which alludes to the loss of monetary compensation for those two days as well. More specific examples of absence from the choir will be examined later in this chapter, when discussing the Divine Office and the exceptions that pertain to individual offices.

Including Rule XXXIII, there are fourteen rules that pertain to the Mass, but only Rule XXXVI provides information detailing elements of the celebration itself. It mandates that the Gloria, Credo, Preface Dialogue, and Lord's Prayer are never to be omitted and always to be sung in the Solemn Mass under the penalty of one point. As discussed in Chapter 2, this rule is derived from Capítulo XXI of the First Provincial Mexican Council in response to clerics attempting to rush through prayers by only singing half of the prayer and speaking what remained.<sup>102</sup> No mention of the other sections of the Mass Ordinary is made in this particular entry. In fact, there is only one mention of the Kyrie within Rule V and no reference to the Agnus Dei at any point within the *Ordo*. Despite a lack of reference, the Agnus Dei was not omitted from Masses written by composers in Colonial México. Hernando Franco—the fifth Chapel Master of the Metropolitan Cathedral from 1575-1585—included both the Kyrie and an Agnus Dei in his *Misa Brevis a5*, yet both the Gloria and Credo are missing which is in direct contradiction to Rule XXXVI. Being that the prayers cited above are the responsibility of the celebrant during a Mass it is highly plausible that these would have been sung or

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<sup>102</sup> Gutiérrez Vega, *Primer Concilio*, 140.

chanted by the celebrant and not the choir. Still, Franco's *Misa Brevis a5* is more suitable for Advent or Lent when there is a ban on the Gloria; however the missing Credo leads me to believe that this setting would have been used during a ferial Mass rather than one on a feast day. Another example can be seen in Francisco López y Capillas' *Missa de Batalla*, or *Battle Mass*, which included an Agnus Dei.<sup>103</sup> Despite the lack of reference in Rule XXXVI the option of saying, rather than singing, certain sections of the Mass or the Hours is alluded to in Rule V.

The remaining nine rules are either warnings or procedural directives. For instance, the uncovering of the head was required at the "...Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Gospel, Sanctus, and Communion."<sup>104</sup> The same directive appears throughout the document but is most prevalent when discussing the Gospel and the Little Office of the Virgin as well as: "When the most Holy name Jesus, or that of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is professed."<sup>105</sup> Some of the warnings seem to be common sense, such as reading what is to be sung prior to singing it, but the increasing frequency of this kind of warning is disconcerting. Not only are such warnings prevalent in rules pertaining to the Mass, but they occur with even more frequency in rules pertaining to the Divine Office. To place this in perspective, we must remember that Table 2-2 in Chapter 2 showed that the total number of statutes within the *Ordo* is forty-two. Of those forty-two, no fewer than thirty are specific to the Divine Office. Figure 3-1 below details those rules specific to the Mass.

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<sup>103</sup> Lopez y Capillas was Chapel Master of the Metropolitan Cathedral from 1654-1673.

<sup>104</sup> *Ordo*, Rule V, 129.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, Rule V and VI, 129.

Table 3-1. Rules Pertaining specifically to the Mass

No.	Rule
V.	Stand and uncover head at prescribed times
VI.	Comportment during the Gospel
VIII.	No wandering during Mass or the Hours
X.	No reading or private prayer during Mass or the Hours
XVII.	Failure to celebrate Mass
XIX.	Dressing in the cope
XXX.	Attendance in Mass and Sermon
XXXII.	Negligence due to error and lack of preparation
XXXIII.	Days where absence is inexcusable
XXXIV.	Celebration of Mass during the Hours
XXXVI.	What is to be sung during High Mass
XXXVIII.	Prebends must be able to sing their office

Even though the rules listed in Figure 3-1 address the Mass, only rules VI, XVII, XXX, and, XXXVI are specific to it and with no overlapping details concerning the Divine Office in contrast to the other rules listed. The Mass, while highly regarded, is only mentioned in the *Ordo* as much as it pertains to the Divine Office and is treated secondary to them. These four specific ordinances relating to the Mass are not specified in the original 1570 document and therefore must have been added when the *Ordo* was expanded upon during the Third Mexican Provincial Council in 1585. The preamble to both the 1570 document and the 1797 impression specify that the *Ordo* is a prescription of the proper order to celebrate the Divine Office with absolutely no mention of the Mass.

### 3.3 Divine Office

The Divine Office constitutes the largest amount of attention and prayer in the daily life of a monastic or cleric. The core of the Office consists of the recitation of the Psalms of David at specified hours throughout the day and the night. These Canonical Hours are: Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline.<sup>106</sup> Theoretically, the Hours were equally divided and prayed according to the schedule for conducting business in ancient Rome. This schedule can be seen in Table 3-2, which provides a generally accepted timetable for the recitation of the Divine Office.

Table 3-2 Schedule of the Divine Office

Canonical Hour	Time of Day Celebrated
Matins	Midnight
Lauds	3AM
Prime	6AM
Terce	9AM
Sext	NOON
None	3PM
Vespers	6PM
Compline	9PM

Table 3-2 provides a *theoretical* timetable for reciting the Divine Office, but in practice this was not always the case. Prior to Tridentine reforms, each geographical region often had certain peculiarities in the text, the ceremonies of the Mass, and the recitation of the Liturgy of the Hours. The timetable dictating the celebration of these ceremonies was certainly no exception. The *Ordo* does not provide specific information pertaining to the time of day in which the Hours were to be celebrated, but a contemporary rule book from

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<sup>106</sup> Harper, *Forms and Order of Western Liturgy*, 18-19.

the Cathedral of Puebla provides information that could allow for a comparable reconstruction of the liturgical day in the Mexican cathedral. Major exceptions would still arise due to feast days of both the Temporale and the Sanctorale, but in the simplest form all of the night Offices occur during the daylight hours.

Table 3-3 Reconstruction of Liturgical Day in Cathedral of Puebla<sup>107</sup>

Canonical Hour	Time of Day Celebrated
Matins	4PM
Lauds	Only reference: Before Prime on Christmas and Easter
Prime	7:30AM
Conventual Mass	Between 8 and 8:30AM
Terce and High Mass	9AM
Sext	Immediately after Terce before High Mass
None	3PM
Vespers	Immediately after None (After Mass in Lent)
Compline	Immediately after Vespers (3PM in Lent)

According to the schedule in Puebla, Terce and None are the only Hours that remain in the same timeframe as listed in Table 3-3. Since the source of the table above is from the Cathedral of Puebla, it cannot be verified to have been in use in México exactly as noted, but as I mentioned in Chapter 2, the First Mexican Provincial Council mandated that suffragan dioceses conform their recitation of the Divine Office to the Metropolitan Cathedral. Even though the Third Mexican Provincial Council overruled the mandates of the previous provincial councils, there is a present-day correlation between the placement of Terce and the Mass as currently celebrated according to the daily schedule at the Metropolitan Cathedral of México. Upon a recent visit (January 2014), I noted that Lauds

<sup>107</sup> Reglas, y ordenanzas del choro de esta santa iglesia Catedral de la Puebla de los Angeles (Tercera Impresión, 1736).

and Terce began at 9:00 in the morning and immediately followed each other without pause. Once completed, the choir processed to the sacristy, so that the canons may exchange their surplices and mozzettas for chasubles. The Mass began almost immediately without a long pause between the two services, thanks in part to the organ recessional and the extensive tolling of the cathedral bells.

The Second Vatican Council divided these Canonical Hours even further into major and minor hours. Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext, and None fell into the category of the minor hours which were sometimes referred to as the “little” hours. This designation was not because of their stature within the daily cycle but rather due to their overall structure in comparison to the more elaborate Night Offices. The major hours (Lauds, Vespers, and Compline) were of significant breadth in comparison to the minor hours as illustrated below in Figure 3-1. The information contained within Figure 3-1 is based on the simplest form of each hour. As was the case with the rules, there are exceptions, especially during the celebration of a feast day.

<b><u>Matins</u></b> <sup>108</sup>	<b><u>Lauds</u></b>	<b><u>Prime, Terce, Sext, None</u></b>	<b><u>Vespers</u></b>	<b><u>Compline</u></b>
Opening Versicle Invitatory Psalm (94) Antiphon—Hymn	Opening Versicle 4 Psalms and 1 Canticle with 5 Antiphons Chapter Hymn Versicle Canticle (Benedictus)	Opening Versicle Hymn 3 Psalms with 1 Antiphon Chapter Short Responsory Versicle [Prime in secular, and all four hours in monastic Use: Preces]	Opening Versicle 5 Psalms with 5 Antiphons Chapter Hymn Versicle Canticle (Magnificat) with Antiphon	Opening Versicle 3 Psalms with 1 Antiphon Hymn Chapter with Short Responsory Canticle (Nunc Dimittis) with Antiphon Marian Antiphon
<b>First Nocturn:</b>				
3 Psalms & Antiphons 3 Reading with 3 Great Responsories				
<b>Second Nocturn:</b>				
3 Psalms & Antiphons 3 Readings with 3 Great Responsories				
<b>Third Nocturn:</b>				
3 Psalms & Antiphons 3 Reading with 3 Great Responsories Te Deum				

Figure 3-1. Comparative Summary of Canonical Hours

<sup>108</sup> Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 23.

The regulations in the *Ordo* pertaining to the Divine Office celebrated in the metropolitan cathedral provide the most telling information that can be derived of the choir aside from the *actas capitulares*. As described in Chapter 2, the haphazard order of the rules within the *Ordo* with secondary references to earlier ordinances scattered as an afterthought provides difficulty in easily assessing the statutes for each of the various services. For this reason, the recreation of one canonical hour, based upon the rules found in the *Ordo*, will better serve the purposes of this study than to continue down the list of those rules not yet covered. While all Hours are mentioned individually throughout the document, Terce appears the most often. Unfortunately, to base the recreation on Terce would be problematic. Nearly all references to Terce are related to either losing that Hour, based on some sort of negligence, or the reference of some sort of limitation, such as the inability to celebrate a private Mass once Terce has begun. Nevertheless, Rule XXIX provides enough specific information relating to Matins that would allow for its recreation below.

### 3.4 Recreation of Matins

First and foremost, all are to sing as well as respect the President (Dean) while in the choir. Should they forget their duty or become obstinate upon being reminded by the President, they shall be fined in the loss of the Hours.<sup>109</sup> Entrance into the choir is made in hierarchal procession with the Hebdomadary and the Dean leading through the main door of the Choir after the bells have rung. The Hour is not begun until the altar candles

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<sup>109</sup> *Ordo*, Rule VII, 129 and Rule IV, 128.



have been lit, sufficient ministers of the choir have arrived, and a signal is made from the choir bell.<sup>110</sup> No one may enter or leave through the main door of the choir except prior to the beginning of the Hour or after its completion. The only exception is for those who are accompanied by the prelate—that is to say the bishop or archbishop—and those who are to celebrate the conventual Mass.<sup>111</sup> Necessities of the body are an acceptable reason for exiting the choir, but only with permission from the President and under the condition that extended time wandering or staying in the sacristy is not taken.<sup>112</sup> Upon entering the choir, none are to stop and converse with those at the *facistol* or in the lower seats, but to go immediately to their seat without any delay. The only time it is permissible to leave an assigned seat is when singing before the *facistol*, or anything else which has been assigned them for that day, such as the singing or chanting of the Versicle, Chapter, Prayer, Responsory, or any other part of an ecclesiastical office.<sup>113</sup> A seat may also be left if the Sochantre is without sufficient assistance and the President descends from his seat to aid him. If the President descends to give aid at the *facistol*, all are bound to do the same.<sup>114</sup> Once seated, all talking and foolishness are to stop, especially if it carries from one choir to another.<sup>115</sup> Neither is it permissible to read books or personal letters during

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<sup>110</sup> Those who begin prior to meeting these requirements will lose the distribution of the Hours for that day.

<sup>111</sup> Ordo, Rule XI and XII, 130-131. Not all members of religious orders were ordained. Some such as Fray Pedro de Gante, the father of music education in the Americas, remained lay friars all of their life. It was for this reason, and the benefit of the nuns in convent, that clergy from the cathedral celebrated the conventual Masses in the surrounding cloisters.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., Rule XXVI, 135.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., Rule XIV and XV, 132.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., Rule IX, 130. This same rule caused a stir in 1581 when two individuals refused to comply with this mandate. See Chapter 4.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., Rule III, and II, 128. The choirs referred to are the right (Dean) and left (Archdean) sides of the choir stalls. See Chapter 4 for further discussion of these choirs.

the celebration of the Divine Office. Nor is it acceptable to recite private prayers as this is a corporately observed prayer and the prayer of all is necessitated.<sup>116</sup>

Those who enter the choir after the Gloria Patri of the first Psalm (*Venite exultemus*,) when all have stood with head uncovered, shall lose that Hour unless it was intoned. If it were intoned, then the choir must be entered before the end of the first nocturn.<sup>117</sup> An exception is made for those who have asked permission for a necessity of the body or who are celebrating the Conventual Mass elsewhere. This permission is not total and expires at a certain point within the Hour. This is to say that attendance for the majority of an Hour is required to gain the benefice of that Hour. If there are three psalms, then attendance is mandatory for two of the three psalms, or if there are five psalms then attendance is mandatory for three of the five psalms; otherwise there is risk for losing the entire Hour.<sup>118</sup> These exceptions are not extended to those who, out of malice and the purpose of not attending the divine office, sit conversing and waiting for the prescribed time to enter the choir so as to still gain their benefice for that Hour.<sup>119</sup> The psalms are to be sung alternately between the two choirs, with a competent pause in the middle of the verse. One choir is not to begin singing their verse until the other choir has completed their verse, and it is the *Sochántre*'s responsibility to ensure that this happens. If a tone other than what the *Sochántre* has intoned is sung, the *apuntador* will mark the singer, and he shall lose that Hour.<sup>120</sup> If entrusted to sing the Chapter, Prayer, or anything else and any noticeable defect occurs, then the Hour is lost due to negligence and failure

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., Rule X, 130.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., Rule V, XIII, XXIX, 129; 131-132; and 135.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., Rule XXVII, 135.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., Rule XIII, 131-132.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., Rule XXIV and VII, 134 and 129-130.

to view the entrusted part prior to the office.<sup>121</sup> Inverting a reading with one that actually belongs to another Hour or day or taking a different tone than that which was intoned could be considered noticeable defects. If there is only one nocturn and a cleric has not returned prior to the *Te Deum*, he has now lost the Hour of Matins.<sup>122</sup>

While this recreation does not provide specifics for exactly what was to be sung throughout the entire Hour, it does, however, provide an intriguing insight into the general demeanor and state of the choir. The way in which the *Ordo* is written seems to imply that the singers were not only unruly, but also disobedient and lazy. This portrayal is striking, as the members of the choir were clerics. While there is evidence of choirs made up entirely of Mexican natives or African slaves, their activities as a whole are better documented than the cathedral choirs of the province.<sup>123</sup> This may not have been the case for every member of the cathedral choir, but it must have been prevalent enough that these rules were enacted to supplement those statutes that were already in place by the erection document of the cathedral. Moreover, the rule pertaining to processions is even more suggestive than those pertaining to the Divine Office.

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid., Rule XVI and XXXII, 132 and 136.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., Rule XXIX, 135.

<sup>123</sup> For more information concerning native and slave choirs in colonial New Spain see: Steven Barwick, *Sacred Vocal Polyphony in Early Colonial Mexico* (Cambridge, 1949); Robert Stevenson, *Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey* (New York, 1952); and Toribio Motolinia, *History of the Indians of New Spain*. (Westport, 1977).

### 3.5 Processions

While the Mass and the Divine Office are of primary importance to the liturgical day, processions were of significant importance in the celebration of feast days. Processions were not utilized for every feast day and details concerning processions are fleeting within the *Ordo*, but the information contained within presents another dimension to the choir. The Feast of Corpus Christi was and is one of the most prominent feast days in New Spain. The procession on Corpus Christi was a large-scale affair involving not only the cabildo but also the friars of the monasteries, secular clerics, and civil authorities. In addition, processions in New Spain were not relegated solely to the sacred. Secular processions were also held to welcome newly arrived officials—such as the viceroy—into a city. The *Ordo* only provides one rule regarding processions, but it is primarily relegated to the decorum of the procession and those within it. Rule XXXVII mandates that: “Modesty is to be observed in the procession.” This ordinance could be a cautionary warning as well as demonstrating the unruly behavior of the singers. While the argument could be made that too much is being read into this first statement, and not enough evidence is provided to support the rationale of unruliness, the remainder of the rule provides specific examples that will settle the matter. There is a continued ban on conversation between individuals, as there was in Rules I, II, III, XIV, and XV of the *Ordo*, which applies not only to conversing with regulars but with other seculars as well. A punishment of one point is associated with this rule, but the penalty can be increased based on contumacy and disobedience to the President.<sup>124</sup> If this still seems insufficient evidence, the animosity between the members of the regular and secular clergy is well

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid., Rule XXXVII, 138.

documented, but the examples of enmity between prebends within the cathedral are less often noted. Something as simple as ignoring or not acknowledging the presence of another individual could cause the loss of one's benefice. The loss was not permanent but did last as long as the two parties continued to quarrel and would not be restored until the two were reconciled.<sup>125</sup> Processions are also the only time—excepting official church business—when prebends can walk through the streets in their surplice. The surplice is part of the choral dress which also consists of the cassock, or habit, and the surplice. The mozzetta and biretta are not specifically mentioned, but paintings of individuals in the metropolitan cathedral choir are shown wearing it over their choral vestments.<sup>126</sup> According to current usage the only individuals allowed to use the mozzetta are members of the cabildo, bishops, cardinals, and the pope. The cabildo of the metropolitan cathedral continues to utilize the mozzetta and biretta in their choral dress. The Mexican See did not approve of clerics wandering the streets, or the taverns for that matter, in their surplice.<sup>127</sup> Interestingly, the singers of the *Capella Sistina* in Rome were required by papal mandate to be in full choral dress when outside of the chapel.<sup>128</sup> The only conclusion that can be drawn between the two is that in Rome it would have been a matter of station as opposed to México where it was a matter of principle. By virtue of their membership in the *Cappella Sistina*, singers in Rome were also members of the

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid., Rule XXXIX, 139.

<sup>126</sup> The surplice is also known as the cotta and is a white tunic like linen worn over the cassock or habit. The mozzetta is an elbow length cloak that drapes over the shoulder above the surplice and is reserved for canons, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and the pope. The color can vary based upon title: black (canon), purple (bishop/archbishop), scarlet (cardinal), white (pope). The canons of the Metropolitan Cathedral of México currently wear cassocks similar to those worn by bishops but a different shade of purple closer to amaranth.

<sup>127</sup> Ordo, Rule XLI, 139.

<sup>128</sup> Schuler, "The Cappella Sistina," 146.

papal household, thus by extension representatives of the pope himself. To wander the streets of Rome in unfitting garments reflected poorly on the pontiff as addressed in the 1545 Choral Constitutions of Pope Paul III.<sup>129</sup> Conversely, it was of the utmost importance that the clergy of New Spain did not provide any new bad habits or examples for their native neophytes. The impropriety displayed by transplanted Spanish citizens in the New World was of enough concern to the spiritual growth of the newly converted that the provincial Mexican councils enacted legislation to discourage swearing, gambling, and the carrying of weapons by the clergy.<sup>130</sup> While this sounds like an odd detail to mention, it was an incredibly pervasive problem to find members of the clergy walking hand in hand or serenading women late into the night. At least two chapters are devoted to the regulation of contact between clerics and women of suspicious repute in the legislation of the First Mexican Provincial Council.<sup>131</sup> Further information concerning this problem will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Attendance for processions is a less often cited problem than modesty within them.<sup>132</sup> An edict found in the cathedral archive from May of 1588 provides for such an example. This edict does not absolutely indicate that the issue was a prolific one until the final statement is read. Prior to the formulaic dating and signature of the edict it reads: “...and that this edict be affixed to the doors of it [cathedral] so that notice may be given and none may pretend ignorance.” It is not known whether this particular statement was originally a part of the formulae for edicts, but it is possible that over time it may have

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Gutierrez Vega, *Primer Concilio*, 158-162.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 160-161 and 165-166.

<sup>132</sup> ACCMM, *Edictos*, Caja 1, Exp. 17, Provisorio, Edicto para que los clérigos, diáconos y subdiaconos vayan y vuelvan a las procesiones, so pena de excomuni6n mayor y quarto puntos (21 mayo 1588).

been, as evidenced by a nearly identical statement in an edict from April 6, 1677.<sup>133</sup>

There are two other pieces of information that are quite interesting within this edict. The punishment for noncompliance is far stricter than any found within the *Ordo* within the exception of the final rule. Excommunication and four pesos were prescribed for lack of attendance, but the use of the fine for activity outside of the church is definitely unusual. According the cathedral's erection, when an individual is fined in the choir that fine is then distributed to an account known as the *fábrica*. The specifics of the *fábrica* will be discussed in the next chapter, but generally those funds are used specifically for items within the cathedral. In this case the fine of four pesos is being sent to Spain to help fund King Phillip II's war with England. As patron of the Indies, the king of Spain had the right to retain the tithe and then redistribute it back to the church, if he chose to do so, but a document or cédula mandating the fines be sent to Spain in support of the war effort could not be found while researching in the ACCMM.

### 3.6 La Señá and the Vexilla Regis

The discussion of processions cannot exist in a liturgical setting without discussing the feast days that pertain to them. Unfortunately, as previously stated, the feast days listed in the *Ordo* are just that, a list. Specific details for the Office of those days are contained within the breviary and not available to us within the *Ordo*. However, there is one such procession that is quite unique. In fact, the *Ordo* only provides an incredibly vague reference to it, and the reference itself is perplexing as there is no added

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<sup>133</sup> ACCMM, *Edictos*, Caja: 1, Expediente: 61, Secretaría Capitular. Edicto sobre puntualidad en el coro durante semana santa (6abril1677).

context. Rules XI and XXXIII mention the “Seña” or the sign [of the cross]. The “sign” is not to be confused with the physical signing of the cross made over one’s own body nor is it to be confused with the “symbol.” According to the erection, the symbol is the symbol of faith, that is to say, the Nicene Creed, which outlines the major doctrinal beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church. The ceremony utilizing the “seña” is known by various names including: *la reseña*, *el arrastre de caudas*, *el revoleo*, and *la ostensión de la bandera*. As suggested by the final title, the sign itself is more akin to a banner. Mention of the seña in the *actas capitulares* is scarce. Most of the entries that refer to the sign are more concerned with the proper protocol for taking or retrieving it, although, there are three particular entries in the *actas* that provide clues for its use in the early Mexican cathedral. An entry of January 12, 1563, listing the days and times in which the organist and singers were required to be in attendance, mentions that the sign was utilized in Vespers without a designation regarding which Vespers.<sup>134</sup> Six years later another entry appears in the *actas* and provides us with new information concerning the ceremony involving the sign.

This second entry in the *actas* is referred to as an instruction. It concerns a procession made by the chántre, two canons, two prebends, and two chaplains from the choir to the high altar. It is not stated where the sign is or whether it is used during the procession, but only that the chántre is the one to take the sign. As the procession is taking place, those that remain in the choir begin to sing the hymn *Vexilla regis*.<sup>135</sup> The date of this capitular entry allows us to approximate that this particular ceremony was

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<sup>134</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 2, 12enero1563, fol. 95r. *Y todos los días que hay seña, a vísperas*.

<sup>135</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 2, 29marzo1569, fol. 242v.



held towards the end of the Lenten season or the beginning of Eastertide. However, the use of the *Vexilla regis* confirms that this ceremony took place during the Lenten season as this hymn is generally associated with the Passiontide. The hymn *Vexilla regis* itself also holds special significance in not only the metaphorical, but the physical aspects of this ceremony. In his work *La Libro de la Regla Vieja*, Juan Ruíz Jiménez describes a ceremony in the Cathedral of Seville that contains many of the same elements. The *seña* is never described in the *actas* or the *Ordo*, but Ruiz Jimenez describes it as a black banner with a red cross. The cathedral's cantor would wave the sign from the altar in the direction of the congregation five times throughout the Passiontide. According to Ruiz Jimenez, the first would take place on Passion Saturday and Sunday, then again on Palm Saturday and Sunday, and finally on Holy Wednesday.<sup>136</sup> The only confirmed date of usage in the Mexican Cathedral does not appear in the *actas* until 1611. In this particular instance, there is a conflict in the use of the *seña* due to Passion Saturday falling on the feast day of St. Joseph. As noted earlier, conflicts between the Temporale and Sanctorale would normally result in the transfer of the lesser feast to another day; however, both feasts take precedent in this case. The feast of St. Joseph is considered a solemnity, regardless of the fact that he was considered the patron saint of New Spain. Still, the newly reformatted breviaries issued by Clement VIII ordered that items that distract or intrude upon the daily prayers should not be allowed. In order to follow the new breviary and continue celebrating the older custom of the *Seña*, it was decided by the *cabildo* that the sign be taken after the second Vespers of the feast day had finished. Interestingly, the ceremony seems to have added newer elements compared to the capitular entry of 1569.

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<sup>136</sup> Ruíz Jiménez, *La Libro de la Regla Vieja*, 259.

Rather than the seven previously listed individuals processing from the choir to the high altar, the entry states that the Dean and all of the cabildo—in hierarchical order—are to also process out of the choir as the hymn *Vexilla regis* is sung. The use of the cope has also been incorporated in this particular ritual. All the members of the cabildo were to be wearing the cope as they processed through the cathedral. Once the *Vexilla regis* had ended, the choir and cabildo were to sing the Magnificat, leaving enough space between verse and antiphon so as to return to their place in the choir before it was complete and the presiding priest could finish the Passion Sunday prayer. This would be the same protocol utilized anytime these two feasts coincided again.<sup>137</sup>

This particular ritual is no longer in use in the Cathedral of Seville or the Metropolitan Cathedral of México, but it can still be found at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Quito in Ecuador. The tradition in Quito holds that the *Arraste de caudas*, or dragging of tails, take place on Holy Wednesday and is actually annually advertised by the country's Ministry of Tourism. According to the Ecuadorian Ministry of Tourism, the ceremony is an ancient Roman funeral rite that was first celebrated in Quito as early as 1550 and is annually celebrated at noon.<sup>138</sup> The ritual itself is situated within the Vespers of Holy Wednesday and does not take place at any other day that would correspond with the use in Seville as listed above. This admission by the Ecuadorian Tourism Board allows us to highlight yet another example of the inconsistencies in the celebration of the Divine Office between various geographical regions.

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<sup>137</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 5, 01marzo1611, fol. 226.

<sup>138</sup> Municipio del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito. "Arrastre de Caudas "Reseña"." <http://semanasantaquito.com/evento/arrastre-de-caudas/> (accessed March 5, 2016).

While attendance would require travel to Ecuador within a highly specific date range, the internet provides an opportunity that is not otherwise possible for most individuals. AmaLaVidaTV is an online tourism channel operated by the Ecuadorian Ministry of Tourism. It is this branch of the tourism board that has recorded and preserved a nearly complete broadcast of the 2015 ceremony online.<sup>139</sup> Unfortunately, the video does not contain the full ceremony and stops as the procession of the primados begins, most likely a marketing ploy by the Ministry of Tourism to entice visitors; however, the elements of the video prior to this are informative. Archival records concerning the specifics of this ceremony are scarce and, as this research topic has illustrated for me time and time again, they are also fragmentary in nature; nevertheless the beginning of this video provides both liturgical and historical foundations upon which to build. The ceremony originated in Seville and was introduced to Quito by way of Lima as Quito was a suffragan diocese. Knowing full well that the Ecuadorian government markets the ceremony as a tourist attraction, a cleric of the metropolitan cathedral reminds the attendees that this ceremony is not just a tradition but an act of prayer; a prayer for the needs of the Church and the needs of the world at large that must be treated with due reverence. This is very much reminiscent of Archbishop Montúfar's reminder to attentively pray and sing. In paragraph three of the *Ordo*'s preamble he states: "...in fact if all take care in their singing, to be simultaneously vigilant with actual, or virtual intent, they will without a doubt avoid many deficiencies, which are commonly noted in the choir..."<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> AmaLaVidaTV. "Arrastre de Caudas 2015." Livestream.com.  
<http://livestream.com/AmaLaVidaTV/SemanaSantaEcuador/videos/82440982>

<sup>140</sup> Ordo, Preamble, 127-128.

In recent times the Canonical Hours have been truncated due to changes in the liturgy based on the decisions of the Second Vatican Council. This suggests that the psalmody within this particular Office will also have been truncated in comparison to its colonial counterpart. While programs were printed for the attendees to follow along with the ceremony, I was not able to obtain a copy, nevertheless; the cleric mentioned above, provides a detailed description of the sequence of events in this particular Office. Figure 3-2 below is my realization based on his description.

Psalm 61  
Psalm 66  
Canticle: Letter to the Colossians Chapter 1  
Reading: First Corinthians  
Homily  
Procession (Arrastre de Caudas)  
Reseña (Batida de la bandera)  
Canticle: Magnificat  
Preces  
Benediction with Lignum Crucis  
Figure 3-2. Order of Vespers for Holy Wednesday-Quito

In comparison to Figure 3-1, we find that the number of psalms with antiphons has been reduced from five to a total of two. In both cases the antiphons of Psalm 61 and Psalm 66 were spoken rather than sung, whereas the verses were intoned. A second canticle has been added and inserted immediately after these two psalms but before the Chapter of that Office. A Homily—which is normally reserved for Terce during the celebration of a solemnity—has also been included where it otherwise would not be during the colonial era and has replaced the hymn as well as the second versicle.

The *Vexilla regis*, which had been prescribed in the *Regla Vieja* of Seville and the *Actas Capitulares* of México, has been omitted entirely and replaced with an organ processional. The only constants in this particular incarnation of the Vesper Office—compared with the descriptions in the Mexican *actas*—are the Magnificat and the preces, but their usage differs. Where the Mexican cathedral decided to use the Magnificat and preces simultaneously during the procession, the cabildo Quiteño makes use of both individually after the procession is complete.

Once the Homily is complete, the Vespers are interrupted by the procession, or *arrastre de caudas*, and *reseña*. The name of this procession is derived from the visual display of the canons draped in black hooded robes with long trains, some of which are up to six meters long. The use of such a large tail in this modern-day procession provides clarification to an odd reference found in the Mexican *actas*. As discussed previously in this chapter, the choral dress was the cassock and surplice; however, a mandate of January 1542 expounding the proper use of liturgical vestments requires that when processing the “skirts” shall be folded and carried except when retrieving the sign.<sup>141</sup> When carrying the sign the “skirts” shall be laid out while processing.<sup>142</sup> The same can be seen as the canons of Quito process in hierarchical order through the nave of the cathedral dragging the *caudas*, or tails, representative of the sins of the world. While the terms *arrastre de caudas* and *reseña* are used interchangeably, in reality they could be considered two separate rituals. The word “*reseña*” is meant to signify a review, more specifically, a review of the troops of Christ. In this particular instance the troops are represented by the canons and prelate of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Quito, but once

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<sup>141</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 1, 08enero1542, fol. 44v.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 45r.

their procession through the nave has ended the focus shifts to the sign. The ceremony of the *reseña* is derived from an ancient Roman funeral rite which originated within its army. When a Roman general died, a banner was waved over his body to extract his qualities. The banner was then waved over the troops so as to convey the courage of the deceased upon them. In like manner, the sign is draped and later waved over the altar to obtain the qualities of Christ. The canons that had previously processed through the nave, dragging long, black cloaks, now lay prostrate between the altar and the congregation. The sign is waved over the prostrate canons and then over the congregation to imbue them with the virtues of Christ very much as described by Ruíz Jiménez in his findings of the *Regla Vieja* of Seville.<sup>143</sup> Ruíz Jiménez believes that the waving of the sign displayed a physical representation of the first two stanzas of the *Vexilla regis* that was prescribed to be sung in Seville and México.<sup>144</sup> I have not been able to determine whether the *Vexilla regis* is prescribed to be used in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Quito. Attendance of the ceremony could allow verification of the use or lack of the *Vexilla regis* in Quito; however, one might speculate the *Vexilla Regis* was used in the same manner as in México and Seville, but I have yet to evidence confirmation. Despite the multitude of similarities between the modern-day ceremony celebrated in Quito and the colonial equivalent revealed by archival findings, more research is necessary to determine the full extent of these similarities.

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<sup>143</sup> Quinzán, Antonio. “El Arrastre de Caudas, una ceremonia única en el mundo.” Viajesyfotografia.com. <http://www.viajesyfotografia.com/blog/el-arrastre-de-caudas-una-ceremonia-unica-en-el-mundo/> (accessed March 6, 2016).

<sup>144</sup> Ruíz Jiménez, *La Libro de la Regla Vieja*, 259.

### 3.7 Conclusion

By incorporating the Ecuadorian Ministry of Tourism's archived recording of the 2015 Reseña, I was able to examine the current liturgical aspects of the Vespers for Holy Wednesday. Such a comprehensive example also significantly expands our understanding of the "seña," or sign, vaguely mentioned in Rules XI and XXXIII of the *Ordo*. We now know that the modern-day seña is a black banner with a red cross emblazoned upon it and is meant to convey the qualities and characteristics of Christ to those present when waved over the canons and congregation. Unfortunately, due to the truncation of the Divine Office by the Second Vatican Council the homogeneity of the current reseña is called into question, based on the lack of archival information in the ACCMM and the fact that the ceremony has fallen out of use in México. Further archival research is needed to illuminate the uses of this ritual within the Mexican cathedral and choir. Furthermore, as important as the Mass is to the foundation of Catholicism, the Divine Office is of greater importance within the *Ordo in Choro Servandus*. This is not to say that regulations concerning the Mass are not found within the *Ordo*, but that their mention within the document is secondary to those relating to the Offices and generally made when the two correspond to each other. Indeed, the Divine Office did not supersede the Mass in importance but rather illustrates that the largest portion of time spent *In Choro* was because of the seven Canonical Hours prayed throughout the day. According to the erection of the Metropolitan Cathedral of México all members of the clergy and cabildo were bound in service to these Hours, and as stated in Chapter 2, all suffragan cathedrals were bound to pray them in the same manner as the metropolitan cathedral. Figure 3-1 of this chapter allowed us to gain perspective by way of an order within the Hours that was

missing from the descriptions of the Divine Office in Chapter 2. Unfortunately, this expanded view of the Hours is not exhaustive, but it does provide an ulterior view into the cathedral choir that is not as often observed. Many scholars have focused on the historical aspects concerning the musical works themselves without delving deeply into the social implications of creating that music; however, the *Ordo in Choro Servandus* flagrantly compels us to acknowledge that in order to properly examine the Mexican cathedral choir as an institution we must navigate through the socio-political undercurrents of the time. This is mostly evidenced by the recreation of Matins, thus illustrating a noticeable amount of defects and detractions from within the choir and its members even when outside the cathedral walls during processions. These disturbances by members of the choir only cause us to question their motives in doing so. Their benefice was solely acquired by their participation in the choir. Ignoring this obligation to sing the Hours constituted a reduction in salary based upon the point system discussed in Chapter 2. In order to understand these seemingly blatant abuses of their obligations more fully, we must examine the origins of the cathedral structure in México and its evolution throughout the sixteenth century.



## 4.1 CATHEDRAL STRUCTURE

On December 12, 1527, the civil government of New Spain received royal decrees that would create both the See and Diocese of México.<sup>145</sup> Although the Mexican church was suffragan to the Diocese of Seville in Spain, the Mexican diocese was not legitimately formed despite the arrival of these decrees. Due to the large distance between Spain and Rome, and the even larger distance between Europe and the New World, the papal bulls that erected the diocese, and ultimately legitimized it, did not arrive until late 1533. Interestingly, while the papal bulls of erection were printed in Mexico City on December 28, 1533,<sup>146</sup> the first entry in the *Actas Capitulares* of the *Catedral Metropolitana* does not appear until March 1, 1536.<sup>147</sup> This is because Charles V had not made the same approbation as Pope Clement VII, which was his royal right as patron. The *Patronato Real* 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*, that enabled the Spanish monarchs to appoint individuals for episcopal posts, keep tithes as part of their funds, and have authority and control over the dissemination of liturgical books. After review of the *Erectio* document reprinted in the *Statuta Mexicanae Ecclesiae*, it was noted that the final date read: “*Datum Toleti sub anno â Nativitate Domini millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo quarto.*” This corresponds to Zumarraga’s submission of a revised cathedral charter for approval as well as with the time necessary

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<sup>145</sup> Fabian de Fonseca and Carlos de Urrutia, *Historia general de real hacienda*, 6 vols (Mexico: Impr. por V.G. Torres, 1845), III, 145; Alberto María Carreño, *Un desconocido cedulario del siglo XVI perteneciente a la Catedral metropolitana de México* (Mexico: Ediciones Victoria, 1944), 43, quoted in John Frederick Schwaller: “The Cathedral Chapter of Mexico in the Sixteenth Century,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 61/4 (November 1981): 654.

<sup>146</sup> Schwaller, “Cathedral Chapter,” 655.

<sup>147</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 1, 1 marzo 1536, fol. 1r.

to secure royal approval and the documents to travel the exceedingly long distance between the two continents.<sup>148</sup> While the thought of waiting several years for permission for a reply may seem absurd this was exceedingly common, as we shall see later in this chapter.

During the time between the arrival of papal and royal foundations, those already present, including the new bishop, referred to themselves as: “Los presentados por vuestra magestad desta yglesia de México.” The bishop himself lacked full authority, since he was sent to the New World before being consecrated as such and was also referenced as *fray Juan de Zumárraga electo obispo de México* until his consecration in 1533.<sup>149</sup> Beyond the presentados a great number of individuals occupied the cathedral space on a daily basis, and their duties varied according to seniority and station. In order to understand the intricacies of the rules and their socio-political implications, it is necessary to become acquainted with the individuals mentioned within the *Ordo in Choro Servandus* and explore their functionary roles throughout the cathedral structure. Although many of these positions and individuals have been mentioned in previous chapters, this chapter will expand upon their obligations and purpose by providing a brief overview of the organizational structure of the ecclesiastical hierarchy transplanted from Spain to the New World, including the *cabildo eclesiástico*. The role of the cabildo eclesiástico, or Cathedral Chapter, in conjunction with other auxiliary personnel within the cathedral, was dictated by both royal and papal decrees, although a number of practices evolved from various ecclesiastical customs and traditions specific to the

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<sup>148</sup> San Miguel, *Statuta*, 37. *Given in Toledo in the year of the Nativity of our Lord one thousand five hundred and thirty-four.*

<sup>149</sup> Gutiérrez Vega, *Las primeras juntas eclesiásticas*, 20.

Iberian Peninsula. This cursory introduction to the roles and functions of cathedral personnel will guide our understanding of the socio-political implications of the *Ordo* on the choir in México by expanding upon the liturgical, paraliturgical, and musical obligations within the cathedral hierarchy. Finally, this chapter will conclude with an examination of the physical choir space. By including such a discussion we may gain an explanation behind the reasoning of various rules that relate to specific locations within the metropolitan cathedral.

#### 4.2 Cabildo Structure

The *cabildo eclesicástico* or cathedral chapter was the governing body of a cathedral or collegiate church whose primary obligation was the administration of the sacraments. While all the members are clerics in some form or another, the group is more akin to a corporation rather than an ecclesiastical entity. The decisions that they reached were of a regulatory nature rather than doctrinal or ecumenical and are contained within the *Actas Capitulares*.<sup>150</sup> The *actas* are comprised of the minutes of various meetings convened by the cabildo. There were two forms of meetings: ordinary and extraordinary. The ordinary meetings were generally of an economic or fiscal nature and took place with regular frequency, usually twice a week.<sup>151</sup> Conversely, the extraordinary meetings appear with unpredictable frequency. The unpredictability stems from the need to resolve any number of situations immediately. Additions to the cathedral or choir, the arrival of

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<sup>150</sup> For the purpose of this study “*actas*” and “*cabildo*” will be the primarily utilized terms.

<sup>151</sup> San Miguel, *Statuta*, Erectio, §XXXV, 33. “...ordinamus quòd bis in quâlibet hebdomada Capitulum teneatur...”

*reales cédulas*, fights, rivalries, complaints of favoritism, and any other disputes that required general disciplinary action were among the most common examples for the need of an extraordinary meeting. Despite these irregularities the *cabildo* itself was a rigidly structured hierarchy fashioned after its counterpart in Seville. Currently only three *cabildos* still exist in all of modern day México. The Catedral Metropolitana de México (which is also the National Cathedral) and Basilica de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe are located on opposite ends of Mexico City, while the Catedral de Guadalajara is in the capitol city of the state of Jalisco. All three retain the early hierarchal structure of the *cabildo*.

The *cabildo metropolitana* was established by a papal bull of erection, the same bull that called for the creation of the diocese. It served as the *cabildo*'s constitution, defined the rights and obligations of its officers, as well as endowing them with ecclesiastical powers. When the Mexican church was formed the *cabildo* was to consist of twenty-seven members. These individuals would serve in varying capacities and were divided into four tiers: *dignidades* or dignities, *canónigos* or canons, *racioneros* or prebendaries, and *medio-racioneros* or half-prebendaries.<sup>152</sup> The *dignidades* held the highest and most senior status within not only the *cabildo*, but throughout the cathedral. In total there are five *dignidades* with the dean as the most senior member as well as the head of the *cabildo*. The other *dignidades* following the dean—in order of stature—are the *arcediano* (archdeacon), *chántrre* (cantor), *mastrescuela* (schoolmaster), and the

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<sup>152</sup> The term “ranks” is often used by scholars to define the differentiation between the classes of distinction within the *cabildo*, however, this would be contrary to the ecclesiastical division of ranks and would cause confusion. Ecclesiastically, these ranks fall into three categories: Episcopal (Archbishop/Bishop), Presbyterial (Priests), and Diaconal (Deacons and Subdeacons). It is important to note that all other ecclesiastical designations are titles and not ranks. EX: Monsignor is a title and not a rank.

*tesorero* (treasurer). Each of these individuals had the right to use the honorific title of “don” as well as the title of doctor, whether it was conferred upon them or not.<sup>153</sup>

The second tier consisted of the *canónigos*, which numbered ten in total. This particular tier contains its own divisional classifications. The mention of these individual classifications of canons and their canonry is not often made simply in the interest of brevity, but based upon a notice of *oposición* found in the ACCMM; it would be prudent to at least make mention that these divisions were utilized within the early Metropolitan Cathedral of México. Those that were in use in the early Mexican Church are the *canónigo magistral*, *canónigo lectoral*, *canónigo doctorado*, and *canónigo penitenciario*.<sup>154</sup> Interestingly, none of these classifications takes precedence over another; the precedence between canons is based upon the length of possession of a canonry.<sup>155</sup> Although it is known that these four canonical classifications are utilized in México it must also be noted that there are more than a dozen individual classifications within the hierarchal structure of canons major and minor.<sup>156</sup>

The third tier consisted of the *racioneros* who numbered twelve in total, but were split in half: six *racioneros* and six *medio-racioneros*. Eventually the third tier was split entirely, leaving the *medio-racioneros* in a category all their own. Within each of these four tiers, length of service at that specific level determined placement within the

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<sup>153</sup> Schwaller, “Cathedral Chapter,” 653.

<sup>154</sup> ACCMM, *Reales Cédulas*, Lib. 3, Documento 40, La Orden q se tuvo en las actos de los oposiciones de la Canongía Magistral, 1599, s/n.

<sup>155</sup> David Dunford, “Canon,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia* Vol. 3 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908), accessed March 6, 2016, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03252a.htm>.

<sup>156</sup> Lorenzo Arrazola, *Enciclopedia española de derecho y administracion, ó Nuevo teatro universal de la legislacion de España é Indias*. (Madrid: A. Rius y Rossell, 1848), 469-471 accessed March 6, 2016, <http://books.google.com/books?id=wFhHAAAYAAJ>.

hierarchy, seating in the cathedral choir, and placement within the group when it appeared at public events such as processions during feast days.<sup>157</sup> While the bull of erection did stipulate that the *cabildo* was allowed twenty-seven members, the local economy did not have the means to support the existence of every post immediately.<sup>158</sup> The collection of the *diezmos* or tithes was the primary source of revenue for the *cabildo*. Many of the early Spaniards who had arrived during or just after the initial conquest of México were continuing to do just that. Multiple expeditions continued to scour the continent for gold, silver, and other precious metals and stones.<sup>159</sup> This continuation of adventurous excursions proved to be a stressful strain on the cathedral as the *diezmos* were based upon the agricultural production of Spaniards in the New World. This ten percent tribute imposed on all Spaniards in the New World included not only natural resources and agricultural goods, but also livestock and precious metals mined within the province.<sup>160</sup> While this was not the only reason such a large fraction of the twenty-seven positions were not initially filled, it was a significant element in their suppression. In addition to their sacramental duties, the *cabildo* also served as an advisory board to the bishop or archbishop. When the See was vacant and lacking a prelate (a period known as *sede vacante*) the administration of the diocese would fall to the *cabildo* until a replacement prelate could be nominated, elected, and consecrated.<sup>161</sup> Due to the considerable distance between Europe and the New World the average time of *sede vacante* in the Spanish Indies (between the years 1504-1620) was no less than 56 months

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<sup>157</sup> Schwaller, "Cathedral Chapter," 652-653.

<sup>158</sup> San Miguel, *Statuta*, Erectio, § XIX, 21-22.

<sup>159</sup> Diaz del Castillo, *Conquest of New Spain*, 412-413.

<sup>160</sup> Schwaller, *Origins of Church Wealth*, 18 and 21-24. See Chapter 1 for the considerable complexity and caveats created by the tithe in México.

<sup>161</sup> Schwaller, "Cathedral Chapter," 653.

or roughly four and a half years.<sup>162</sup> While governing the See in the absence of a prelate is necessary to assure the continued functionality of the diocese, this was not considered a primary duty of the *cabildo*, based upon the cathedral's bull of erection. The general obligations of the *cabildo* were previously stipulated by the bull and dictated the individual roles of its members, but other obligations were established by Spanish ecclesiastical tradition. According to the erection document, the Dean maintained order and levied fines on those who transgressed within their office, but in the *Ordo* he is referred to as the President of the choir. The *Arcediano* assisted the prelate—when there was one—in administering the See, visiting parishes, examining candidates for the priesthood, and assisting in ordination and confirmation. The *Chántrre* was the musical head of the cathedral and cantor who would intone the psalms during the Divine Office. He was also responsible for the rotating schedule dictating which members were to celebrate the sacraments in turn. Of all the *dignidades* this was the one whose title differed based upon geographical location. In Rome he was known as the *Primicerius*, in Paris the *Precentor*, in England the *Cantor*, and in the Iberian realm the *Chántrre*. The *Mastrescuola*, or schoolmaster, oversaw all schools in the diocese, offered courses in the cathedral and also served as the chancellor of the local university while the treasurer administered the finances of the cathedral.

Although these were the official functions of each dignity, many of these tasks were eventually taken over by lower level functionaries of the cathedral. According to Schwaller, this added freedom allowed many of the prebendaries to pursue their own personal endeavors either in business, as professors in the university, or as salaried

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<sup>162</sup> Enrique D. Dussel, *Les évêques hispano-américains. Défenseurs et évangélisateurs de l'Indien. 1504-1620* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1970), 42.

functionaries of the cathedral, thereby augmenting the stipends of their posts.<sup>163</sup> In this way the Mexican church was very much like that of Notre Dame in Paris. According to Craig Wright, the *precentor*, or cantor, was the primary singer of the cathedral who was also responsible for assigning soloists to sing the responsorial chants, correcting and maintaining the choir books, and meting out punishments; by the thirteenth century this position became largely administrative. Due to the cantor's preoccupation with the financial, legal, and educational affairs of the cathedral, the daily duties of superintendence of the choir were in reality carried out by the *succentor* or subcantor.<sup>164</sup> The same was true for New Spain and even extends to the present day. The present succentor, or *sochántré*, Padre Felipe Galicia, carries out the daily recitation of the Divine Office with the *cabildo* and is also charged with the instruction of the Niños Cantores of the Catedral Metropolitana de México.<sup>165</sup>

Much like the *dignidades* the *canónigos* each held a privileged position and office within the cathedral, but were not allowed the honorific titles of “don” or doctor. They were, however, members of the *cabildo* and able to vote in all chapter meetings, unlike the *racioneros*. While this presents an image of uniformity amongst the *canónigos*, the duties of the four previously mentioned *canónigos* were anything but uniform. The *canónigo lectoral* was expected to hold a degree in theology and be responsible for the explanation of Holy Scriptures, as well as answering any catechismal questions. The

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<sup>163</sup> Schwaller, *Church and Clergy*, See Chapter 2.

<sup>164</sup> Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 19.

<sup>165</sup> For a further explanation of *sochántré* in Mexican Cathedral See Chapter 2 of Alma Celia González Magaña “El Oficio de Sochantré en la Catedral Metropolitana de México 1700-1750” (Thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2009), accessed March 6, 2016, [http://132.248.9.195/ptd2010/enero/0652824/0652824\\_A1.pdf](http://132.248.9.195/ptd2010/enero/0652824/0652824_A1.pdf).



*canónigo doctoral* acted as the legal advisor to the *cabildo* while the *canónigos magistrales* were the preachers of the *cabildo* and more than likely the most often to serve as *hebdomadario*. The *canónigo penitenciario* served as confessor and administered the sacrament of penance.<sup>166</sup> This particular canonry was required to be implemented in every cathedral and mandated through legislation in Chapter II of the Twenty-fourth session of the Council of Trent.<sup>167</sup> While this individual would be granted a benefice the Tridentine legislation allows an exemption from service in the choir if he is hearing confession within the church during which time he will be considered present in the choir.<sup>168</sup> The *racioneros*, *entero y medio*, were nearly as segmented and furthermore did not have the privilege of a vote in *cabildo* meetings, nor were they allowed places of honor such as an assigned seat within the choir. According to tradition in the Cathedral of León, the *racioneros* were created for the sole purpose of augmenting the choir of canons in the early twelfth century.<sup>169</sup> Their elevation into the *cabildo* was slow to take place in both the Iberian Peninsula as well as the New World. Despite this disparity between the *racioneros* and the rest of the *cabildo*, their position was still at the sole discretion of the King. Temporary appointments to an empty position could be made by the bishop or archbishop, but the final decision of assigning the benefice was still the prerogative of the crown. No one could simply be assigned to a benefice, even by episcopal order. All *cabildo* and episcopal assignments in the New World were at the discretion of the king who was exercising his right to patronage based on powers granted to him by an

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<sup>166</sup> Arrazola, *Enciclopedia española de derecho y administracion*, 471.

<sup>167</sup> Council of Trent and Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of Trent*, 200.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 200. For image of confessional See Figure 4-1 on next page.

<sup>169</sup> Tomás Villacorta Rodríguez, *El cabildo cathedral de León: estudio histórico-jurídico, siglo XII-XIX* (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1974), 38.

institutional bull issued by the pope. This *patronato real*, allowed years to pass between the passing of a bishop or *cabildo* member and the appointment and arrival of his replacement.<sup>170</sup> Thus making *cabildo* appointments particularly coveted by the clergy.



Figure 4-1. Open-faced confessional in Metropolitan Cathedral  
Photo Copyright of the Author, 2013

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<sup>170</sup> For a detailed explanation of the process of appointment see Magnus Lundberg, “Unification and Conflict: The Church Politics of Alonso de Montúfar OP, Archbishop of Mexico, 1554-1472” (Ph.D. Diss., Swedish Institute of Missionary Research, 2002), 49.

#### 4.3 Other Cathedral Personnel

The effectiveness of the *cabildo* is only part of the cathedral structure. A number of other offices were established in the erection document, including, but not limited to, acolytes, chaplains, organist, sacristan, *mayordomo*, secretary, *pertiguero*, and *perrero*.<sup>171</sup> Like the *cabildo*, each had a specific role within the daily and ceremonial life of the cathedral. Acolytes were to assist in the Masses and are sometimes described as *mozos* or *mozos de coro*. The two terms, while similar, are not interchangeable. In his monumental work, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, Robert M. Stevenson mentions that the *mozos de coro* are not to be confused with the choir boys known as *seises*. The difference between the two terms, according to Stevenson, is that the *mozos* only study plainchant whereas the *seises* study polyphony and counterpoint.<sup>172</sup> Interestingly, Gerard Béhague ignores the *mozos* entirely and only refers to the *seises* in his book *Music of Latin American: an Introduction*.<sup>173</sup> The term *seises* is derived from both the Spanish word for the number six and the tradition in which there were only six boys who sang with the choir of the Cathedral of Seville. The first mention of the term *seises* found in the Mexican *actas* does not appear until 1621.<sup>174</sup> Prior to this, the primary term utilized when referring to the choirboys of México found within the *actas* is *mozos de coro*. While this should eliminate confusion, the *actas* themselves contain passages that confuse the *mozos de coro* with the *mozos* who in reality were the acolytes and served as altar boys. In August of 1559 Archbishop Montúfar mandated that the number of *mozos*

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<sup>171</sup> San Miguel, *Statuta*, 18-21.

<sup>172</sup> Robert M. Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1961), 153.

<sup>173</sup> Gerard Béhague, *Music in Latin America: An Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1979), 6.

<sup>174</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 7, 12noviembre1621, fol. 174v.

*de coro* should increase from six to ten even though it would be counter to the mandate of the erection.<sup>175</sup> After reviewing the erection document there is no specific mention of the *mozos de coro*, only a reference to six acolytes who were to serve at the altar. Still, these acolytes are not to be confused for the six choral chaplains that were also stipulated in the erection.

Each chaplain was expected to assist at the *facistol* in all of the Canonical Hours, day or night, but also to celebrate at least twenty Masses a month in the cathedral.<sup>176</sup> While the erection does not stipulate the difference, Schwaller states that there are three separate types of chaplaincies in colonial New Spain. The first type fell directly under the purview of the crown, since these were the chaplains at the forts in Acapulco and Veracruz. These chaplains served the armed forces in a parochial manner. The second type served corporate institutions such as the Royal Audiencia, Inquisition, and colleges. The third type included those founded by hospitals or other religious establishments. This is the type of chaplaincy in which the six cathedral chaplains found themselves. These *capellánias de coro* are found to be stepping stones in securing a benefice for a more lucrative post such as a parish priest or a cathedral prebend. Many of these chaplains were students in the Royal and Pontifical University of México, while others were ordained priests who had not yet learned an indigenous language, a requisite for acquiring a benefice as a parish priest.<sup>177</sup> The choral chaplains were distinct from the choral ministers and although they appear identical the choral ministers were primarily liturgical chaplains who sang in the choir when they had no other duties. Their primary purpose

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<sup>175</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 2, 19 agosto 1559, fol. 8r.

<sup>176</sup> San Miguel, *Statuta*, 18-19.

<sup>177</sup> Schwaller, *Church and Clergy*, 112, 120-121.

was saying the Mass whereas choral chaplains were restricted to celebrating Mass when it did not interfere with the Divine Office.

Both the choral chaplains and ministers were under ecclesiastical authority, but there is an alternate division to the chaplaincies of New Spain. While Schwaller denotes three types of chaplaincies, there is also a secondary category of chaplains who served the chantry. The majority of chantries were founded by family members to support a recently ordained son. Generally, a chantry founded for a family member was utilized throughout multiple generations by the founder's descendents, although this was not always the case. Chantries could be privately or corporately endowed. Endowments could have been votive or requiem masses requested and paid for by an individual or their family on behalf of the decedent. Beyond individuals, cathedrals and mining districts also maintained chantries. Regardless of their endowment these became part of what is known as the *Obras Pias*, or pious works. These obras pias were incredibly important in the production of new priests in New Spain, as a candidate could not be ordained until he could provide proof of a viable source of income. This created a totally separate set of obligations for those serving a chantry compared with their choral counterparts. The choral chaplains maintained semi-parochial duties along with their service in the choir but those that served a chantry had only one obligation, to say Mass for the benefit of the founder's soul and the souls designated to him in the endowment.<sup>178</sup> These masses were usually held in side chapels within the cathedral rather than at the high altar. While Schwaller asserts that serving a chantry was the only priority he also mentions that a number of chantries were served in addition to a benefice. This would allude that at some

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<sup>178</sup> Schwaller, *Church and Clergy*, 124 and 126.

point the Divine Office would take precedence to the obras pias. Rule XXXIV of the *Ordo* provides such evidence in a restriction on when private masses may be said. According to the mandate, private masses could only be said prior to Terce and after the completion of Sext. Any contrary action would result in the loss of the distribution for those two Hours.<sup>179</sup> Rule XXXIV provides more context than we may initially infer. This mandate demonstrates the need to regulate the abuses of the clergy by minimizing absenteeism in the choir while conveying a rather harsh punishment. Chaplains as a whole carried out a wide variety of duties throughout the ecclesiastical structure but were still considered part of the bottom rung within the clerical hierarchy, especially in terms of income. It is in this punishment that we see an attempt to ensure compliance and attendance in the choir through the use of coercion.

While the position of organist may seem as if it were suppressed early on in the life of the cathedral, the problem was two-fold. First, there were not many competent organists available in the province. Secondly, those that were competent were not impressed by the payment offered to them by the Mexican cathedral and usually sought employment elsewhere, usually Puebla, Oaxaca, or even Guatemala. The first known organist of the cathedral, Antonio Ramos, was admitted to his position on 15 November 1539, nearly thirteen months after a *real cédula* arrived approving a pay raise for the position of organist to forty pesos de minas (19,400 maravedís).<sup>180</sup> The organist was required to play at all services, but his position stipulated that he was also to play: "...at other times at the desire of the Prelate or the Chapter."<sup>181</sup> Eventually the days and times

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<sup>179</sup> *Ordo*, Rule XXXIV, 137.

<sup>180</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 1, 15noviembre1539, fol. 23v.

<sup>181</sup> San Miguel, *Statuta*, 20.

in which the organist was required to play were more concretely codified in the *actas*. The entry shows that racionero Lazaro del Alamo presented a memorial to the *cabildo* concerning the singers and organist. The organist was required to attend every Sunday in the year, except for those in Advent, Septuagesima, and Lent unless there was a procession of the Sacrament, in which case an exception was made. He was also required to attend all feasts of first and second class, including first and second vespers, procession, mass, and the octave of those same feasts. Saturdays were only a requirement if the Lady Mass was celebrated, but the three principal days, or the Triduum, were also included in his duties.<sup>182</sup> In 1946, Lota Spell stated in an article about music in the Mexican cathedral that the organist played with the choir in the various ceremonies so as to cover the missing voices due to rampant absenteeism.<sup>183</sup> The statement is based on a letter from Bishop Zumárraga to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V stating a number of grievances within the cathedral, absenteeism being chief among them; however, in Zumárraga's letter the term *canto de órgano* is utilized rather than simply stating the organ. Canto de órgano refers to polypohony and in some cases it has been used to refer to organum, although, *fabordon* is the most often utilized term for the latter. Still the letter continues stating that the vast majority of those that are present in the choir do not even know plainchant (*canto llano*).<sup>184</sup> This is rather perplexing that the few who did not know plainchant were able to sing polyphonic music. In any given case the possibility of

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<sup>182</sup> ACCMM, Actas, Lib. 2, 12enero1563, fol. 95r.

<sup>183</sup> Spell, "Music in the Cathedral of Mexico," 300.

<sup>184</sup> See *Carta de Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga al Emperador. México, 17 de abril de 1540* in Mariano Cuevas and Genaro García. *Documentos inéditos del siglo XVI para la historia de México, coleccionados y anotados por el P. Mariano Cuevas, S.J. Publicación hecha bajo la dirección de G. García*. (México, D.F.: Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnología, 1914), 98 and 99 (hereafter cited as *Documentos inéditos*).

the organist playing with the choir to cover for missing voices is highly probable given that *ministriles* (wind players) in the Spanish cathedrals were required to play multiple instruments and often doubled the individual vocal parts within the choir.<sup>185</sup>

In addition to the spiritual and musical personnel a number of administrative and ceremonial positions were required to maintain the due solemnity of the cathedral. The duties of the sacristan, in modern understanding, are comparable to an Anglican Sexton who would care for and maintain the church, but in colonial México there is an added dimension to his duties. The Mexican sacristan fell under the financial sector of the cathedral and was the treasurer's assistant. In the absence of a treasurer the sacristan was granted full voting privileges, regardless of his membership—or lack thereof—in the *cabildo*.<sup>186</sup> Interestingly, the ringing of the cathedral bells also fell into the purview of the sacristan, as evidenced by a reprimand in the *actas* for improper ringing of the bells.<sup>187</sup> Much like the sacristan, the *mayordomo* operated within the financial realm of the cathedral, but controlled what is simply referred to in archival records as the *fábrica*. The *fábrica* was divided in two sectors and provided for a wide variety of necessities. The first portion, *Fábrica Espiritual*, dealt with the dispensation of wax and candles, acquisition of linens for the cathedral (especially those used for the altar) and distribution of unconsecrated hosts for the Eucharist during the Mass. The second portion, known as the *Fábrica Material*, was connected with the mayordomo's responsibility for overseeing the hospital, the payment of salaries, and eventually the construction of the new cathedral. In this sense the *fábrica* refers not only to the items used in the church for the

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<sup>185</sup> Robert M. Stevenson, "Mexico City Cathedral Music: 1600-1750," *The Americas*, 21/2 (October 1964): 114, See footnote 19.

<sup>186</sup> San Miguel, *Statuta*, 19.

<sup>187</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 1, 14agosto1539, fol. 16v.



services, but also to the materials and personnel necessary for the continued operation of the cathedral.<sup>188</sup> The erection document of the cathedral does not specify whether this position belonged to a member of the *cabildo* or if he was even a cleric, but does state that the individual was subject to the episcopal office as well as the *cabildo*. Evidence from later in the viceregal periods suggests that this individual could be contracted from the general populace.<sup>189</sup> Jesús Ramos-Kittrell states that during the eighteenth century the position of *mayordomo* required an individual who not only had incredible organizational skills, and could be trusted with the finances of the church, but also had financial backing as collateral.<sup>190</sup> Of all the offices established by the erection this is the only one that specifically states that an individual can be elected to or removed from this station by the bishop or the *cabildo*.

Unlike the *mayordomo*, the secretary was a known member of the *cabildo*. His duties included writing down the minutes of the *actas capitulares*, but he also doubled as a notary who drew up papers and edicts when necessary. No document was considered well prepared or even legal without his signature and that of the prelate; that is to say the bishop or archbishop. The *pertiguero* can still be found leading confraternal processions in modern-day Ecuador.<sup>191</sup> In México his duty was to organize the clergy in proper formation for processions according to their dignity and seniority. Once this was done he would return to his position at front with a ceremonial baton and lead the procession

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<sup>188</sup> San Miguel, *Statuta*, Erectio, 20.

<sup>189</sup> For more specific detail concerning the *mayordomo* see Jesús Alejandro Ramos Kittrell, "Dynamics of Ritual and Ceremony at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico, 1700-1750" (PhD diss. University of Texas at Austin, 2006), Chapter 4.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 119-120.

<sup>191</sup> Municipio del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito, "Pertiguero de la Catedral," accessed March 5, 2016, [semanasantaquito.com, http://semanasantaquito.com/pertiguero-de-la-catedral/](http://semanasantaquito.com/pertiguero-de-la-catedral/).

through the winding streets of the city. As discussed in Chapter 3, processions were a common sight on feast days and not solely relegated to the liturgical during the viceregal period. The arrival of a new viceroy is one of many secular examples of the church's ceremonial participation at large within the city. While the *pertiguero*'s position was highly ceremonial, the *perrero*<sup>192</sup> was more of a necessity than one might think. The term *perrero* is derived from the Spanish word *perro* which translates to *dog*. At first reading it sounds strange and unnecessary, but his vigilance was of the utmost importance in ensuring that stray dogs would not enter the cathedral or disrupt any of the services. Aside from shoing dogs the *perrero* was ordered to sweep and maintain a clean floor.<sup>193</sup>

As the Mexican cathedral continued to expand, it gained the ability to employ more personnel. Each of these individuals was necessary for the operation of the cathedral, and the positions themselves had been originally mandated in the erection document which created the cathedral. The continued augmentation illustrates the importance of auxiliary staff within the metropolitan cathedral. Initially the positions of sacristan, *mayordomo*, and *pertiguero* were absorbed by members of the *cabildo* due to a lack of tithing, but over time these posts were relinquished to lesser clerics or to lay individuals as we have seen with the *mayordomo*. Unfortunately, this view is one-sided to our study. We have yet to examine what, if any, musical obligations were entrusted to the various members of the metropolitan cathedral.

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<sup>192</sup> Sometimes referred to as *caniculario*.

<sup>193</sup> San Miguel, *Statuta*, Erectio, 21.

#### 4.4 Musical Obligations

The primary obligations of the cabildo and other ancillary personnel are well detailed within the erection document, but so too are the musical obligations of each individual position. Table 4-1 provides the obligations that were imposed onto these individuals when in the choir and the qualifications necessary to obtain these posts.

Table 4-1. Choral Offices established by Cathedral Erection document

OFFICE	QUALIFICATIONS	OBLIGATIONS
<u>Dignidades</u> -Dean (1) -Archdean (1) -Cantor (1) -Schoolmaster (1) -Treasurer (1)	Doctorate, pure blooded peninsular of noble lineage, priest	-Sing the Mass of First and Second class -Assist in the Divine Offices when they had no other obligations to fulfill
<u>Canónigos</u> -Canons (10)	Graduate or bachelor, pure-blooded peninsular, priest	-Sing the daily Masses that are not First or Second class -Assist in the choir when they had no other obligations
<u>Choral Minister</u> -Prebends (12)	Graduate or bachelor, pure-blooded peninsular, priest	-Sing the daily Masses that are not First or Second class -Assist in the choir when they had no other obligations
<u>Racioneros</u> -Full status (6)	Deacon	-Serve at the altar during the Masses -Sing the passions during Holy Week -Assist in the choir during the Divine Offices
<u>Medioracioneros</u> -Half status (6)	Subdeacon	-Sing the Epistle at the altar -Sing the prophecies, lamentations, and lessons in the choir
Acolytes (6)	Child clerics with minor orders	
Choral Chaplains (6)	Presbyter	-Assist at the <i>facistol</i> in all of the Divine Offices -Celebrate 20 Masses a month in the cathedral each
Sacristan (1)		-Ring the bells
Organist (1)		-professional performer who was to play and take care of the organs
Pertiguero (1)		-Assemble the procession in proper order and lead it from the front
Mayordomo (1)		-Responsible for the <i>fábrica</i>
Secretary (1)		-Responsible for writing the minutes of the chapter meetings -Maintain the contracts, grants, census, and possessions of the cathedral
Perrero or Caniculario (1)		Responsible for cleaning the floor and removing dogs from cathedral

The obligation of the *racioneros enteros* to sing the passions during Holy Week and the *medioracioneros* to sing the prophecies, lamentations, and lessons in the choir came not from the *Ordo*, but from Spanish ecclesiastical tradition. Proof of an individual's ability to intone the epistles and the Gospel were also necessary in order to advance to the next grade (i.e. subdeacon to deacon or deacon to priest) as indicated in the forty-fifth chapter of the First Provincial Mexican Council.<sup>194</sup> Certification by an ordained witness had to be submitted in order to validate the request for advancement.<sup>195</sup>

In addition to the individuals listed in Table 4-1 there were three other offices of significance that are integrated into the *Ordo* compiled by Montúfar, but not mentioned in the erection of the cathedral. These three particular offices only existed within the confines of the choir during the Divine Office and the Mass. The offices of *hebdomadario* and *apuntador* were to be absorbed by members of the cabildo, but the *sochántre* may or may not have been part of the cabildo. The term *hebdomadario* does not translate into English well; in fact the English equivalent is hebdomadary. This is a temporary office, which as the Latin word *hebdoma* implies; whoever was assigned to this office remained with its duties for the duration of a week. This allowed for continuous rotation between different members of the cabildo each week. The *hebdomadario* was usually selected from one of the *dignidades* or *canonigos*, and his primary duties were to sing the Gospel, Chapter, and anything else pertaining to the

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<sup>194</sup> Gutiérrez Vega, *Primer Concilio*, 155-157.

<sup>195</sup> AHAM, *Episcopal-Secretaría Arzobispal*, Caja 12, Exp. 19, Certificación sobre el canto de la primera epístola del bachiller Jerónimo González Tapia, ortogada por el bachiller José de Mora, capellán mayor del hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepcion (1682); Caja 12, Exp. 35, Certificación de canto del evangelio del bachiller Jerónimo González Tapia, ortogada por el bachiller José Rodríguez de Arellano en la Iglesia de la Misericordia (1682); Caja 13, Exp. 12, El bachiller Jerónimo González de Tapia, diácono del Arzobispado de México, solicita la orden del Presbiterado (1683).

Divine Office not sung by the *sochántre*. Rules XXII through XXIV of the *Ordo* clearly outline who is to hold the office should there be no hebdomadary or he be absent.

Multiple references are made to the *hebdomadario* in the *Ordo*, but the *apuntador* is only mentioned once at the end of the document. The term *apuntador* literally translates as *point taker*. The duties of the *apuntador* are very specific, but also very limited. While the *apuntador* was a member of the choir, he was also a musical referee of sorts, marking the faults of each individual singer in his *cuadrante* or journal. This was the most prevalent portion of his duties, yet somehow they are consequently the most cryptic due to the lack of a key or legend to guide interpretation of existing *cuadrantes* found in the ACCMM. Initially the marking of a singer's faults were literal marks of either a diagonal dash or a dot (punto).<sup>196</sup> As we have discussed in Chapter 2, the points assessed in Montúfar's Reglas were numerically accumulative, whereas these early markings merely represented the presence (/) or absence (•) of a singer. As early as 1539 the task of marking those absent from the choir fell to the *sochántre*, but after the Third Mexican Provincial Council a newly established decree stated that this post be carried out by the secretary of the cabildo.<sup>197</sup>

In Chapter 2 I noted that Rule VII mandated that all are to sing in the choir, the specifics of which are later reiterated in Rule XXXVIII, but the opening statement of that rule reads: "All Prebendaries will learn to sing, at least those things that pertain to their

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<sup>196</sup> My thanks to Professor Drew Edward Davies for mentioning this to me in a conversation at the ACCMM on November 27, 2014. An image of such from the Cathedral of Durango can be seen in his dissertation *The Italianized Frontier: Music at Durango Cathedral, Español Culture, and the Aesthetics of Devotion in Eighteenth-Century New Spain*, 168.

<sup>197</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 1, 7enero1539, fol. 9r; San Miguel, *Statuta*, Pars Secunda, Caput X, §1, 95-96.

office...” In this context the term office primarily refers to the prescribed chants that were the responsibility of the *hebdomadary*, but it is also of note that the last five offices in Table 4-1—excluding the organist—were also required to sing. Rule VII was so all-encompassing that in 1540 the cabildo appointed a *sochántre*, only referred to as Vergara, to also fill the position of sacristan. The *cabildo*’s reasoning was so as to help the curia during funerals until a sacristan who could sing could be found.<sup>198</sup> What is even more interesting is that the *sochántre* is not listed anywhere in the erection, yet is highly involved in the mandates of the *Ordo*. An entry in the *actas* of January 1539 demonstrates this position was already active in the early life of the cathedral.<sup>199</sup> It is quite possible that the position of *sochántre* had been in use far earlier than this date, but cannot be verified as this is the first mention of the post in the *actas capitulares*. The same is to be said for the Cathedral of León. Tomás Villacorta Rodríguez notes that the first mention of the *sochántre* takes place in a capitular act in the year 1275, but the wording suggests that the office had been well established prior to this date.<sup>200</sup> The first official *sochántre* named in the Mexican *actas* is Gonzalo Mejía. He was appointed in March of 1539, but was preceded by a cantor named Bartholomé de Estrada. Estrada was an acting *sochántre* for the first two months of that year and what we can assume was all of the year 1538 based upon a pay order for an entire year issued in January of 1539.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 1, 7enero1540, fol. 31v.

<sup>199</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 1, 7enero1539, fol. 9r.

<sup>200</sup> Villacorta-Rodríguez, *Cabildo León*, 164.

<sup>201</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 1, 11marzo1539, fol. 13r; 7enero1539, fol. 9r.

Strangely enough, four months later the cabildo appointed Estrada to the *sochántria* for a second time until he was replaced by Vergara who then held the post again until 1545.<sup>202</sup>

Table 4-2. Choral Offices established within Ordo

OFFICE	QUALIFICATIONS	OBLIGATIONS
Hebdomadary (1)	Member of the cabildo	- Sing the chapter mass, lead the recitation of the canonical hours
Apuntador (1) (Point taker)	Member of the cabildo	-Marking points for faults in the choir
Sochántre	No official qualifications listed, but based on obligations they must have at least been a Subdeacon	-Intone the verses, sing the Alleluia, Responses, Antiphons, Prophecies, Paschal Benedictions

#### 4.5 Limpieza de Sangre as Qualification

Despite the lack of designation of the *sochántre* the qualifications of the remaining members can be differentiated using Schwaller's categorization of the upper and lower clergy. The requirement of *canónigos* and *ministriles* to be a "pure blooded peninsular" and the added requirement of "noble lineage" for dignidades are not explicit requirements in the original erection, but have been retained within Table 4-1 out of deference to Lourdes Turrent. Turrent asserts that this particular qualification of the upper clergy was found in the Erection, and while I am inclined to agree with the overarching role that the *limpieza de sangre* played in the *cabildos* of the New World, the edition utilized in this study does not offer evidence of an explicit mandate.<sup>203</sup>

The *limpieza de sangre* or purity of blood can be traced to the *reconquista* of the Iberian Peninsula from Moorish—and to a lesser extent Jewish—rule. A number of

<sup>202</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 1, 19julio1539, fol. 16r; 7octubre1539, fol. 18r; 11diciembre1545, fol.73v.

<sup>203</sup> Turrent, "El Cabildo Catedral Metropolitana," 14.

religious and secular institutions established requirements of office that necessitated proof of a clean bloodline from Jewish or Muslim ancestry in both the Iberian Peninsula and the New World. When first instituted throughout Spain the statutes were not consistently enforced and only received sporadic support from the crown. The “Old Christians” were suspicious of the recently converted “New Christians” and were worried that these *converses* (Jews) and *moriscos* (Moors) were secretly practicing their ancestral faith.<sup>204</sup> The first known mandate of the *limpieza* to affect a cathedral chapter occurred in Toledo in 1549, fifteen years after the final approbation and establishment of the Mexican cabildo was made in 1534 by Charles V Holy Roman Emperor. Papal mandate for the *limpieza* in clergy did not occur until 1555, and the Spanish Crown did not require proof of legitimacy throughout the New World until 1565. This does not indicate that the *limpieza* was not officially in practice prior to these dates. In most cases individuals departing Seville for the Americas were required to submit certificates demonstrating their purity of blood as well as royal licenses approving their travel to the colonies. Additionally, an edict of 1523 forbade entry into New Spain those individuals whose lineage was considered to be “stained.”<sup>205</sup> Despite these edicts the appearance of crypto-Jews in the New World can be found mostly in the northernmost reaches of the province, while the evidence for crypto-Muslims in the New Spain is minimal.<sup>206</sup>

Over time, as the Spanish population in New Spain began to increase, so too did the number of Criollos. Criollos were still technically full blooded Spaniards, but not

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<sup>204</sup> María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza De Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2008), 25-28.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., 44, 128-129.

<sup>206</sup> Mercedes García-Arenal, “Moriscos and Indians: A Comparative Approach.” In *The Middle East and Europe: Encounters and Exchanges*, edited by G. J. H. van Gelder and Ed de Moor (Amsterdam, NL: Rodopi, 1992), 42.



peninsulars. Since they were born in the New World of full blooded peninsular Spaniards but not in Spain, their station was seen as less than able compared to their peninsular counterparts. Despite the underlying animosity between peninsulars and criollos, this did not stop the latter from being able to obtain prestigious positions as members of the lower clergy such as *racioneros*. More often, though, criollos were parish priests, due to their ability to speak the local native dialects. Within the acts of the Third Mexican Council, the requirement of “full blooded peninsular” is most notably due to the ongoing evangelization being carried out by the mendicants to the indigenous neophytes. The question of a native clergy arose amongst the religious orders within early church councils in New Spain. While the idea did not come to pass until the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that is not to say that it could not have happened earlier. The legislation of the Third Provincial Mexican Council did not expressly forbid native Mexicans from being ordained, but the sixteenth century canonical rule of law—as viewed through Spanish interpretations of the Council of Trent—proved to be a major obstacle.<sup>207</sup> Strangely enough, a number of Portuguese clerics made their way to the Spanish Colonies and held lucrative positions in various dioceses of New Spain due to their peninsular origins.

#### 4.6 Other Obligations

Aside from those duties assigned by the erection there are a number of other tasks that required the attention of the cathedral clergy. The breadth and scope of these alternate assignments is too broad to give appropriate attention to all aspects of a cleric's

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<sup>207</sup> Stafford Poole, “Church Law on the Ordination of Indians and Castas in New Spain” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*. Vol. 61, No. 4 (1981): 648-650.

liturgical and non-liturgical duties without straying any further from our intended topic of the choir. For this reason discussion of two of these alternate duties, in so far as they pertain to the *Ordo*, should suffice for the purposes of this study. The two alternate duties of focus will be the administration of the tithe and the Conventual Mass. While originally administered by the royal treasury prior to 1530, the administration of the tithe officially belonged to the church. Once the Diocese of México was established the cabildo took possession of the tithe and its collection in accordance with the Concordant of Burgos held in 1512.<sup>208</sup> As I discussed above, it was the tithe that was to pay for the salaries of the local priests, *cabildo*, bishops, and the needs of the church. Unfortunately, the tithe was not sufficient for its intended use. While the amount collected had increased by the end of the sixteenth century, so too did the number of dioceses in operation throughout New Spain, thus limiting the original geographic regions into smaller proportions for tithe collection.

Ultimately, it was the decision of the cabildo, whether to administer the tithe directly or to rent out its collection. By renting the tithe, the cabildo received immediate compensation from the renter and their financial backers known as *fiadores*, but by directly administering the tithe, the whole process cost significantly less and the Church retained larger revenues than when the tithe was rented. Unfortunately, by administering directly the obligation to collect would fall to a member of the cabildo in addition to his other duties. This also meant that there would be prolonged periods in which the individuals collecting the tithe would be missing from the choir.<sup>209</sup> In either instance there is evidence to suggest that the collection of a single year's tithe could take as long

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<sup>208</sup> Schwaller, *Origins of Church Wealth*, 21.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

as three years to be completed.<sup>210</sup> The collection of the tithe affected all members of the cathedral hierarchy, but the burden of its administration was borne by only a few clerics when not rented.

Conversely, it is not known how many clerics were affected by the conventual mass, as no specific number is mentioned, although it could be posited to be quite high, since there are several ordinances within the *Ordo* specific to the conventual mass. These particular masses were not votive masses, as discussed previously, but the daily Mass held within the cloisters throughout the city. To this day there are no female clergy within the Roman Catholic Church, so, much then as now, priests would celebrate the Mass in convents; but what is often overlooked is that some of the monasteries would also receive the conventual Mass. Even though the mendicant orders were proliferous throughout the province very few members of the regular clergy were ordained priests. In turn this required clergy of the cathedral to celebrate Mass throughout the city, thus making them unavailable for large portions of the Divine Office and in some instances High Mass within the cathedral for which their benefice was derived. The obligation to celebrate the conventual mass was taken in turn much in the same way their choral duties rotated on a monthly basis for Matins. This allowed the chaplains an opportunity to retain the fruits of their benefice, unless they were in violation of the exceptions for absence or tardiness stipulated in the *Ordo* as described in Chapter 3. One exception is particularly telling in that it refers to those “...*that are within the church, who by purpose, and out of malice are sitting, conversing, or waiting for their appointed time to gain revenues.*”<sup>211</sup> The obligation to sing in the choir is one that Archbishop Montúfar vehemently stressed,

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<sup>210</sup> Ibid., 24-25.

<sup>211</sup> Ordo, Rule XIII, 131.

citing the erection as the source, yet the existence of this passage shows that the clergy's unconcerned attitude towards the choir was possibly more than just an occasional annoyance. This is only the last portion of Rule XIII. The preceding section outlines examples of appropriate sections within the Divine Office where tardiness was not necessarily acceptable, but at least allowable as discussed in Chapter 3. These exceptions are somewhat puzzling, not in their existence, but based upon the physical location of the choir in the early cathedral. The first cathedral has been described in contemporary sources as "primitive," and with good reason. It was hastily built upon the ruins of the great Aztec capital using the stones of the demolished temples. Given the unassuming size of the original cathedral, would the singers sitting, chatting, and waiting for the prescribed times to enter late be doing so in plain sight of the other members of the choir?

#### 4.7 Architectural Structure of the Choral Space

The cathedral today is by no means the original structure. Colonial sources describe the original cathedral as “humble” or even “lowly” and built using the stones of the destroyed pyramids in the temple complex of ancient Tenochtitlán.<sup>212</sup> The ancient city of Tenochtitlán was built in the middle of Lake Texcoco. Recent archeological excavations begun in the 1990s to slow the rate at which the Metropolitan Cathedral is sinking into the mud have confirmed the repurposing of pre-Columbian stones as well as various other temple structures under the foundation of the cathedral.<sup>213</sup> Beyond contemporary descriptions regarding the cathedral’s stature being overshadowed by the opulence of the mendicant monasteries, few descriptions concerning the interior of the cathedral exist. Eventually, a new cathedral was built alongside the old, which was then demolished in 1628 so as to continue construction.<sup>214</sup> The first stone of the current structure was laid in 1573 in the far northwest corner and sits in what is now the *Sala Capitular* or the meeting room where the cabildo would convene.<sup>215</sup> Interestingly, a *real cédula* from as early as 1554 gave the first order and approval to build a new cathedral, but an Acta de Cabildo cited by Manuel Toussaint shows that the cementing of the foundation did not take place until 1562.<sup>216</sup> Despite not being the exact same structure in place when the rules were written, physical demarcations within the cathedral remained in similar locations as per Spanish tradition. These physically internal landmarks are

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<sup>212</sup> Toussaint, *Catedral Metropolitana*, 17; Stevenson, *Music in Mexico*, 88

<sup>213</sup> Aguilera Jimenez, Patricia. *Catedral Metropolitana Hundimiento y Rescate*. (México: Instituto de Ingeniería Universidad Nacional Autónoma México, 2013), 24, accessed July 13, 2015, <http://www.iingen.unam.mx/es-mx/Publicaciones/Libros/Documents/LibroCatedral.pdf>.

<sup>214</sup> Toussaint, *La Catedral de Mexico*, 101

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., 25 & 97

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., 18 & 25.

integral to both the formation and implementation of the rules found in the *Ordo*. Aside from the numerous side chapels utilized by the chantry each individual had a specific physical place based upon his station within the hierarchy when in the cathedral. Each of those individualized locations could be found within the choir.

In purely architectural terms the choir is a veritable physical location within the cathedral where the group of individuals known as the choir congregates when they are required to be *In Coro*. To further complicate the matter, there are multiple choirs within the physical choir space. Within the choir are also numerous fixed seats arranged in stalls. Included among them is the episcopal throne. The term cathedral is derived from the Latin word *cathedra* which is a seat or chair. Thus, the cathedral is the seat of a diocese and the principal church where the *cathedra* rests displaying the physical and metaphorical seat of the bishop from where he administers his See. Very little is known about the first *sillería* except that a local carpenter named Juan Franco was paid two hundred and seventy pesos de oro to make twenty-four seats and the episcopal throne.<sup>217</sup> Neither is a description given concerning the ornamentation or even the type of wood used. There is only a reference made by the secretary of the *cabildo* stating that the stalls be made "...according to the conditions that were requested," and ready by Lent of 1541.<sup>218</sup> Unfortunately, the fate of the first *sillería* is not known. Proposals from artisans were again taken in 1695 for a new *sillería* that would complement the more sumptuous environs of the recently consecrated cathedral.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 1, 15octubre1540, fol. 33v.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid., "...según y como parece en las condiciones que fueron pedidas..."

<sup>219</sup> ACCMM, *Fábrica Material*, Leg. 2, Exp. 1, Documentación original de la *sillería* del coro de la Catedral Metropolitana, s/n.

The *sillería* of the Mexican cathedral follows a Spanish tradition known as the *herradura*. This particular tradition differs from the traditional orientation of choral stalls in Western Europe, such as those found in France and England.<sup>220</sup> The largest difference being that the entire *sillería* in the Mexican cathedral is in the shape of a horseshoe. Based on a diagram of the choir in the Cathedral of Notre Dame Paris, created by Craig Wright, the Parisian choir stalls exhibit a similar shape, to an extent the curvature would suggest a horseshoe layout except for the fact that the two sides do not connect in the center as they are separated by the cathedral's western door.<sup>221</sup> The seating hierarchy of the Mexican *sillería* is fairly similar to that of Paris except where the western door separates the two choirs in Notre Dame; the archbishop's throne connects the two together in México. Figure 4-2 only shows the left half of the *sillería*, but illustrates how the two opposing sides are connected by the center section. The episcopal throne can be found in the center of the *herradura* and is denoted by the cross above it. All other *sillas altas* have carved canopies above. The *sillas bajas* do not have any type of overhead canopy and all are identical to each other in terms of decorative carvings.

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<sup>220</sup> Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 99 and Llewellyn Jewitt, "Art Under the Seats: A Few Words Upon 'Misereres,'" *The Art Journal* New Series, Vol. 1 (1875): 54 and 56, accessed July 9, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20568634>.

<sup>221</sup> Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 99.



Figure 4-2. Herradura and Facistol

Photo Copyright of the author, 2014





Figure 4-3. Archbishop's Throne  
Photo Copyright of author, 2014

In the center of Figure 4-2 is another physical marker of the choir, the *facistol*.<sup>222</sup> The *facistol*—sometimes written *facistor*—is the four-sided music stand used to hold the choir books and was the designated station of the *mozos de coro* and choral chaplains while *In Choro*.<sup>223</sup> The *facistol* and the *sillería*, while both integral parts of the choral space, are part of a lesser known and overlooked power structure within the choir. The *sillería* is comprised of the seats of the choir which were privileged and even coveted physical indications of a person's stature within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The difference between a seat in the higher stall (*sillas altas*) as opposed to the lower stall (*sillas bajas*) is known to have provoked heated arguments and even litigation for the right to “possess” a particular seat in the choir.<sup>224</sup> Originally, the members of the cabildo were the only ones who held the right to possess a specific seat in the choir, but as the Mexican curia grew so too did the number of customs, one of which, allowed outside individuals to enjoy such a high privilege.

Along with the auxiliary staff of the cathedral the archbishops of México generally retained their own personal administrative staff. During Montúfar's episcopacy, an issue of precedence in the choir arose regarding his primary assistant, the *provisor*. The problem began with the question of where the *provisor* should sit when in the choir. In Montúfar's absence the cabildo determined that when in the choir the *provisor* should

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<sup>222</sup> The first rule of the Latin text translated in the Appendix incorrectly denotes the *facistol* as the *faldisotrium* which is actually the *faldstool*. The *faldstool* is a small folding chair situated either on or near the altar for the bishop when not utilizing the episcopal throne or if he is visiting another church.

<sup>223</sup> The same Juan Franco who was contracted to build the first *sillería* was paid forty pesos to also construct the first *facistol* for the cathedral. ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 1, 29 julio 1544, fol. 64r.

<sup>224</sup> Díaz Cayeros, Patricia. “Espacio y Poder en el Coro de la Catedral de Puebla,” *Relaciones. Estudios de Historia y Sociedad. Religiosidad y Desastres*, número 97, vol. XXV, Colegio de Michoacán (invierno 2004): 220.

sit in the seat of the eldest canon immediately after the *dignidades*.<sup>225</sup> When informed of the decision, Montúfar chided the cabildo by annulling the clandestine chapter meetings, stating they had no authority in deciding the matter. He instead proposed that the *provisor* sit in the chair to his left, which belonged to the *arcediano*. His reasoning was that this was a custom in the Cathedral of Seville and that the bull of erection granted him the power to transplant any “laudable customs” from the cathedral there without contradiction.<sup>226</sup> This in turn resulted in a drawn out lawsuit between the archbishop and the *cabildo* taking place in the secular court of the Royal *Audiencia*.<sup>227</sup> In May of 1563 the royal *audiencia* determined that the archbishop could transfer any custom from the Cathedral of Seville that he found to be appropriate in the Mexican church. As a result, the *audiencia*’s decision granted the *provisor* the *arcediano*’s chair immediately to the left of the archbishop.<sup>228</sup> The *arcediano*, Juan de Zurnero, was notably irritated by the decision of the *audiencia* and later refused to leave his seat in the choir when the *provisor* arrived to sit there. For his disobedience Montúfar threatened Zurnero with excommunication if he continued to be obstinate.<sup>229</sup> The problem was temporarily resolved a year later, when the provisor relinquished his office to return to Spain. For the next four years the *chántrre*, Ruy Rodrigo de Barbosa, fulfilled the office of *provisor* and

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<sup>225</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 2, 9octubre1562, fols. 86r-87v and 10octubre1562 fols. 88r-89r.

<sup>226</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 2, 12diciembre1562, fol. 91r; San Miguel, *Statuta*, Erectio, §XXXVII, 35.

<sup>227</sup> AHAM, *Haceduría*, Recurso de fuerza, Caja 1. Exp. 15, Proceso del Ilustrísimo Arzobispo de México contra el Deán y Cabildo de la Santa Iglesia Catedral, sobre el asiento del Provisor en las ceremonias, seguido en la Real Audiencia s/n. The proceedings contain 128 unnumbered folios.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., s/n

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., s/n

ended the conflict due to the fact that he already possessed a seat in the choir; however, in 1568 the problem arose anew with the appointment of Esteban de Portillo as *provisor*.<sup>230</sup>

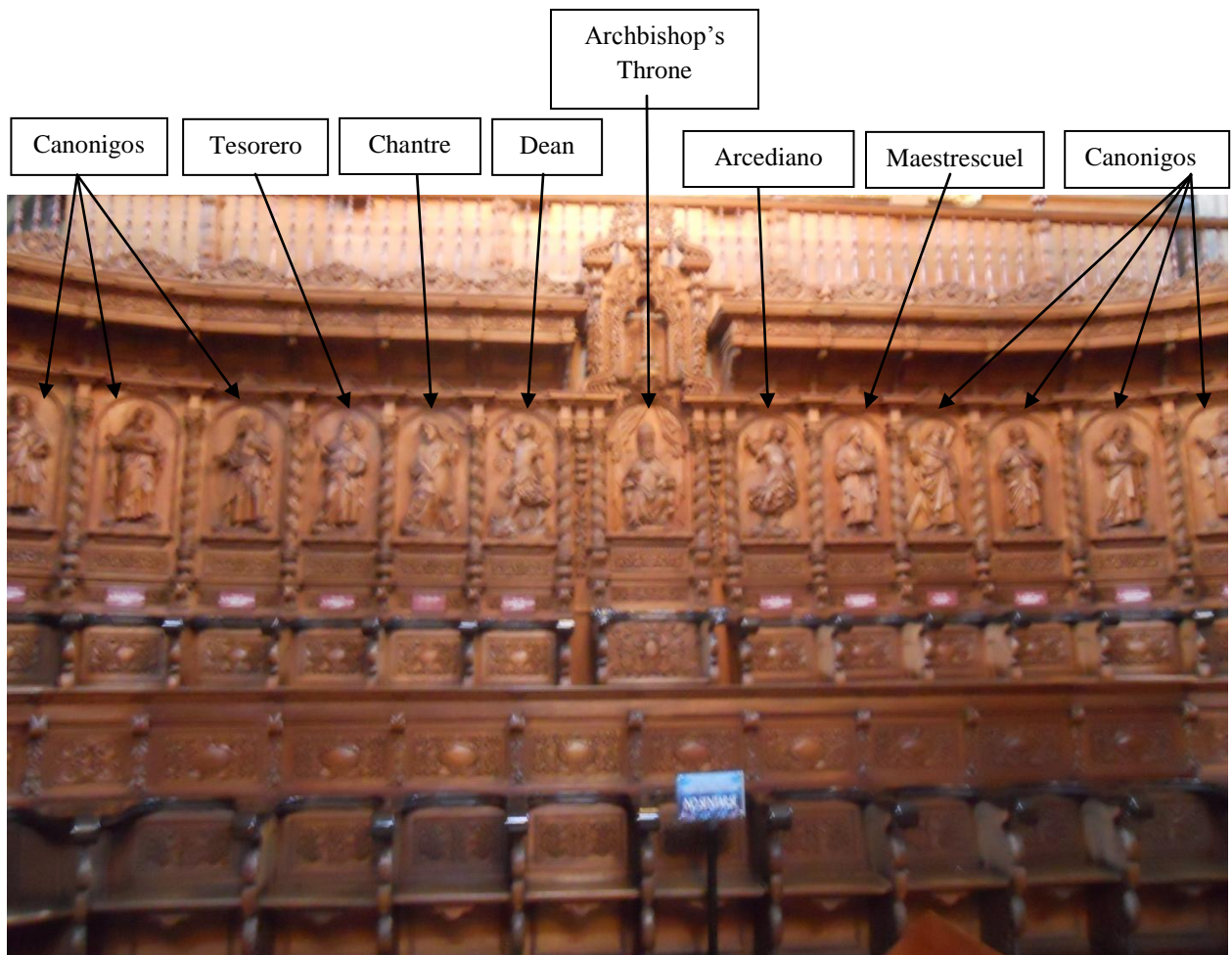


Figure 4-4. Hierarchy within Choral Stalls (*Sillería*) Photo: Copyright of Author, 2014

The section shown in Figure 4-4 is the center of the *herradura* which directly faces the *facistol*, the high altar, and the Altar of the Kings. Figure 4-4 also illustrates how the physical seats in the choir are an outward and tangible display of stature. Reliefs of saints, angels, and doctors of the church adorn the backs of the *sillas altas*, each distinct from the others and none are repeated. The back of the archiepiscopal throne is

<sup>230</sup> Lundberg, *Unification and Conflict*, 188.

even adorned with a prelate.<sup>231</sup> The seating of the *dignidades* alternates from one choir to the other based on their station. For instance, the dean sits on the right of the archbishop while the *arcediano*, who is second in station, sits to the left of the archbishop; yet the *chántrre*—who is third in line—sits to the right of the dean and the *matrescula* sits to the left of the *arcediano*. The obvious explanation for the alternation is that this tradition was transplanted from Seville due to the suffragan nature of the early Mexican church, but there is also a precedent to this tradition based in processions that can still be seen today. The canons of the metropolitan cathedral continue to process side-by-side from the choir to the sacristy after the Divine Office every morning, as evidenced in the author’s visit to Mexico City in November 2014. However, during the colonial era stature does not equate to musical mastery or even competence. Bishops Zumárraga and Montúfar both sent numerous petitions to the Spanish crown stating their frustration with the choir and its relative ignorance of plainchant. Furthermore, although the *reglamento de coro* from Seville had arrived in 1538 as described in Chapter 2, there is little evidence to suggest that it was being implemented consistently within the choir. Within the thirty-one year time span from 1539 to 1570, a total of twenty-one separate entries concerning regulations of some sort within the choir appear in the *Actas Capitulares* of the Mexican Cathedral.<sup>232</sup>

Although not noted in Figure 4-4, many of the *racioneros* occupied the lower stalls, but still others were situated at the *facistol* with the *mozos* and *capellanes de coro*. Rule IX concerns the *sochántrre* and his position by the *facistol*. It mandates that if the President goes down from his seat to aid the *sochántrre* at the *facistol* because there are

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<sup>231</sup> See Figure 4-3 in this Chapter.

<sup>232</sup> Torres, “Did They Make It Up.”

few or no singers assisting him, then all present are bound to do so the same. In March of 1581, this particular rule caused a stir, when it was challenged by two chapter members who refused to come down from their seats in the choir.<sup>233</sup> The lower ranking member of the pair, racionero Claudio de la Cueva, was fined fifty pesos de oro común (15,000 *maravedís*) to be applied to the cathedral fabric, and subsequently banned from chapter meetings for the duration of four months. The canon Alonso Lopez de Cardenas was fined twenty pesos de oro común (6,000 *maravedís*) to be applied to the fabric for his obstinate disobedience to the president and instigating the affair. Lopez's banishment from chapter meetings only lasted two months and was reduced, in comparison to de la Cueva, due to his show of remorse to the *cabildo*. Finally, the archdean, Doctor Don Juan Guzman—who was the acting dean since the previous one had died some years earlier—was fined 10 pesos de tepuzque (720 *maravedís*) by the *cabildo* for exceeding his reach and so that he would learn to be more moderate and less grave in his dealings with others.<sup>234</sup>

This particular event took place eleven years after the promulgation of the collected choral ordinances and nine years after the death of Archbishop Montúfar. Could the archbishop or cabildo have known that this would happen one day? The Jesuit historian Ernest J. Burrus has characterized Archbishop Montúfar as: "...meticulous and demanding in all of his mandates."<sup>235</sup> The thorough descriptions and exceptions to rules found in the *Ordo* illustrate a number of defects and abuses that he sought to eliminate in what was the most important church of the New World at that time. While I have yet to

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<sup>233</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 3, 31marzo1581, fol. 113v.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>235</sup> Montúfar and Burrus. *Ordenanzas*, 15.

determine whether this particular incident was the first to occur—although there is no other record of such in the *actas capitulares*—the number of individuals available to sing in the choir had increased. Unfortunately, many of the members of the choir were not necessarily singers, but clerics forced to sing based upon the obligation of their benefice.

The reason this power struggle is not as well known is due to a large-scale assumption that modern day choral ensembles are the direct descendents of Renaissance and Baroque choirs. This is partially true; however, the idea that plainchant fell out of use due to the proliferation of polyphony is far too widespread outside of the realm of musicological scholarship. It is true that polyphony was sung in the Metropolitan Cathedral during the colonial era, but plainchant was not and still to this day has not been abandoned by the cathedral's choir. The numerous services of the cathedral during the sixteenth century were primarily based upon plainchant, while the use of polyphony was reserved for the major feast days throughout the liturgical year. The assertion of the use of plainchant over polyphony is strengthened by a direct mandate to learn the Gregorian Chants appropriate to each clerical station found in Rule XXXVIII as well as the fact that there is absolutely no acknowledgement of polyphony in the *Ordo*. Furthermore, a mention of performance practice is made referring to the *alternatim* style of singing the psalms that had been in existence since the early days of Christianity.<sup>236</sup> According to Rule XXIV: “*The Psalms should be sung alternately with a competent pause in the middle of the verse, one choir may not begin until the other has finished the verse...*”

This is not the first time the division of choirs is mentioned; in fact, this is the last of four sections alluding to this division. Notwithstanding Rule II, which stated that no one is to

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<sup>236</sup> For the evolution of antiphonal psalmody See “Antiphonal Psalmody” in Part Two Section Four of Willi Apel’s *Gregorian Chant*, 185-196.

talk from one choir to another, this example of antiphonal psalmody in Rule XXIV presents a functional reasoning for the division of the choir.<sup>237</sup> Figure 4-5 below illustrates the division of the *sillería* into the two choirs, using dotted lines on either side of the archiepiscopal throne as boundary markers.

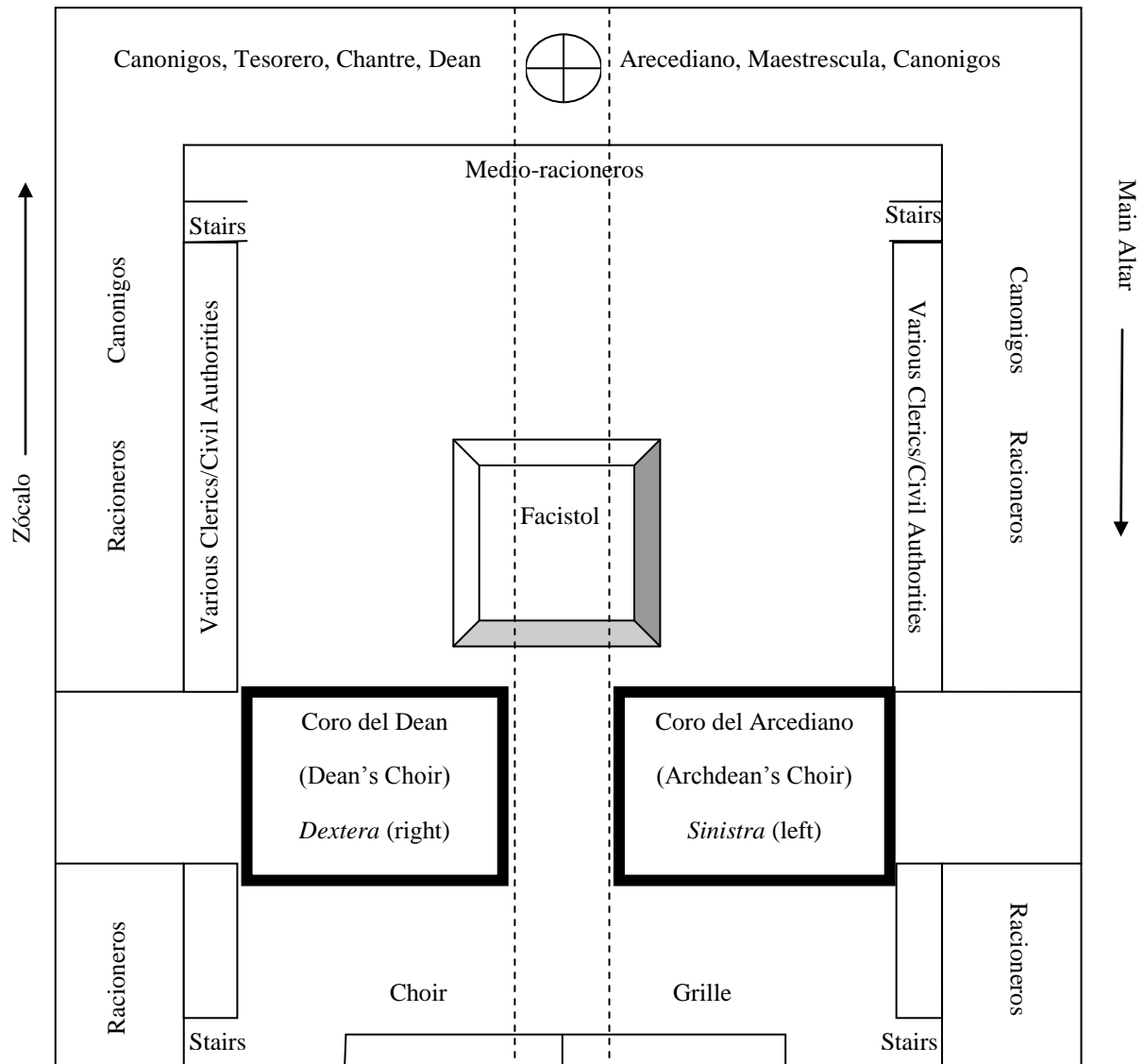


Figure 4-5. Division of Choirs in Mexican *Sillería*

<sup>237</sup> Ordo, Rule XXIV, 134 and 128.



A mandate alluding to pausation between verses can also be found in Rule XXIII, when relating the proper procedure for saying the Little Office of the B[lessed] Virgin Mary with all due reverence and gravity.<sup>238</sup> Craig Wright cites a similar regulation in the Cathedral of Notre Dame that has been in use since 1408.<sup>239</sup> The statute not only prescribed the pausation between verses, Wright notes, but also demanded that the psalms be sung slowly, solemnly, and with impeccable clarity of pronunciation.<sup>240</sup> Examples of rushing through the Hours can be found not only in the Parisian cathedral but in the Mexican *actas* as well. In one of many efforts throughout the life of the cathedral to curb absenteeism, Archbishop Montúfar utilized an old mandate issued by his predecessor bishop Juan de Zumárraga, allowing the two choirs to alternate between the Offices of Matins and Prime on a monthly basis.<sup>241</sup> This effort also sought to compel the members of the *cabildo* to comply with the norms of the cathedral previously imposed by the erection and in doing so hoped to enforce that the Divine Office may be carried out with due decorum, devotion, pause and respect. The third paragraph of the preamble has integrated this particular form of alternation by cautioning that “...*All therefore are bound to sing alternately, and by no other means are they able to receive or profit from the benefice...*” demonstrating a secondary use in the choir’s alternatim singing as well as the recurrence of the obligation to sing motif within the *Ordo*.<sup>242</sup>

There also emerges a separate hierarchical order between the two sides of the choir when discussing the Hebdomadary. As I stated, this office rotated between different

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<sup>238</sup> Ordo, Rule XXIII, 134.

<sup>239</sup> Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 321-322.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

<sup>241</sup> ACCMM, *Actas*, Lib. 1, 13mayo1558, folio 164v.

<sup>242</sup> Ordo, Preamble, 126-127.

members of the cabildo each week. Rules XXII and XXII of the *Ordo* tell us that the Hebdomadary was usually a dignity or a canon. If absent, the office passes from the designated Hebdomadary to the following individual of senior most status in the Dean's choir. Rule XXI provides the example that the Dean is the Hebdomadary and absent. In this case the *chántrre* would take up the office unless he is also absent, and then it would fall to the treasurer to fulfill this duty. If either of these two is missing, and he has been assigned the hebdoma, then the Dean bears the responsibility of his absence; yet if all the *dignidades* in the Dean's choir are missing, the office is then transferred to the Archdean's choir in the same hierarchical order, beginning with the *arcediano* and followed by *maestrescula*.<sup>243</sup> When a canon in the Dean's choir is assigned this duty the chain of command for finding a replacement is the same following the pattern of eldest to youngest, except when transferred to the Archdean's choir. In this case the process is reversed and begins in the opposite manner, starting with the youngest member of that choir to the oldest.<sup>244</sup> Generally, the Dean's choir retained preeminence due to its placement on the right hand (*ad dexteram*) of the archiepiscopal throne, except in those instances when it was not present. Assuming that the absence of the Hebdomadary took place during Matins or Prime when only one of the two choirs was present, then the office would automatically revert to the other choir. In this particular scenario the responsibility would then be transferred from the Dean's choir to the Archdean's choir. Since the sequence of replacements began with the Dean himself, then the search for the Hebdomadary's replacement took place in the Archdean's choir beginning with the *arcediano*.

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<sup>243</sup> *Ordo*, Rule XXI, 133.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, Rule XXII, 133-134.

#### 4.8 Conclusion

In a letter to Charles V, Bishop Juan de Zumárraga pleaded the need for elaborate and beautiful music reporting that "...conversions were much more readily effected by music than by sermons. Indians would come a great distance to hear impressive music."<sup>245</sup> The choir, while lively with mellifluous sonority as described by contemporary sources, was much more colorful than previously imagined; however, this is only a portion of their duties. While the bishop governs a diocese from his cathedral, the *cabildo eclesiástico* shares in those duties as well as governing the affairs of the cathedral itself. During *sede vacante* the cabildo assumes the responsibilities of administering the See until a new bishop or archbishop can be consecrated. The *dignidades*, *canónigos*, *rationeros*, *capellanes*, *mozos*, and supernumeraries were all charged to carry out specific functions to ensure that the corporate prayer of the Divine Office and the numerous festal, ferial or votive masses continued without fail or incident. The collection of the tithe was among their other obligations that allowed for the finances necessary in continuing such an enormous endeavor as was the task of the cathedral officials. By administering the tithe directly the archbishopric and cathedral retained larger sums than when renting, but the time and effort needed to do so impeded upon their primary obligations. The tithe was not the only source of revenues for the clerics. Those that also served a chantry received funds from the *fábrica* which was the administrating account for the *obras pias*. Unfortunately, for most singers much of their salary remained in the *fábrica* due to deficiencies or errors in their assistance in the choir.

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<sup>245</sup> Cuevas, *Documentos inéditos*, 99.

As the *fábrica* contained the funds for items necessary for the Mass and Divine Office as well as the construction of the new cathedral, it could be posited that the number of fines assessed generated enough revenue to finance the cathedral's construction; however, we will leave that for a separate study.

Throughout the *Ordo* only three of the forty-two rules are not restricted to the physical choral space. In examining the choral space, I argue that the choral ensemble is just as intricate as its architectural structure. Granted, these are the rules for the choir, but in most cases the musical ensemble takes precedent to the physical space, when one thinks of the rules. The locations and landmarks of the choral space mentioned in the *Ordo* are still very much visible in the Metropolitan Cathedral of México, allowing for a better understanding of the implementation of the rules themselves.

## 5.1 CONCLUSION

The implementation of order in any situation is an arduous task, but when individuals pursuing their own personal agendas attempt to override or ignore that which has been mandated, the burden becomes significantly greater. Such was the choir that the first three archbishops of México attempted to regulate. Historically, both in the New World and Europe, the *cabildo* or cathedral chapter is the choir. There are very few exceptions to this understanding of the choir.<sup>246</sup> Unfortunately, this particular detail is rarely directly stated and assumed to be common knowledge when discussing cathedral choirs. To further complicate matters the initial *cabildo* lacked the necessary experience to effectively govern the cathedral. In a letter to Charles V dated April 17 , 1540, Bishop Juan de Zumárraga reminds the emperor that the individuals whom he had appointed to the various dignities and canons of the Mexican cathedral had never before served as members of a *cabildo*.<sup>247</sup> What is more, the members of the *cabildo* are the highest officials of the cathedral, but Zumarraga's letter further reveals that many ignore the mandates of the cathedral's erection. The high rate of absenteeism within the early *cabildo* also greatly hindered the institution of rules and norms. At the time of the letter, only the bishop, archdean, treasurer and a handful of canons were in residence within the cathedral.<sup>248</sup> The bishop's letter provides only one perspective. Considering also the letters of subsequent archbishops and the entries in the *actas capitulares*, we find that the problem of an unruly choir was not only isolated to the early *cabildo*, but continued even

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<sup>246</sup> Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 20-21, 26, 318

<sup>247</sup> Cuevas, *Documentos Ineditos*, 106.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid., 99-99.

after the arrival of the *reglamento* from Seville in 1538. This would explain why a number of entries within the *actas* concerning order in the choir began to appear in 1539. The legislation of three provincial councils, while not specifically for the choir, contained several chapters dictating what was expected while in the choir. However, each of these chapters only endeavored to rectify what were considered the most pressing issues in the cathedral choirs: absence, ignorance and conformity. With the establishment of the Royal and Pontifical University of México in 1553, the educational levels of clerics in the archdiocese slowly began to improve, while absence continued as many of the professors were members of the *cabildo*.

While Archbishop Alonso de Montúfar is given the greatest credit in the secondary literature for his choral ordinances of 1570, all of those rules were already in existence, although this does not confirm that they were also in practice. Montúfar's persistence to conform the choir towards the proper order and solemnity of each service is laudable and evidenced by the large number of lawsuits filed against him by his own chapter. When these rules were initially collected, they were for the explicit use of the metropolitan cathedral choir, but when examined by the Third Provincial Mexican Council in 1585, they gained twenty-six additional mandates and immeasurable exposure. With the approbation of the third council's legislation, the *Ordo in Choro Servandus* was published as an appendix in multiple editions and reprints until the nineteenth century. As it was required to be followed in all suffragan dioceses of México, variations can be found in the cathedrals of Puebla and Valladolid (now Morelia, Michoacán). The information contained within the *Ordo* shines a rather negative light on the metropolitan cathedral choir and *cabildo*, perceiving it to be devoid of competent singers.

Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the newness of the situation in the New World prompted continuous adjustment rather than direct transplantation.

## APPENDIX

Translated by Jorge A Torres

Ordo in Choro Servandus

Order to be Observed in the Choir

[Mexico City]

Ab Illmô. D. Fr. Alphonso De Montúfar

Illustrious Don Fr. Alfonso de Montúfar

PRÆSCRIPTUS.

BY ORDER OF

Nos D. Fr. Alphonsus de Montúfar

We, Fray Alfonso de Montúfar,

Miseratione Divinâ Archiepiscopus

Archbishop of México by Divine Mercy,

Mexicanus, Regiæque Majestatis â

The Councils of His Royal Majesty: The

Consiliis: Reverendis admodum, &

Very Reverend & Magnificent Lord

permagnificis Dominis Decano, &

Dean, & the Chapter of our Holy

Capitulo nostræ Sanctæ Cathedralis

Cathedral Church, Salvation in our Lord

Ecclesiæ, salutem in Domino nostro

Jesus Christ, the supreme good.

Jesuchristo, summo bono.

Quum vehementer exoptemus debitum

We vehemently wish to prescribe the

ordinem præscribere quoad Divina

proper order to celebrate the Divine

officia celebranda, præter eum, quem

Offices, in addition to, that which has

anteà præstitimus, præ oculis habendo

been previously observed, bearing in



Sanctam Matrem Ecclesiam benignè  
nobis alimoniam porrigere, & alere de  
patrimonio Redemptoris nostri, ut ei  
grates rependamus, laudemus, & pro  
nobis, Populoque Christiano preces  
fundamus: In hoc enim decus, & honor  
statûs, officii, & vocationis nostræ  
præcipuè sistit, justitiâque exigent eniti  
debemus, ut in conspectu Dei ad ejus  
gloriam, & honorem, hominumque  
appareamus devote, religiosi,  
peculiaresque Dei cultores, ita ut  
summopere gloriemur, & invigilemus, ut  
attentè recitemus, & canamus.

Hoc etenim modo si unusquisque ex  
parte suâ munus suum fideliter  
exequatur, citò Dominus opem nobis  
feret, & auxilium, ut in hâc mortali vita  
ejus Majestatem contemplant in  
æternum eâ perfruamur in cœlis.

mind that the Holy Mother Church  
kindly maintains and feeds us the  
inheritance of our Redeemer, so that we  
may hereby give thanks, praise, and for  
us, and the Christian people we direct  
our prayers: In this the glory, and the  
honor of our state, office, & particularly  
our vocation, & justice demands we  
must strive to appear, in the sight of God  
for His glory, & honor, and that of the  
devout, religious, specific servants of  
God, so that glorifying Him above all  
else, seek to attentively pray & sing.

Thus if everyone in turn faithfully  
fulfills his office, the Lord will give us  
favor and assistance, that in this mortal  
life contemplating your Majesty, we may  
enjoy it eternally in heaven.

Ad hoc supponere debemus, neminem,  
qui privatim Horas Canonicas in domo,  
in ecclesia, aut alibi extra chorum recitat,  
lucrari posse obventiones, aut  
distributiones quotidianas, tenetur  
etenim canere simul cum ceteris in choro  
horâ assignatâ, debitâque reverentiâ: Ob  
hoc Capitularibus assignatur præbenda,  
seu salarium, & non ob privatam  
recitationem. Omnes igitur alternatim  
canere tenentur, nullatenusque beneficii  
lucrum alio modo percipere valent, licet  
attendant, & recitent, quod alii canunt; re  
verâ si omnes sedulo curarent canere,  
simulque attentos esse intentione actuali,  
aut virtuali, vitarentur abs dubio plurimi  
defectus, qui communiter notantur in  
choro: Idcirco oneramus super hoc  
conscientiam Præsidentis, eumque  
jubemus, assiduò invigilare quieti, &  
silentio in choro, ut Divina

To this we must assume, that no one  
who prays the Canonical Hours privately  
at home, in church, or elsewhere outside  
the choir, can gain revenues, or daily  
distributions, because he is obliged to  
sing together with the others in the choir  
at the time assigned and with due  
reverence: For this the Chapter has  
assigned the benefice, or salary, & not  
for private recitation. All therefore are  
bound to sing alternately, and by no  
other means are they able to receive or  
profit from the benefice, let them attend,  
& pray, what others sing; in fact if all  
take care in their singing, to be  
simultaneously vigilant with actual, or  
virtual intent, they will without a doubt  
avoid many deficiencies, which are  
commonly noted in the choir: Therefore  
We place the responsibility upon the  
conscience of the President, he who was  
ordered, to keep constant quiet & silence  
in the choir, so that the

officia peragantur eâ, quâ decet,  
reverentiâ.

Et ne aliquis suprâ dicta transgrediatur,  
sequentes Regulæ observabuntur.

I. Nullus in choro, in stallo, ante, vel  
post Faldistorium colloquatur, dum  
Divina officia celebrantur, qui si  
admonitus secûs fecerit, mulctetur â  
Præsidente amissione unius puncti; & si  
contumax fuerit, augeatur pœna juxta  
contumaciam.

II. Nulli fas sit loqui de uno choro ad  
aliud, nutus, ac signa facere, nec mittere  
nuntium, sub pœnâ unius puncti, solum  
namque licitum erit aliquid circa  
Divinum officium modestè interrogare  
eum, cui competat respondere.

duties of the Divine Office be carried  
out, with due reverence.

But lest anyone transgress what is said  
above, the following rules be observed.

I. No one in the choir, in the stalls,  
before, or behind the *faldstool* [Facistol]  
is to have dialogue, while the Divine  
Office is celebrated, if otherwise, on  
being reminded that he did, shall be  
fined by the President at the loss of one  
point; and if he is obstinate, the penalty  
is increased by his stubbornness.

II. No one may speak from one choir to  
the other, nod, make signals, or send a  
message, under penalty of one point, it  
shall only be allowed to modestly ask in  
matters relating to the Divine Office, to  
him who is competent to answer.

III. Penitùs ê choro exterminentur  
joculationes, scurrilitates omnes, &  
quilibet gestus ad risum provocantes,  
præcipuè eum, qui canit Capitulum,  
Orationem, Lectionem, Epistolam,  
Evangelium, aut quancumque aliam  
partem officii Ecclesiastici, sub pœnâ  
quatuor punctorum.

IV. Cuncti obedient Præsidenti in choro,  
& qui contra fecerit, amittat obventiones  
Horis illius diei assignatas.

V. Assurgere debent omnes, &  
discooperto capite esse semper ac dicitur  
*Gloria Patri*, nec non dum canuntur  
capitula, orations, antiphonæ, hymni, &  
cantica *Nunc dimittis, Te Deum*  
*laudamus, Benedictus, Magnificat*, ad  
*Introitum Missæ, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo,*  
*Evangelium, Sanctus, & Communio.*  
Quando proferatur Sacrosanctum Nomen  
Jesu, aut Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ,

III. In the choir doth perish all  
joculations, buffoonery, & every gesture  
provoking laughter, especially of him,  
who sings Chapter, Prayers, the  
Readings, Epistle, the Gospel, or any  
other part of an ecclesiastical office,  
under pain of four points.

IV. All must obey the President while in  
the choir, & he who acts contrary should  
lose revenues assigned to each Hour for  
that day.

V. All must rise up, & uncover the head  
every time the *Gloria Patri* is said, even  
when sung in the chapters, prayers,  
antiphon, hymns, & canticles *Nunc*  
*dimittis, Te Deum laudamus, Benedictus,*  
*Magnificat*, at the *Introit of the Mass,*  
*Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Gospel, Sanctus,*  
& *Communion.* When the most Holy  
name Jesus, or that of the Blessed Virgin  
Mary, is professed, all under the statute

omnes sub præcepto caput debent  
discooperire.

VI. Si quis, dum canitur Evangelium,  
gradiatur intra ecclesiam, illicò gradum  
sistere debet, capiteque discooperto non  
potest de loco moveri, usquequò  
Evangelium finiatur, excepto casu quo  
quis fuerit â tergo chori, sub pœnâ unius  
puncti.

VII. Omnes in choro canere teneantur, &  
si aliquis siluerit, Præsidens cum  
admoneat ad suum munus adimplendum,  
inobediens mulctetur in eâ Horâs, quâ  
defecit, præter casum infirmitatis cunctis  
notæ. Quando Præcentor, aut Succentor  
quidquam in choro canendum  
commendaverit, citò, & sponte fiat, &  
qui contra fecerit, aut deviaverit â tono  
Præcentoris, aut Succentoris ei  
præintonato, puniatur amissione unius  
puncti.

must uncover their head.

VI. If anyone, when the Gospel is sung,  
should enter the church, they should  
immediately stop, uncover their head  
and not be moved out of that place, until  
the Gospel is ended, except in the case in  
which a person is behind the choir, under  
the penalty of one point.

VII. All are bound to sing in the choir, &  
if someone were to be silent, may the  
President remind him of his duty to  
fulfill, and if disobedient he be fined that  
Hour, which failed, apart from a case of  
illness known to all. Whatever the  
Chantre or Sochantre command must be  
sung quickly, & willingly, and anyone  
who has done otherwise, or deviated  
from the Chantre's tone, or what the  
Sochantre has preintoned to him, is to be  
punished with the loss of one point.

VIII. Dum celebrantur Missa major,  
Tertia, Sexta, & Vesperæ, nulli licet  
progredi in ecclesia ante chorum,  
semperque prohibitum est  
deambulationes in ecclesia, ubi Missæ  
privatæ celebrantur, deambulare, sub  
pœnâ unius puncti.

IX. Quando Succentor solus, aut paucis  
adstantibus fuerit ante faldistorium, &  
Præsidens de sede suâ descenderit, ut  
eum adjuvet, omnes idem facere  
teneantur, sub pœnâ unius puncti.

X. Non liceat in choro litteras, aut libros  
legere, dum Divina celebrantur officia,  
nec privatim recitare, nisi in Missâ post  
*Sanctus* usque ad Calicis elevationem, &  
si aliquis â Præsidente admonitus  
contravenerit, puniatur amissione  
obventionis illius Horæ.

VIII. When Mass, Terce, Sext, &  
Vespers are celebrated, no one is  
permitted to advance through the church  
in front of the choir, walking about is  
always prohibited in the church, where  
Private Masses are celebrated,  
wandering, is under the penalty of one  
point.

IX. When the Sochantre is alone, or few  
stand before the facistol, and the  
President descends from his seat, to help  
him, all are bound to do the same, and  
subject to the penalty of one point.

X. In the choir it is not permissible to  
read letters, or books while the Divine  
Office is celebrated, nor to recite prayer  
in private, except in the Mass, after the  
*Sanctus* until after the elevation of the  
chalice, & if disobedient to the  
President, he shall be punished with the  
loss of revenues of that Hour.

XI. Nemo ingrediatur, aut egrediatur per portam principalem chori, nisi ante cœptum, seu finitum integrum Horarum officium, vel comitetur Prælatum, vel exeat ad celebrandam Missam conventualem, vel cappà pluviali sit indutus, vel comitetur hebdomadarium, vel ad deferendum signum, vel ad aliud quodcumque chori, vel altaris ministerium, sub pœnâ amissionis illius Horæ.

XII. Hebdomadarius, sive sit Dignitas, sive Canonicus chorum primus ingrediatur post sonitum cimbali, nec incipiat Horas, seu intonet, usquequò accensæ sint candelæ in altari majori, & signum factum cum cimbalo chori. Qui antea cœperit, amittat distributionem Horæ; similiter si incœperit, antequàm sufficientes chori ministri advenerint, sub eâdem pœnâ. Et ne ulla mora fiat, statuimus, Capellanos, Succentorem, &

XI. No one may enter or leave through the main door of the choir, except before the beginning, or after the completion of the entire office of the Hours, or when accompanied by the prelate, or when one goes out to celebrate the conventual Mass, or when wearing a cope, or when accompanied by the hebdomadary, or to carry the sign, or any other ministry of the choir, or altar, under penalty of losing that Hour.

XII. The Hebdomadary, whether it be Dignity, or Canon, are among the first to enter the choir after the ringing of the bell, but do not start or sing the Hours, until the candles on the altars are lit, & a signal is made with the bell of the choir. He who begins before is to lose the distribution of Hours; similarly, if begun, before sufficient ministers of the choir arrive, the same punishment applies, & so there be no delay, we

chori ministros ingredi chorum debere  
cum ipso hebdomadario, & amittere  
obventiones Horæ, si finites sit hymnus  
Beatissimæ Virginis, aut Horæ  
principalis.

XIII. Qui ingrediatur chorum post *Gloria Patri* primi Psalmi (dum non recitatur officium Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ) & qui ingrediatur post *Gloria Patri* Horæ principalis usque ad *Alleluya*, seu *Laus tibi Domine*, quando recitatur Officium Parvum, amittat distributionem illius Horæ. Ceterum hoc non prodest iis, qui sunt intra ecclesiam, consultòque, & ex malitiâ sedentes, aut colloquentes, expectant præfinitum tempus ad lucrandas obventiones, nullatenusque ingrediuntur, quousque id temporis præterlabatur.

establish that, the chaplains, Sochantre, the choir and ministers ought to enter with the hebdomadary, & lose the perquisites of the Hours, if the anthem of the Blessed Virgin or the principal Hours have finished.

XIII. Whoever enters the choir after the *Gloria Patri* of the first Psalm (when not reciting the office of the Blessed Virgin Mary) & those who enter after the *Gloria Patri* of the principal Hours to the *Alleluya*, or *Laus Tibi, Domine*, when the Little Office is recited, shall lose the distribution of that Hour.

However, this does not benefit those that are within the church, who by purpose, & out of malice are sitting, conversing, or waiting for the appointed time to gain revenues, and by no means enter until this span of time has passed.



XIV. Ingressus chorum rectâ viâ pergat ad suam sedem absque ullâ mansion, seu colloquutione cum iis, qui sunt ante faldistorium, aut sedibus inferioribus, sub pœnâ amissionis Horæ.

XV. Nullus ad sedes inferiors descendat ad colloquendum, sed tantummodò ad canendum ante faldistorium, sive id quod ei fuerit injunctum, ad canendum *Pretiosa*, *Responsorium*, seu aliud quidquam ei commendatum, sub pœnâ unius puncti.

XVI. Qui erraverit subvertendo, aut invertendo capitulum, aut orationem, amittat distributionem illius Horæ: Qui negligens fuerit in recitando, seu canendo capitulum, orationem, seu quamlibet aliam rem, sibi â Succentore, vel hebdomadario commendatam, aut suâ negligentîâ culpabilis defectus extiterit, mulctetur amissione illius Horæ.

XIV. Upon entering the choir one must go directly to his seat without any delay, or conversing with those who are before the faldstool [facistol], or the lower seats, under pain of losing the Hour.

XV. No one is to go down to the lower seat to converse with another, but only to sing before the faldstool [facistol], or that which was commanded, to sing the *Pretiosa* versicle, (1) the *Responsorial*, or anything else that has been entrusted to him, under the penalty of one point.

XVI. He who errs by overturning, or inverting the chapter or prayer, shall lose the distribution of that Hour: He that has been negligent in reciting or singing the chapter, prayer, or any other thing, entrusted him by the Sochantre, or the hebdomadary, or that their negligence is because of a notable defect, shall be fined with the loss of that Hour.

XVII. Itidem punietur amissione  
distributionis duorum dierum, qui  
omiserit celebrare Missam majorem,  
sive quia sit hebdomadarius, vel quia ei  
sit commendata, & acceptata celebratio:  
Idem intelligendum est de  
hebdomadariis, Diaconis, &  
Subdiaconis.

XVIII. Ille, qui omiserit facere, vel per  
se, vel per alium quodlibet officium sibi  
in tabellâ chori præscriptum, duobus  
punctis mulctetur.

XIX. Hebdomadarius, vel is, cui  
commendaverit, ad induendam cappam,  
sive ad Missam, seu ad Vesperas, eam  
induere debet ante Introitum Missæ, vel  
finite Nonâ ad Vesperas; alioquin si per  
se, vel per alium facere neglexerit,  
duobus punctis mulctetur.

XVII. In like manner the loss of two  
days distribution is punishment for those  
who fail to celebrate Mass, because he is  
the hebdomadary, or because he has  
been entrusted, & agreed to celebrate:  
The same is understood for  
hebdomadaries, Deacons, &  
Subdeacons.

XVIII. He, who has omitted to do, either  
by himself, or through another, any duty  
prescribed in the table of the choir, shall  
be fined two points.

XIX. The hebdomadary, or the one, to  
whom is entrusted to wear the cope,  
must dress before the Introit of the Mass,  
once None and Vespers have finished;  
otherwise if by himself, or another  
neglects to do so, he shall be fined two  
points.

XX. Deficiente hebdomadario Missæ, Evangelii, Epistolæ, aut cappæ, tunc Præsident alii commendabit, & si quis justâ causâ deficient se excusaverit, mulctetur quatuor punctis.

XXI. Si Decanus fuerit hebdomadarius, & absens fuerit, in ejus locum succedat Cantor. Si Cantor fuerit absens, in ejus locum succedat Thesaurarius, & his deficientibus, iterum succedat in locum eorum Decanus. Si Dignitates unius chori abfuerint, transeat hebdomadarii officium ad alium chorum ordine suprascripto, idemque observetur in choro Archidiaconi.

XXII. Canonico antiquiori absente, in ejus locum succedant Canonici illius chori ordine suo usque ad ultimum, & si postremus absens fuerit, iterum in ejus locum succedat Canonicus antiquior:

XX. In the absence of the hebdomadary of the Mass, Gospel, Epistle, or cope, then his presidency must entrust the duty to another, & if anyone excuses himself without just cause, be fined four points.

XXI. If the Dean is the Hebdomadary, & absent, the Chantre succeeds in his place. If the Chantre is absent, the Treasurer succeeds in his place, & if these are lacking, again the Dean succeeds in their place. If the dignities of one of the choirs are lacking, the office of hebdomadary shall pass to the other choir in the order as mentioned above, and the same is to be observed in the choir of the Archdeacon.

XXII. If the most senior Canon is absent, in his place succeeds the next Canon of that choir in due course until the last, & if absent, then again in his place shall succeed the most senior Canon: if a

deficient Canonico transeat hebdomada  
ad alium chorum incipiendo â  
modernioribus.

Canon is still lacking, the hebdomadary  
shall pass to the other choir beginning  
with the youngest.

XXIII. Dum dicitur Officium parvum B.  
Mariæ omnes stent erecti capite  
discooperto. Et ordinamus præfatum  
Officium parvum debitâ pausatione,  
reverential, & gravitate recitari debere  
sub pœnâ amissionis Horæ contra  
innobedientes Præsidenti.

XXIII. While the Little Office of  
B[lessed] Mary is said all must stand  
erect with their head uncovered. And we  
order that the Little Office should be  
said with due pause, reverence, &  
gravity under the pain of losing the Hour  
for disobedience to the President.

XXIV. Psalmi cani debent alternatim  
cum pausatione competent in medietate  
versus, nec unus chorus incipiat,  
quousque in alio versus finiatur; & ad  
hujus observantiam Succentor monere  
debeat defectus, & præcipuè Præsidents  
jubere, ut cuncti tonum Succentoris  
sequantur, sub pœnâ amissionis Horæ, si  
admoniti, non ita fecerint.

XXIV. The Psalms should be sung  
alternately with a competent pause in the  
middle of the verse, one choir may not  
begin until the other has finished the  
verse; & for the observance of this the  
Sochantre ought to warn of failure, & he  
who presides orders, that all are to  
follow the tone of the Sochantre, under  
pain of losing the Hour, if admonished,  
and not done so.

XXV. Parochi juxta Erectionem assistere choro debent omnibus diebus ad Vesperas, Missam, & procesiones, tam intra, quàm extra ecclesiam, alioquin punctabuntur, nisi exercitati, seu occupati sint in aliquot ministerio Parochiali, quod dilatationem non patiatur.

XXVI. Nemo ê choro exeat absque licentiâ Præsidentis, justâque de causâ sub pœnâ amissionis Horæ. Nec ut justæ causæ considerari possunt negotia ordinaria, quæ finite Horâ expediri valent. Excipiuntur corporis necessitudines, dummodo nec mora fiat in sacristiâ, aut alio in loco, vel deambulando, sub pœnâ unius puncti.

XXV. According to the erection, the parish priest must assist in the choir every day at Vespers, Mass, & the processions, both inside and outside the church, otherwise they shall incur points, unless engaged, or occupied in any parochial ministry, in which it is not permitted to delay.

XXVI. No one may leave the choir without permission of the President, and just cause or they risk loss of the Hours. The business of the ordinary cannot be considered just cause, which can be completed after the Hour. An exception is made for necessities of the body, provided that no delay is made in the sacristy, or in another place, or by wandering, under the penalty of one point.

XXVII. Qui habitâ licentiâ ê choro  
exiêrit, redire debet ad orationem, &  
adesse majori parti Horæ, videlicèt, si  
continet tres psalmos, adesse debet  
duobus, si quinque, adesse tribus, sit tres  
nocturnes, adesse duobus sub pœnâ  
amissionis Horæ.

XXVIII. Is, cui ex officio, aut alterius  
commisione, aliquid in choro incumbat,  
si abfuerit, non commendams alteri  
suum ministerium, amittat obventionem  
Horæ.

XXIX. In matutinis, quando canuntur,  
qui ingrediatur post *Invitatorium*, &  
Psalmum: *venite exultemus cum Gloria  
Patri*, amittat eorum distributionem; si  
verò intonentur, qui ingrediatur post  
primum Nocturnus, nullatenus lucretur;  
si unus tantùm dicatur Nocturnus, ante  
*Te Deum laudamus* ingredi debet.

XXVII. He, who having obtained  
permission to exit the choir must return  
to the prayer, and be present for the  
majority of the Hour, that is to say, if it  
contains three psalms, be present for  
two, if five, be present for three, if three  
nocturns, be present for two or risk  
losing the Hour.

XXVIII. A person, whom by office, or  
of some other commission, has an  
obligation in the choir, if absent, and not  
entrusting his ministry to another, should  
lose perquisites from the Hour.

XXIX. In matins, when they are sung, he  
who enters after the *Invitatory*, & the  
Psalm: *Venite exultemus*, with the *Gloria  
Patri*, should lose their distribution, but  
if it is intoned, he who went in after the  
first nocturn, will not gain it either. If  
only one nocturn is said, he should enter  
before the *Te Deum laudamus*.

XXX. Qui non adfuerit Missæ majori, amittat Tertiam, & Sextam, licet in eis præsens fuerit. Qui præsens Tertiae fuerit, & egrediatur extra ecclesiam, amittat distributionem Missæ, si non adfuerit Evangelio. Nullus lucrari poterit obventionem Sextæ, si in choro non fuerit præsens ad elevationem Hostiæ, & Calicis. Qui præsens Tertiae fuerit, & cum licentiâ ê choro exiêrit, redeat ad Evangelium: Si exiêrit post Evangelium, redeat ante orationes postremas Missæ, sub pœnâ amissionis Horarum.

XXXI. Qui non adsit verbi Dei prædicationi, seu sermoni, amittat distributiones Tertiae, & Sextæ, & qui abfuerit â concione cum licentiâ Præsidentis non lucratur distributionem Tertiae.

XXX. He who is not present at Mass should lose Terce, & Sext, even if he was present in them. He who was present at Terce, and goes forth out of the church should lose the distribution of the Mass if not present for the Gospel. No one will be able to gain revenues for Sext, if not present in the choir at the elevation of the Host and the Chalice. He who is present at Terce and has been given permission to go out of the choir, let him return for the Gospel: If he shall depart out after the Gospel, let him return before the last prayers of the Mass, under penalty of losing the Hours.

XXXI. He who is not present for the preaching of God's word, or the sermon, should lose the distribution of Terce, & Sext, & anyone who is absent with the permission of the President make no profit of the distribution of Terce.

XXXII. Unusquisque Presbyter, seu hebdomadarius perlegat Missam, seu capitulum, orationem, Evangelium, Epistolam, lectionem, prophetiam, antequàm eam sollemniter cantet; alioquin si defectus aliquis in pronuntiatione accentûs, seu inversion cum alterâ diei, & Horæ non competent, irrepat, amittat distributionem Horæ. Super quo conscientiam Præsidentis oneramus.

XXXIII. In festivitatibus Domini nostri, Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ, & Apostolorum, quæ vocantur propriæ Dignitatum non concedatur licentia à primis Vesperis Festi usque ad Sextam alterius diei inclusivè. In Paschate Domini[,] Nativitatis, Resurrectionis, & Pentecostes usque ad Sextam secundi diei inclusivè; nec etiam concedatur licentia Dominicæ Palmarum ad processionem, nec diebus quibus *Signum* fit ad Vesperas, nec tribus diebus ultimis

XXXII. Let every priest, or hebdomadary, read the Mass, or chapter, prayer, Gospel, Epistle, reading, prophecy, before solemnly singing it; otherwise if any defect in the pronouncement of the accents, or with an inversion of the next day, & hour, that does not correspond, he should lose the distribution of the Hours. We place the responsibility upon the conscience of his presidency.

XXXIII. On the feasts of Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin Mary, & the Apostles, that are called on their own offices none shall be granted permission from the first Vespers of the Feast until Sext of the next day. In the Feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, Resurrection, & Pentecost until Sext of the following day; nor is permission granted for the procession on Palm Sunday, nor the days that the Sign is taken in Vespers, nor the last three days of Holy week, nor the octave of the



Sanctæ hebdomadæ Majoris, nec in  
Octavâ Resurrectionis, nec in  
processione ad fontem Baptismalem, nec  
vespere, die, & octavâ Corporis Christi  
ad Vesperas, Missam, aut processionem,  
& denique non concedatur licentia die  
processionis Sancti Marci, aut in  
Litaniis.

XXXIV. Post inceptam Tertiam nullus  
etiam cum licentiâ Præsidentis posit  
Missam privatim celebrare, & solùm  
indulgetur, finite Sextâ, & qui contra  
fecerit, amittat distributiones Tertiæ, &  
Sextæ, nisi in diebus, quibus ad  
Capitulum fuerit convocatum, aut causâ  
alterius generalis negotii.

XXXV. Diebus, quibus sermo fit ad  
Populam, si aliquis celebraverit, quando  
incipitur Tertia, eam lucrabitur,  
dummodo præsens in choro sit ante

Resurrection, nor in the procession to  
the baptismal font, nor in the Vespers, or  
day, & octave of Corpus Christi, to  
Vespers, Mass, or the procession, &  
finally, permission is not granted on the  
day of the procession of St. Mark, or  
during litanies.

XXXIV. After Terce has begun, no one,  
even under license of his presidency,  
may celebrate Mass in private, & can  
only do so if Sext has finished, & those  
who have done contrary should lose the  
distributions of Terce & Sext, except in  
days wherein he has been convoked to  
the Chapter, or to the cause of other  
general business.

XXXV. The days in which the sermon is  
given to the people, if one were to  
celebrate when Terce has begun, he will  
gain it, provided he is present in the

processionem; & si post sonitum  
campanæ Missam incœperit, amittat  
Tertiam.

XXXVI. Nunquam in Missa sollemni  
omittatur sollemnis cantatio *Gloriæ*,  
*Credo*, *Præfationis*, & *Orationis*  
*Dominicæ*, sub pœnâ unius puncti.

XXXVII. In processionibus servetur  
modestia: nemo cum alio Clerico, vel  
seculari confabuletur, sub pœnâ unius  
puncti, & si quis admonitus â Præsidente  
non paruerit, augeatur pœnâ.

XXXVIII. Omnes Præbendati canere  
discant, ad minùs ea, quæ unicuique  
intonare incumbit ex officio, videlicet,  
*Capitulum*, *Orationem*, *Lectionem*,  
*Præfatium*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Orationem*  
*Dominicam*, *Ite Missa est*, *Benedicamus*

choir before the procession, but if after  
the sound of the Mass bell began, he  
should lose Terce.

XXXVI. Never during Solemn Mass  
should the solemn singing of the *Gloria*,  
*Credo*, *Preface Dialogue*, & *Lord's*  
*Prayer* be omitted, under the penalty of  
one point.

XXXVII. Modesty is to be observed in  
processions: no one may talk with other  
clerics, or seculars, under pain of one  
point, & if on being reminded still does  
not obey the President, the punishment is  
increased.

XXXVIII. All Prebendaries will learn to  
sing, at least those things that pertain to  
their office, namely, *Chapter*, *Prayers*,  
*Readings*, *Preface*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *the*  
*Lord's Prayer*, *the Mass is Ended*,  
*Benediction*, according

*Domino, secundum sollemnitatem, & ritum Festi: nec non in choro præintonare Antiphonam, Versum, Introitum, Alleluya, Gradulae, & Responsorium. Qui ignorans cantûs Gregoriani ad suprâ dicta fuerit, discere teneatur intra annum, & si eo transact non didicerit, amittat decimam partem suæ Præbendæ, eique alter annus prorogetur eâdem obligatione; transacto anno amittat octavam partem, & sic deinceps proportionem servatâ augeatur pœnâ.*

XXXIX. Præbendati, qui odio, & pravâ voluntate non se mutuo salutaverint, nullatenus lucrentur suas præbendas, quousque reconcilientur.

XL. Nullus petat licentiam per alium, sed per se, nec minister inferior chori per Præbendatum, Parochum, aut Capellanum, nisi Præbendatus fuerit

to the solemnity, & rite of the feast: and even in the choir pre-intonate the *Antiphon, Verse, Introit, Alleluya, Gradual, and Responsory*. He who does not know the aforementioned Gregorian chants are bound to learn them within a year, & if after this, it is not learned, then a tenth of his benefice is lost, and if the same obligation be prolonged another year; he shall lose an eighth part, & the proportion of the punishment may be increased in accordance with the requirements of the obligation.

XXXIX. Prebendaries, who out of hatred, & ill will do not salute each other, will not gain any portion of their benefice, until reconciled.

XL. No one may seek permission for another, but only for himself, nor the minister of the lower choir for the Prebend, the parish priest, or chaplain,

intra ecclesiam, saltem petat licentiam à  
Canonico antiquiori, hicque teneatur  
rationem, seu notitiam reddere  
Præsidenti, durante Horâ; quod si oblitus  
fuerit Canonicus antiquior, amittat  
Horam, qui petiit licentiam.

unless the Prebendary was within the  
church, and is not able to ask  
appropriately or decently, or if not able  
to wait for the beginning of the choir, at  
least ask permission of the most senior  
Canon, who is to render notice and  
reason to the President, during the hour,  
but if the Canon has forgotten to do so,  
he who asked permission shall lose an  
hour.

XLI. Nullus Præbendatus, aut Ecclesiæ  
minister exeat extra ecclesiam  
superpelliceo indutus, aut ambulet per  
caupnas, tabernas, aut calles, nisi ad  
ministerium sibi ex officio respondens,  
aut comitando Prælatum, aut rectâ viâ  
veniat ad ecclesiam de domo suâ, sub  
pœnâ duorum punctorum.

XLI. Let no Prebendary, or minister of  
the Church, exit the church, or let him  
walk by inns, taverns, or streets while  
wearing the surplice, except for ex  
officio ministries, when accompanying  
the prelate, or when coming on a straight  
path from their home directly to the  
church, under the penalty of two points.

XLII. Punctator chori omnia superiùs  
dicta fideliter exequatur; & si ita non  
fecerit, duplo puniatur, & super hoc

XLII. The Punctator shall faithfully  
carry out the measures of all that has  
been said above, & if he has not done

conscientia ejus gravissimè oneratur.  
Prædictas Regulas, Ordinationes, &  
Constitutiones virtute Sanctæ  
obedientiæ, & sub pœnis in eis contentis  
servari mandamus in choro hujus nostræ  
Sanctæ Ecclesiæ, nec liceat eas  
infringer, violare in toto, vel in parte, &  
super hoc conscientiam oneramus  
Præsidentis, & Punctatoris, quibus  
earum executionem committimus,  
declarantes ipso facto pœnas incurrere  
contrafacientes, & ut ad omnium  
Capitularium perveniant notitiam,  
præcipimus hoc nostrum Decretum,  
Regulas, & Ordinationes in eo contentas  
legi, & notas fieri primo die Capituli,  
loco, & horâ consuetis, tempore, quo  
Præbendati convenient ad Capitulum  
juxta usum, & consuetudinem. Et postea  
scribe mandamus in membranis, &  
apponi eo loco, ubi commode legi, ac  
intelligi possint ab omnibus Præbendis,  
nullusque audeat eas indè amovere sub

so, he should be punished double, and  
bear this heavy burden upon his  
conscience. The afore stated Rules,  
Ordinances, & Constitutions by virtue of  
Holy obedience, & the penalties  
contained within must be observed  
within the choir of this our Holy Church,  
nor is it lawful to infringe upon them,  
violate in whole, or in part, & we place  
this responsibility over the conscience of  
the President, & Punctator, to whom we  
entrust the execution of them, we declare  
that those who do otherwise incur the  
penalties ipso facto, & notice of this our  
Decree, Rules, Ordinances & the law  
contained in it, should be made known  
on the first day of the Chapter, in the  
place, & usual hour, when the  
Prebendaries are convened in the  
Cabildo according to use and custom, &  
then a parchment shall be affixed in a  
place where that law can be read &  
understood by all Prebendaries, & no

pœnâ excommunicationis majoris latae  
sententiæ, cujus absolutionem nobis  
reservamus. Prætereà mandamus  
Secretario nostræ Curiaë  
Archiepiscopalis has Regulas, &  
Constitutiones asservari in archivio  
Curiaë, ut constet de earum publicatione.  
Mexici die decimâ sexta mensis Januarii  
anni millesimi quingentesimi  
septuagesimi.

Frater Alfonsus

Archiepiscopis Mexicanus

Mandato Illmî. Ac Reverendissimi.

Alfonsus de Ivera. Notarius.

man would dare to remove them from  
there under the pain of  
excommunication, whose absolution we  
reserve. Moreover, we order the  
Archiepiscopal Secretary to preserve  
these Rules, & Constitutions in the curial  
archive, as proof of their publication.  
México the sixteenth day of January in  
the year one thousand five hundred and  
seventy.

Fray Alfonso

Archbishop of México

By Mandate of the Illustrious and Most

Reverend. Alfonso de Ivera. Notary.

## GLOSSARY

**Acólitos:** acolytes

**Actas Capitulares:** minutes and enactments of cabildo meetings

**Alternatim:** refers to the alternation between choirs when singing the psalms

**Apuntador:** point-taker; individual who marked the faults of the members of the choir

**Benefice:** fixed amount of property or income based upon an ecclesiastical post

**Breviary:** liturgical book containing all the texts of the Divine Office

**Cabildo:** governing body of a cathedral; also known as a Cathedral Chapter

**Canónigo:** cathedral canon; one who possess a canonry and benefice

**Capitular:** of or pertaining to the cabildo (cathedral chapter) or its members

**Cassock:** black, ankle-length clerical clothing once used as daily wear for the clergy, but now reserved for specific ceremonial purposes; also referred to as sotana

**Cathedra:** seat, chair or bishop's throne within a cathedral displaying his authority

**Cédula:** a decree, usually referring to a royal mandate

**Chántre:** musical head of the cathedral; third highest capitular officer

**Compline:** night prayer; last hour in the rotation of the Divine Office before beginning again at Matins

**Conversos:** Christian converts; occasionally used as a derogatory descriptor

**Cope:** liturgical vestment; long cloak or mantle open in front and fastened with a band or clasp across the chest

**Criollo:** a person born in the New World to Spanish parents

**Dominical:** of or relating to the Propers of Sundays

**Diurnal:** a portion of the breviary containing the rubrics for the day time Hours within the Divine Office

**Divine Office:** official set of prayers marking the hours of each day and the official public prayer of the Catholic Church as well as various other Judeo-Christian denominations; consists of psalms, hymns, readings, and other prayers

**Diezmos:** tithe

**Dignidad:** title granted a beneficed member of a cabildo denoting the right of preference over the other members of the cabildo

**Encomienda:** tributary system, instituted in 1503, under which a Spanish soldier or colonist was granted a tract of land or a village together with its Indian inhabitants that allowed forced labor

**Fábrica Espiritual:** cathedral account used to purchase items necessary for the Mass such as wax, candles, altar linens, wine and unconsecrated hosts

**Fábrica Material:** cathedral account used to pay auxiliary personnel salaries, capital improvements (construction), equipment, (vestments), and ornaments (art work, chalices, etc.



**Facistol:** large four-sided music stand that held the *libros de coro*

**Faldistorium:** a folding arm chair with no back, also known as a faldstool

**Fiadores:** financial backers who provided collateral funds for those renting the tithe

**Hebdomadario:** individual assigned to officiate liturgical services on a weekly basis

**Lauds:** second prayer within the Divine Office; could have taken place at dawn, but historically also took place around 3 A.M. in some religious communities

**Libros de Coro:** large, illuminated choir books

**Limpieza de sangre:** genealogical record proving an “untainted” bloodline free of Muslim and or Jewish ancestry

**Matins:** first and longest of all the hours within the Divine Office and takes place during the night; contains one to three nocturns

**Ministriles:** instrumental players hired within Spanish cathedrals, primarily aerophone instruments, but also included chordophones that generally double the vocal lines

**Mayordomo:** treasurer’s assistant; overseer of the Fábrica Espiritual and Material

**Mozo:** colloquial term for an acolyte

**Mozo de coro:** colloquial term for a choirboy

**Mozzetta:** elbow length cape worn over the surplice or rochet with buttons in the front

**Nocturn:** divisions of Matins; consists of psalms with antiphons followed by three lessons, which are taken either from scripture or from the writings of the Church Fathers

**None:** refers to the ninth daylight Hour; the mid-afternoon prayer in the Divine Office

**Obras Pias:** pious works; charitable foundations such as an orphanage or hospital; also used to refer to the chantry as many of those chaplaincies derived their income from benefactors

**Obvenciones:** perquisites; proceeds, profit, revenue or income other than salary

**Ordinary:** the parts of the Mass that generally remain constant; i.e., Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei

**Peninsular:** a person born on the Iberian Peninsula to Spanish parents

**Perrero:** sweeper of floors and shoo-er of dogs from the cathedral during services

**Pertiguero:** ceremonial post requiring the holder to assemble clerics in hierarchal order for processions

**Prime:** refers to the first daylight hour; the early Morning Prayer in the Divine Office

**Prebend:** form of a benefice held by a prebendary; a stipend or income drawn from service in a cathedral

**Prebendary:** holder of an ecclesiastical post that has a role in the administration of a cathedral or collegiate church

**Preces:** short petitions said or sung as versicle and response by an officiant and choir or congregation respectively

**Proper:** the part of a church service that varies with the season or festival, such as introit, offertory, and communion but also extends to the canonical hours

**Provisor:** an ecclesiastical deputy acting as an assistant to or vicar for an archbishop or bishop

**Psalter:** a portion of the breviary that contains 150 psalms

**Racionero:** prebend entitled to a ration or portion of the cathedral tithe

**Real Cédula:** See *Cédula*

**Responsory:** consists of a respond (refrain) and verse sung in alternating fashion between a cantor and choir or congregation

**Sext:** refers to the sixth daylight hour; the midday prayer in the Divine Office

**Sillería:** the collective grouping of seats that form the choral stalls

**Sochantre:** cleric who is subordinate to the Chantre, but is in charge of the choir and intoning the Psalms during the Divine Office.

**Sotana:** See *Cassock*

**Suffragan:** bishop or diocese subordinate to the metropolitan archbishop or archdiocese

**Surplice:** white tunic-like liturgical vestment with wide sleeves worn over the cassock

**Terce:** refers to the third daylight hour; the mid-morning prayer in the Divine Office

**Versicle:** first half of a set of preces said or sung by an officiant and then responded to by the choir or congregation respectively

**Vespers:** evening prayer in the Divine Office

**Visíta:** institution whereby an administrative inspection and investigation would be conducted upon the various aspects of civic administration within the Spanish Colonies

**Visitador:** royally appointed official periodically sent to conduct the visíta

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Libro: 3, Ubicación: 17.3, Cabildo  
Libro 21 Asuntos Utiles

Documento: 14  
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Documento: 18  
Ordenanzas para el Coro de Montúfar (1570) s/n

Documento: 27

Untitled document relating to new breviaries (1583) s/n

Documento: 40

La Orden q se tuvo en los actos de los oposiciones de la Canongía Magistral (1599) s/n

#### Archivo Historico del Arzobispado de México (AHAM)

##### Recurso de fuerza

Caja: 1, Expediente 15

Proceso del Ilustrísimo Arzobispo de México contra el Deán y Cabildo de la Santa Iglesia Catedral, sobre el asiento del Provisor en las ceremonias, seguido en la Real Audiencia (1573-1605). s/n

##### Episcopal-Secretaría Arzobispal

Caja: 12, Expediente: 19

Certificación sobre el canto de la primera epístola del bachiller Jerónimo González Tapia, ortogada por el bachiller José de Mora, capellán mayor del hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepcion (1682).

Caja: 12, Expediente: 35

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Caja: 13, Expediente: 12

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