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TE, JOSEPH, CELEBRENT: AN EXAMINATION AND GUIDE TO MANUEL DE  
SUMAYA'S WORKS FOR THE FEAST OF ST. JOSEPH AT THE CATHEDRAL OF  
MEXICO CITY, 1714-1715

BY

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DISSERTATION

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines three Latin pieces written by Manuel de Sumaya for the celebration of the Feast of Saint Joseph (March 19<sup>th</sup>) at the Cathedral of Mexico City. It looks at his Mass, motet, and hymn through a Spanish and Novohispanic lens in order to situate Sumaya's music making in its national and viceregal music context. The music is unpublished, un-transcribed, or otherwise difficult to find in performance editions, so it has previously seen very little scholarly attention. The dissertation includes a study of celebratory prescriptions for the feast at the Cathedral of Mexico City as described in primary source documents such as the *Chapter Minutes (Actas de cabildo)* and *Diario Manual* (a Mexico City Cathedral ordinal). It describes the relationships between text, texture, and harmony in understanding Sumaya's compositional style. Finally, it offers historically informed performance practice suggestions on the topics of eighteenth century Novohispanic diction, pitch and transposition, composition of the music chapel, consequences of the dissertation's examination of local practices and analytical exploration, and uses these to make suggestions for concert programming. Appendices to this document include a modern edition of verse five of the hymn *Te, Joseph, celebrent*, "Nobis summa Trias," as well as a translation of the *Diario Manual* for the Feast of Saint Joseph and its related financial donations. I conclude that these works (most specifically the Mass) are a case study of the occupational pressures and rigor expected of the newly minted composer-priest in the first few years of adult employment at the Cathedral of Mexico City as he maneuvers for occupational advancement. More generally, this dissertation is a resource for understanding and performing music by Sumaya and his Latin American contemporaries.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

In the second decade of the eighteenth century, native-born *maestro de capilla* Manuel de Sumaya wrote three Latin works for the celebration of the Feast of Saint Joseph (March 19<sup>th</sup>) at the Cathedral of Mexico City. The works are a six-voice *Missa Te, Joseph, celebrent*, a six-voice motet “Cum esset desponsata,” and a four-voice setting of verse five of the office hymn “Nobis summa Trias.”<sup>1</sup> The Mass was published in modern notation by Latin American scholar Aurelio Tello as a part of the collection for CENIDIM’s *Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México* which is most often shelved in libraries as the pseudo collected works of Mexico and is not an individually published score.<sup>2</sup> The motet is unpublished, but has been engraved by two musicologists, Bernardo Illari and Craig H. Russell.<sup>3</sup> The office hymn exists in manuscript form in the cathedral archives,<sup>4</sup> though Illari has a projected engraving. Because these works are not widely available to modern performers and researchers, they have not had much scholarly investigation.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “Si son los elementos” is a related work (a villancico for the Patronage of Saint Joseph later in the liturgical year) not covered in this study. See Drew Edward Davies, ed., *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque*, vol. 206, *Villancicos from Mexico City* (Middleton, WI: AR Editions, 2019), 138-142.

<sup>2</sup> CENIDIM: Centro Nacional de Investigación, Documentación e Información Musical Carlos Chavez has recently transitioned into online format, and all of their resources can be accessed online at <https://cenidim.inba.gob.mx>. This work specifically is Aurelio Tello, *Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México*, vol. 8, *Archivo musical de la Catedral de Oaxaca: misas de Manuel de Sumaya. Revisión, estudio y transcripción Aurelio Tello* (Mexico: Conaculta, INBA, Cenidim, 1997), commentary 1-5 and score 29-82. <http://hdl.handle.net/11271/829>.

<sup>3</sup> Manuel de Sumaya, *Cum esset desponsata*, Bernardo Illari, ed. (Denton, TX: unpublished, 2016); Manuel de Sumaya, *Cum esset desponsata*, Craig H. Russell, ed. (San Luis Obispo, CA: unpublished, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Manuel de Sumaya, *In festo Sanctissimi Iosephi Secunda Pars*, Hymn, In the personal photograph collection of Javier Marín López, fols. 14v-15r, Jaen, Spain.

<sup>5</sup> There are two significant resources for scholarship on the Mass: Aurelio Tello, *Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México*, vol. 8, *Archivo musical de la Catedral de Oaxaca: misas de Manuel de Sumaya. Revisión, estudio y transcripción Aurelio Tello* (Mexico: Conaculta, INBA, Cenidim, 1997), 1-5; Stephen Stanziano, “Manuel

Musicologists are evaluating the extent to which they have applied an Italianate lens in their understanding of Sumaya and his music. As a pioneer of Latin American scholarship, Robert Stevenson held a lot of sway over the field in this regard. In the second half of the twentieth century, Stevenson focused musicological interest on Sumaya's connections with Italy because Sumaya (may have) composed the first Novohispanic opera. It was postulated that in order to be proficient in Italian styles, he must have travelled to Naples during the first decade of the eighteenth century when his name disappears from cathedral records.<sup>6</sup> Sumaya, therefore, is credited with bringing the Italian Baroque to Mexico City. Illari, however, has uncovered records which place Sumaya undergoing religious education in Mexico City during the time previously conjectured for his trip to Naples.<sup>7</sup> Also, documentation now reveals that Sumaya (at least early on) articulated resistance to Italian trends. Musicologist Jesus Ramos-Kittrell points out that "letters from Sumaya to the *cabildo* (cathedral chapter) show that the chapel master had reservations about adopting the growing Italian musical elements that circulated in Mexico City from secular music (e.g. opera)."<sup>8</sup> Scholars like Drew Edward Davies go even further in rejecting the story of Sumaya's development of an Italian New World Baroque aesthetic by embracing a narrative of him as someone who "navigated times of change by keeping the old and modern side by side."<sup>9</sup> These findings all lend credence to the use of a different lens for exploring Sumaya's musical style, namely a Spanish one.

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de Sumaya: A Musical Analysis of Two Masses by the Baroque Mexican Composer" (PhD diss., Kent State University, 2004), 7-43. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

<sup>6</sup> For one example, see Robert Stevenson *Music in Mexico* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1952), 149.

<sup>7</sup> Bernardo Illari, "Ideas de Sumaya," *Revista de Musicología* 43, no. 2 (2020): 603.

<sup>8</sup> Jesus Ramos-Kittrell, "Dynamics of Ritual and Ceremony at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico 1700-1750" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2006), 39n2.

<sup>9</sup> Davies, Drew Edward, "Italia: ¿viajes e invasiones?" *Cuadernos del Seminario de Música en la Nueva España y el México Independiente* 9 (2018): 34.

Davies also favors understanding Sumaya through a micro-history focusing on the locality of Mexico City because Sumaya was born there, won a spot as boy chorister at the cathedral, and would rise to the rank of *maestro de capilla*.<sup>10</sup> Sumaya would spend nearly sixty years in service to Mexico City Cathedral, the most important church in the capital of viceregal New Spain. The cathedral had a unique system of patronage which buoyed the cathedral along during financial hardship and distinguished it from its contemporaries.<sup>11</sup> Included in this distinctive policy are endowments for anniversaries and feasts which provide financial support for new music.<sup>12</sup> Using a Novohispanic lens for research into Sumaya's music takes into account this special environment.

Most importantly, in his article "Ideas de Sumaya," Illari advances a compelling argument that the Hispanic viewpoint was central to how Sumaya saw himself. By analyzing Sumaya's word choice in his application for *maestro de capilla*,<sup>13</sup> the tone and viewpoints that underlie his evaluations sent to the chapter assessing candidates for positions in his music chapel,<sup>14</sup> and the hierarchical application of Hispanic and Italianate musical characteristics in various villancicos,<sup>15</sup> Illari points to an underlying value system which privileges a Novohispanic *criollo*<sup>16</sup> worldview. Sumaya employs Italian music styles in his compositions, but they are

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ramos-Kittrell, "Dynamics of Ritual," vi.

<sup>12</sup> See Chapter Two of this document for more specific donation information regarding this feast.

<sup>13</sup> Sumaya describes himself as a "natural" of Mexico City. See Illari, "Ideas de Sumaya," 600.

<sup>14</sup> Sumaya evaluates based on 1) knowledge, 2) sufficient skill for professional sustainability, 3) dedication or advance control of one's instrument, and 4) a catch-all category which includes musicality, elegance, a particularly special timbral quality, taste, or even national allegiance. Ibid., 594-598.

<sup>15</sup> "the new forms [composed in by Sumaya] complete the old (read: Hispanic) function and do not adopt the usual Italian usages," Ibid., 605.

<sup>16</sup> Spaniards born in the New World.

always at the service of a larger Hispanic orientation.<sup>17</sup> Written discourse was Sumaya's control tool inside the chapel,<sup>18</sup> and this dissertation will look at the ways that his written abilities intersect with his musical settings of church doctrine, the text of the Catholic liturgy. In using the Novohispanic lens, we attempt to meet Sumaya on his own terms.

This dissertation adopts the Novohispanic lens of further importance for the music of the Feast of Saint Joseph in Mexico City because Saint Joseph was the Patron of New Spain, a local hero, so to speak. Saint Joseph's patron status was not equally applied to Spain's other viceroyalties, so his status points to an important local worship practice (subsidized by New Spain's prominent citizens) in Mexico City. This Novohispanic lens also recognizes Sumaya as a locally educated musician-priest.

The Saint Joseph pieces play an important role in Sumaya's career. He wrote the Mass in 1714 while he was serving as interim chapel master, and he would be promoted to head organist less than three months later. The motet was written in 1715, not long before he was promoted to chapel master. The demands and stature of the position of *maestro de capilla* are hard to overstate, particularly at the beginning of one's career. The music for this high-profile feast, therefore, rang loudly in the memories of cathedral investors and authorities who would have (formally or informally) weighed in on his worthiness for promotion. Through this music, Sumaya proved the quality of his home-grown music education, his priestly ability to express church doctrine, a civic savviness to appropriately honor state occasions (and its associated political figures), and adept leadership of the music chapel.

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<sup>17</sup> Illari, "Ideas de Sumaya," 612.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 594.

This dissertation examines the cathedral's expectations for this feast, explores the works' compositional characteristics in the light of both *stile antico* and Baroque practices, and makes suggestions to aid in historically informed performance. The study evaluates the works for Saint Joseph with the hybrid Spanish-Novohispanic lens (as an alternative to an Italianate one) to understand how they function in the context of national and local music practices. This dissertation will show that because of the high-profile nature of the feast and the musical symbolism employed by Sumaya, the compositions serve as an important marker of the Hispanic Baroque and an effective element in Sumaya's unofficial application for occupational advancement.

## **ORDER OF CHAPTERS**

Chapter Two describes the celebration of the Feast of Saint Joseph in Mexico City. Using my own translations of primary source documents from the cathedral and the city archives, I compare this feast to other first class double feasts, examining the amount of money, pageantry, and new music proscribed for this feast, and identify the status of the people who endowed its celebration.

The various compositional devices used by Sumaya are explored in Chapter Three. One section is devoted each to the hymn, Mass, and motet. Each begins with a brief description of the location and preservation of the scores. Next is a codification of the relationship between each work and the hymn tune *Te, Joseph, celebrent*. Among the findings is the use of paraphrase technique for the Mass, a rare occurrence in the New World. I will then point to significant moments of concordance between text and compositional method to show the intersection of

Sumaya's religious and musical trainings. Because "Seville, Toledo, and Valencia are the liturgical models for Mexico,"<sup>19</sup> this chapter will incorporate the work of Spanish and Novohispanic composers to situate Sumaya in his musical tradition.

In order to facilitate attractive and historically inspired performances, Chapter Four considers ways to realize the expressive nature of these works. Issues addressed are eighteenth century Novohispanic diction, pitch and transposition, personnel available to the music chapel, implications of chapter two's examination of local practices, and implications of chapter three's analytical exploration. The chapter concludes with suggestions for concert programming.

Chapter Five summarizes the work of this dissertation. By understanding Sumaya's surroundings, compositional style, and performance milieu, the motivation for (and symbolism of) his compositional choices is inferred and explored. I also discuss areas for further research which cannot be addressed in this document.

Appendix A is a modern edition of verse five of the hymn based on a color scan of the manuscript which was provided by Javier Marín López who catalogued the Mexico City Cathedral music library. The manuscript is in extremely good condition, so there are no places where notes and rhythms are questionable. Decisions had to be made with regard to the placement of some of the text. Those decisions, evaluated in relationship to imitation in other voice parts and syllabic length, are included in a short critical report. Two versions of the hymn are included: untransposed and transposed down a fourth. This allows performers to decide if they wish to apply Chapter Four's findings regarding the practice of high clefs at Mexico City

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<sup>19</sup> Javier Marín López, "Música y Músicos entre dos mundos: La catedral de México y sus libros de polifonía, Siglos XVI-XVIII," (PhD diss., Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007), 12.

Cathedral while leaving open the possibility that performers may disagree about the amount of transposition. The scores use modern clefs, so they can be used by modern SATB choirs.

Appendix B is a translation of folios 68r-69v of the *Diario Manual* (a 1751 ordinal from Mexico City Cathedral) which detail celebratory regulations for the Feast of Saint Joseph and the days after leading to its octave.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### Saint Joseph's Feast in Mexico City

This chapter describes the celebration and significance of the Feast of Saint Joseph (March 19<sup>th</sup>) in Mexico City. It begins by inspecting the religious figure of Joseph as understood by the European Catholic Church. Features of his feast's celebration at Mexico City Cathedral as prescribed by the 1751 ordinal *Diario Manual* and the *Chapter Minutes (Actas de cabildo)* follow. The ordinal delineates musical, ceremonial, financial, and personnel complexities for the feast, and records in the *Chapter Minutes* show how chapter members viewed the importance of the feast in the context of other liturgical events. This information reveals the extent of the splendor involved in the worship of Saint Joseph at the Cathedral of Mexico City in the first part of the eighteenth century and illuminates potential motivations for Sumaya to compose his Mass in 1714.

### **THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SAINT JOSEPH**

Throughout history, the importance of the worship of Saint Joseph has taken on different types and levels of meaning. To celebrate Joseph's betrothal to the Virgin Mary, Pope Sixtus IV designated March 19<sup>th</sup> the Feast of the Espousals of Joseph and designated it a simple, non-obligatory feast in the Roman Breviary of 1481.<sup>1</sup> Gradually, adoration of Joseph grew, especially in the seventeenth century when many countries (and viceregal New Spain) took him as their patron. In 1642 Pope Urban VIII made March 19<sup>th</sup> a holy day of obligation for all Catholics.<sup>2</sup> Pope Clement X would increase the feast's importance further "on December 6, 1670... to the

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<sup>1</sup> "Part A: Liturgical Feasts and Texts," Oblates of St. Joseph, accessed January 20, 2021, <https://osjusa.org/st-joseph/liturgy/part-a/>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

rank of double of the second class.”<sup>3</sup> He also introduced three hymns (*Te, Ioseph celebrent; Caelitum, Ioseph, decus; and Iste, quem laeti*) into the breviary of 1671.<sup>4</sup> By 1870, Saint Joseph became Patron of the Universal Church.<sup>5</sup> The *Liber Usualis* also includes further festal celebration of Saint Joseph on May 1<sup>st</sup> (Saint Joseph, the Workman).<sup>6</sup> By the twentieth century, Catholics have come to worship him as the patron of “unborn children, fathers, workers, travelers, immigrants, and a happy death.”<sup>7</sup>

### PRACTICES AT MEXICO CITY CATHEDRAL

By consulting primary source documents, we can better understand the measure of Saint Joseph’s importance to Mexico City Cathedral. One of the best sources of information regarding eighteenth-century religious practice at the cathedral is an ordinal written in 1751. Sumaya departed the cathedral in 1739, so this contemporary resource gives us a close look at how feasts were celebrated during his tenure. The *Diario Manual de lo que en esta Santa Iglesia Catedral Metropolitana de México se practica y observa en su altar, coro y demás que le es debido hacer en todos y cada uno de los días de el año*, whose title translates to *Manual diary of that which in this Holy Metropolitan Cathedral Church of Mexico is practiced and observed in its altar, choir, and other locations that must be done on each and every day of the year*, was written by Juan de

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> The term Universal Church is an “in-house” Catholic term referring to the extent of their religious influence across the world. This term denotes governance above the authority allowed to local and nation-led realms.

<sup>6</sup> Catholic Church, *The Liber Usualis: with Introduction and Rubrics in English* (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée, 1961), 1437.

<sup>7</sup> “St. Joseph,” Catholic Online, accessed January 20, 2021, [https://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint\\_id=4](https://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=4).

Pañaranda to systematize the Mexican liturgical calendar.<sup>8</sup> The first part of the *Diario Manual* details musical and ceremonial practices to be observed for each feast. The second part is a ledger of financial donations from pious donors who were specific about how and when they wished for their money to be used. My translation of the entries for March 19<sup>th</sup> and the following eight days are Appendix B.

Catholic practice is to rank feasts by importance in the liturgical cycle. From highest to lowest, the rankings are double major (also called “first class”), double minor (also called “second class”), semi-double, and simple. Pope Clement X made the feast of Saint Joseph (Patriarch) a holy day of obligation and a double minor in 1670.<sup>9</sup> The Parisian *Brevarium Romanum* of 1697 confirms this same designation of double second class.<sup>10</sup> Mexico City did not rank the feast in the same way. The *Diario Manual*’s entry for the Feast of St. Joseph reads, “Day 19 [of March] – Patriarch St. Joseph, Principal Patron of New Spain – Double First Class.”<sup>11</sup> By virtue of Joseph’s designation as Patron of New Spain, the local celebration of this feast was higher than other Catholic celebrations.

Another important primary source document in determining cathedral practices is the *Chapter Minutes (Actas de cabildo)*. The *Chapter Minutes* are meeting records of the

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<sup>8</sup> Javier Marín López, *Los libros de polifonía de la catedral de México: estudio y catálogo crítico*, (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2013), 12, ProQuest Ebook Central.

<sup>9</sup> “Part A: Liturgical Feasts and Texts,” Oblates of St. Joseph, accessed January 20, 2021, <https://osjusa.org/st-joseph/liturgy/part-a/>.

<sup>10</sup> Catholic Church, *Brevarium Romanum: Pars Verna*, (Parisiis, 1697), 778 of PDF or “v” of book which unfortunately appears several times in the online version, Google Books, accessed online <https://books.google.com/books?id=-EhmAAAacAAJ&hl=de&pg=PA239#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

<sup>11</sup> Catedral de México – Cabildo, 1751, fol. 68r, *Diario Manual de lo que en la catedral de México se practica y observa en su altar, coro y demás que le es debido hacer en todos los días del año* [manuscrito] / hecho por el M. I. y Bene. Sr. Deán y Cabildo, E-Mn Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000111740> (hereafter cited as *Diario Manual*).

ecclesiastical council detailing administrative and worship decisions.<sup>12</sup> They corroborate the *Diario Manual* instructions on the importance of worship practices for Saint Joseph. For example, in 1600, the chapter was concerned with whether or not the standard of the sign<sup>13</sup> (*estandarte de la seña*) should be raised for Saint Joseph if his feast fell during Passion Week.<sup>14</sup> They conclude that this holy banner should be allowed to take part in the celebration because, not only does it not take away from Lent, but in a certain way, it adds devotion by being done in the memory of Jesus' Passion.<sup>15</sup> The underlying understanding of Joseph's feast is that it carries enough gravitas to be associated with the Passion (the week of most importance in Catholic worship practice). Instead of separating his "lower-class" festivity for stand-alone worship without a significant symbol (the flag being flown), March 19<sup>th</sup> is seen as worthy to be included alongside more solemn acts of veneration.

In 1737, the *Chapter Minutes* detail (in three separate entries sprawling over two pages) a conflict over whether or not the feast should be celebrated with its octave.<sup>16</sup> An octave is a span of eight days including the appointed day of the feast which are part of its religious celebration.<sup>17</sup> Essentially, a repeated celebration occurs eight days from the appointed feast day as a means of increasing the importance of the event. Because Joseph was declared Universal Patron, the

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<sup>12</sup> "Glosario – C," Red Digital MUSICAT, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, accessed online January 20, 2021, <http://musicat.unam.mx/red-ontologica/Glosario.php?search=c>.

<sup>13</sup> The standard of the sign is a banner/flag with a cross on it used in processions and worship ceremonies, particularly during Lent. See "Tres fragmentos sobre la Seña," *Apuntes de Historia del Catolicismo*, accessed online January 20, 2021, <https://historiadelcatolicismo.info/tres-fragmentos-sobre-la-sena/>.

<sup>14</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 4, fols. 235v-236r. Accessed through the personal annotated database of the archive by Jesus Ramos-Kittrell, Storrs, CT.

<sup>15</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 4, fols. 235v-236r. Accessed through the personal annotated database of the archive by Jesus Ramos-Kittrell, Storrs, CT.

<sup>16</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 4, fols. 48v, 49r, and 53r. Accessed through the personal annotated database of the archive by Jesus Ramos-Kittrell, Storrs, CT.

<sup>17</sup> "Glosario – O," Red Digital MUSICAT, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, accessed online March 15, 2021, <http://musicat.unam.mx/red-ontologica/Glosario.php?search=o>.

chapter wanted to make sure adoration was performed at a level befitting of his importance. They referenced the First Mexican Council's (1555) writings, as well as a Papal Bull (1585), as the source of the discrepancy. The chapter consulted the archbishop and eventually came to an agreement that the feast should be celebrated with its octave. The chapter sent their decision off on a fleet of ships bound to Europe for Vatican approval. What is interesting here is the tension between local customs and the Roman ordinances which suppresses worship of Joseph during Lent. Ultimately the chapter's justification, through a proto-nationalistic lens, points to the strong identification of Saint Joseph as the Patron of New Spain. He is a symbol of the chapter members' unique Catholic experience that they are reluctant to demote. Adoration continues to increase, and by 1743 the chapter sanctioned once-a-month (excepting Lent and Advent) prayers for Saint Joseph throughout New Spain.<sup>18</sup> Both the *Diario Manual* and the *Chapter Minutes* point to the feast's importance.

#### *Musical and Ceremonial Directions of the Diario Manual*

“Note One” of the *Diario Manual* prescribes the musical and ceremonial aspects of first-class worship at Mexico City Cathedral.<sup>19</sup> There are relatively few musical instructions for the Mass.<sup>20</sup> First Vespers, on the other hand, receives much more attention. It follows, therefore, that the surviving music for this feast (hymn and motet) are for First Vespers because of how intricately they are discussed in this primary source document. “Note One” repeatedly places

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<sup>18</sup> Archivo del Cabildo, Actas, book 36, fol. 173v. Accessed through the personal annotated database of the archive by Jesus Ramos-Kittrell, Storrs, CT.

<sup>19</sup> The following paragraph summarizes information found under the heading “*Nota primera*” in *Diario Manual*, fols. 2r-3r.

<sup>20</sup> The only instruction for Anniversary Masses is that it may be a prayed or a sung Mass. *Diario Manual*, fol. 10r.

emphasis on the use of *canto llano* (plain chant) as the main celebratory medium for the Divine Office.<sup>21</sup> Other Office celebrations not of the first-class designation were performed with “not as much solemnity and not as much music.”<sup>22</sup> The words “espacio y solemne” also recur repeatedly, focusing attention on the need for achieving solemnity through “space.” The author is pointing toward the importance of a slow tempo and taking time between different chant elements in fostering a worship environment that matches the seriousness of the day.

The ordinal calls for polyphony in alternation by divided choirs. For example, polyphony is prescribed for the first, third, and fifth Psalms, and the Magnificat canticle *con papeles* and instruments with chorus in the tribunes and on the floor of the choir.<sup>23</sup> The tribunes are the organ gallery balconies. So, spatial separation of the performing forces is an essential feature of the sound world of First Vespers. Similarly, the First Vespers hymn is designated *con papeles o en el libro de facistol* (with sheet music or from a *facistol* book).<sup>24</sup> The *facistol* is a large wooden music stand in the middle of the choir which holds the music books for performance. Designation that the hymn should be from one of those books indicates polyphony from one of the choirbooks. *Papeles* (sheet music) would also indicate that the music could be concerted because both singers and instrumentalists would play from sheet music with independent parts. Marín also denotes that *libro de facistol* implied four-part compositions with cornett, *bajón*, and organ instruments<sup>25</sup> in *stile antico* style.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 2r.

<sup>22</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 3r, “Nota segunda.”

<sup>23</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 2r; Marín, *Los libros*, 79.

<sup>24</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 2r.

<sup>25</sup> See Chapter Four of this document for further exploration of these instruments and their uses.

<sup>26</sup> Marín, *Los libros*, 79.

The March 19<sup>th</sup> entry in the *Diario Manual* expands on the first-class feast requirements from “Note One” for this specific feast. They designate a sung Mass before Prime on March 19<sup>th</sup>.<sup>27</sup> The presentation of Second Vespers has an increased musical solemnity through counterpoint sung from the *facistol* by the chapel.<sup>28</sup> Both Saint Joaquin and Saint Benedict’s feasts (March 20 and 21, internal to the Joseph octave) require the fifth Psalm at Second Vespers to be performed alternating with the organ by verse.<sup>29</sup> Although practices of pageantry are nearly consistent with “Note One,”<sup>30</sup> these musical instructions show the requirement for more polyphony than a typical first-class feast.

#### *Financial Records of the Diario Manual*

The second half of the *Diario Manual* is a ledger of financial donations made to the cathedral, often tied to particular feasts. It is divided into three parts: Anniversaries, Masses/Pious Works, and a Receipt Log. Each entry records the amount donated, both the principal (a one-time donation) and *reditos* (the recurring earnings garnered annually as dividends on a donor’s property).<sup>31</sup> The entries also contain specifics about the way in which the money should be distributed (e.g., amount pesos to the singer of the Gospel) and votive

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<sup>27</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 68r.

<sup>28</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 68v.

<sup>29</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 69r.

<sup>30</sup> One provision exists for the procession to stop in front of the Chapel of St. Joseph. It is one of the side chapels inside the cathedral which encircle the nave. See *Diario Manual*, fol. 68r.

<sup>31</sup> For information on the method of acquisition of money at the cathedral (tithes and rent) see particularly Jesus Ramos-Kittrell, “Dynamics of Ritual and Ceremony at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico: 1700-1750” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2006), 119-126.

celebration instructions (e.g., “the Mass should be sung with a small casket, responses, and chimes”<sup>32</sup>).

The Anniversaries section of the ledger lists donations for a specific feast or ceremonial event which generally remember an individual. There are three entries for the Feast of Saint Joseph. The first is 2000 pesos principal and 100 pesos *reditos* given by Schoolmaster Alzate. It specifies a sung Mass as part of the feast.<sup>33</sup> There are no dates in this entry, but it can be placed in the mid-seventeenth century based on when Alzate lived. Secondly, *Racionero*<sup>34</sup> Cristóbal Milan de Poblete endowed a Mass in the name of his relative Miguel Poblete, Archbishop of Manilla (800p/40p).<sup>35</sup> This donation is also without a date but can similarly be placed in the mid-seventeenth century. The third and largest donation for this feast was by the Viceroy of New Spain and Archbishop of Mexico, Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta. The massive 10,000p/500p donation asked for sung Vespers music and a sung Mass.<sup>36</sup> This donation most likely came later than the 1714 Mass of this study because Vizarrón was in power in the 1730s and 1740s.

A feature to notice here is the large sums of money donated by high-level men connected with local governance. As Saint Joseph was the Patron of New Spain, it follows that the viceroy would have a personal interest in subsidizing a feast celebrating the saint invested in his own success. The viceroy further asserts his own status by requiring that the Office celebrations on

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<sup>32</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 119v.

<sup>33</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 118v.

<sup>34</sup> A *Racionero* was a liturgical and administrative member of the cathedral chapter. See “Glossario – R,” Red Digital MUSICAT, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, accessed online January 20, 2021, <http://musicat.unam.mx/red-ontologica/Glosario.php?search=r>.

<sup>35</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 119v.

<sup>36</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 119r.

the evening of the 18<sup>th</sup> (such as First Vespers) stop being sung once the sun goes down. At that point the celebration would switch to spoken prayers.<sup>37</sup> Apparently, the viceroy tolerated the celebrations as long as they would not affect his bedtime. The other donors, like the viceroy, come from the upper echelons of the ruling class. The archbishop was a secondary ruler in this society where church and state are highly intertwined. A *raconero* was a liturgical and administrative member of the cathedral chapter.<sup>38</sup> This feast, therefore, honors Saint Joseph with a (self-serving?) subtext of honoring the powers in the government.

The Masses/Pious Works section of the *Diario Manual* has four entries for St. Joseph. One is for lamp oil to light the cathedral for the feast.<sup>39</sup> Another is a second donation by Schoolmaster Alzate who endows sixty-six prayed (not sung) Masses (the numerological symbolism of two times the thirty-three years of Jesus' life perhaps as a practice of increasing religious potency).<sup>40</sup> Two more donations are for sung Masses. One of those, for the soul of Lic. Dr. Juan Cavalleros,<sup>41</sup> was given by his legal executor Archdean Dr. Don José de Torres y Bergara.<sup>42</sup> This donation requires a sung Mass on the nineteenth of every month, not just March. The other donation was made by Luisa Urritia de Bergara.<sup>43</sup> Was she perhaps a family member of José? In 1715, José de Torres again donated money for Saint Joseph that was used to write

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> "Glossario – R," Red Digital MUSICAT, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, accessed online January 20, 2021, <http://musicat.unam.mx/red-ontologica/Glosario.php?search=r>.

<sup>39</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 194r.

<sup>40</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 196r.

<sup>41</sup> *Licenciatura* (Lic.) and *Doctor* (Dr.) indicate degrees obtained through significant amounts of collegiate education. "Many Spanish *licenciados*, when translating their CVs into English, use the formula BA+MA (or BSc+MSc) to indicate that a *Licenciatura* is equivalent to a master's degree." See "Licentiate (degree)," *Wikipedia*, accessed online March 15, 2021, [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Licentiate\\_\(degree\)&oldid=1006270698](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Licentiate_(degree)&oldid=1006270698).

<sup>42</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 195v.

<sup>43</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 194v. In other places his last name is spelled Vergara, perhaps due to similarity in the pronunciation of these two letters.

hymns for the newly established Matins of the Patronage of St. Joseph.<sup>44</sup> In 1716, Sumaya certified a new thirty-two-page choirbook for the Office of Saint Joseph and Matins for the feast of Patronage in the *Chapter Minutes (Actas de Cabildo)*.<sup>45</sup> Torres' methods of social climbing through financial support of public activities links the donations for Saint Joseph with a strategy for accessing the ruling class.<sup>46</sup> Torres was a close personal friend of Sumaya.<sup>47</sup> Sumaya's *Misa Te, Joseph, celebrant* of 1714 was performed less than three months before his ascent to head organist. Sumaya became chapel master in 1715 as Torres was establishing the Patronage fund. Therefore, Sumaya's compositions for Saint Joseph can be seen as musical cognates of this same social climbing.

The Receipt Log contains only one entry for Saint Joseph. In 1618, Da. Elvira de Mayonga<sup>48</sup> gave a staggering 24,000p/1200p with the instructions that four girls (300p each) could assist with the Mass, procession, and sermon.<sup>49</sup> They were to sing afterwards in Saint Joseph's chapel. Although there is no relationship between this donation and the musical works of this document, further research into this sum is warranted, especially with regard to female participation in cathedral liturgy of the period which otherwise was entirely celebrated by men and boys.

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<sup>44</sup> Dawn De Rycke, "Mending the Choir: Newly-written Chant for St. Peter in Eighteen Century Mexico City Cathedral," in *Músicas coloniales a debate: procesos de intercambio euroamericanos*, ed. Javier Marín López (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2018), 63n28.

<sup>45</sup> Patronage of St. Joseph comes later in the church year. See Archivo Historico del Arzobispado, Fondo Cabildo, box 185, exp. 66, May 11, 1716, 1 folio.

<sup>46</sup> For more on his social climbing see Rodolfo Aguirre, "El acceso al alto clero en el arzobispado de México 1680-1757," *Fronteras de la Historia* no. 9 (2004): 179, Redalyc, <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=83300905>.

<sup>47</sup> Anastasia Krutitskaya, "Los Villancicos Cantados en la Catedral de México (1690-1730): Edición y Estudio" (Tesis para doctor en letras: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2011), 145, TESIUNAM.

<sup>48</sup> Don and Dona (D. and Da.) are Spanish words of nobility equivalent to Sir/Lord and Lady.

<sup>49</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 199r.

Overall, it can be helpful to compare the amount of money spent on the Feast of Saint Joseph with other donations at Mexico City Cathedral listed in the *Diario Manual*. This feast accounts for nearly 9% of the total income in the *Diario Manual* even though it represents only 5% (1 of 19) of first-class doubles, and less than 1% (1 of 176) of the total number of feasts. The ledger confirms that Saint Joseph’s feast contributed well above its proportional significance. “There was an increase in the number [of endowed feasts] throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, contributing decisively to the continuation of the interpreting of polyphony.”<sup>50</sup> Table 2.1 categorizes all of the donations for the Feast of Saint Joseph (March 19<sup>th</sup>). Thanks to these pious donations, the self-serving interest of the Viceroy, and social climbing, the beautiful music for the Feast of Saint Joseph was composed, and it is likely the reason it has survived to the present day.

**Table 2.1. Donations for the Feast of Saint Joseph (Patriarch, March 19<sup>th</sup>)**

Anniversaries	Donor	Diario Pg.	Principal	Yearly Return	Musical Requirements
Feast of St. Joseph	Sr. Dr. Schoolmaster Alzate	118v	2000	100	Sung Mass
Feast of St. Joseph	Archbishop & Viceroy Vizarron	119r	10000	500	Sung Vespers and Mass
Feast of St. Joseph in the name of Archbishop Miguel Poblete	Sr. Racionero Dr. Don Cristobal Milan de Poblete	119v	800	40	None
Masses and Pious Works	Donor	Diario Pg.	Principal	Yearly Return	Musical Requirements
Lamp Oil	Garcia, Vega frente de Balbanera	194r	1000	50	None
Mass in Chapel	Oa. Luisa Urrutia de Bergara	194v	1100	55	Sung Mass in the chapel
For Lic. Dr. Juan Cavalleros	For Lic. Dr. Juan Cavalleros by Archdean Dr. Don José de Torres y Bergara (as executor)	195v	1200	60	Sung Mass each month on the 19th in any convenient chapel
Mass	Sr. Dr. Schoolmaster Alzate	196r	2000	100	None
Receipt Papers	Donor	Diario Pg.	Principal	Yearly Return	Musical Requirements
4 Donations for 4 Orphans	Da. Evira de Mayonga	199r	24000	1200	4 girls assist with Mass, procession, sermon, and then afterwords sing in St. Joseph's chapel
Totals			Principal	Yearly Return	
Saint Joseph			42100	2105	
Diario Manual			475020	25906	
Percentage Joe/Diario			8.86%	8.13%	
Percentage of 1st Class Dbles		1 of 19	5.26%		
Percentage of All Feasts		1 of 176	0.57%		

Source: Data adapted from Catedral de México – Cabildo, 1751, fols. 110r-204v, *Diario Manual de lo que en la catedral de México se practica y observa en su altar, coro y demás que le es debido hacer en todos los días del año* [manuscrito] / hecho por el M. I. y Bene. Sr. Deán y Cabildo, E-Mn Biblioteca Nacional España, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000111740>.

<sup>50</sup> Marín, *Los libros*, 13.

### *Further Donations for Saint Joseph*

The previous sections focused on the Feast of Saint Joseph Patriarch and Spouse of the Virgin Mary (March 19) because the title page of the Mass dedicates it to the “Holiest Patriarch, Spouse of the Mother of God,” the hymn uses the same *cantus firmus*, and the motet is dedicated to “the Holiest Patriarch Joseph.” Tello and Russell point readers to that feast in their comments on the works. There were, however, other feasts for Saint Joseph celebrated at Mexico City Cathedral, and Saint Joseph would have been identified as the Patriarch even on days when he was celebrated for other reasons, muddying the waters as to whether the works are indeed intended only for March 19<sup>th</sup>. These feasts, primarily endowed by the Canon Diego de Malpartida Zenteno in 1679-1680, include the Pains and Joys of the Most Glorious Patriarch Saint Joseph/ *Los dolores y gozos del gloriosísimo Patriarca San José* (October 8-14), the Patronage/*Patroncinio de San José* (3<sup>rd</sup> Sunday after Easter), and the Engagement of the Virgin Mary to Saint Joseph/ *Desposorios de la Virgen María con el Patriarca señor San José* (January 23<sup>rd</sup>).<sup>51</sup> Musicologist Gabriela Sanchez Reyes describes the importance of Malpartida as an agent of change in expanding the worship practice of Saint Joseph at Mexico City Cathedral (and other parishes) and inspiring others (e.g. Torres and the City Council) to endow the feasts with more music.<sup>52</sup> Further, the endowment by Torres in 1715 left funds for use at either the Patriarch or the Patronage at the discretion of the chapter saying, “one or the other anniversary should be celebrated with all solemnity with music, instruments, organ, Psalms with the organ, villancicos,

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<sup>51</sup> Gabriela Sanchez Reyes, “La dotación de misas en honor a San José del canónigo Diego de Malpartida Zenteno en la Catedral de México, 1679-1680,” *Cuadernos del Seminario de Música en la Nueva España y el México Independiente* 6, no. 5 (May 2014): 51-55, in MUSICAT, accessed online April 11, 2021, <http://musicat.unam.mx/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Cuadernos6-5.pdf>.

<sup>52</sup> Sanchez, 55.

and chimes.”<sup>53</sup> Table 2.2 categorizes these donations and supports the evidence of Table 2.1 about the March 19<sup>th</sup> feast. This evidence shows that investments in the worship of Saint Joseph well exceeded his proportional significance and points to his importance to Novohispanic Catholics at Mexico City Cathedral. This unique endowment environment at Mexico City Cathedral leaves us with a beautiful repertory of polyphonic composition. Perhaps the interchangeability of Torres’ funds for Saint Joseph afforded Sumaya the same freedom to use music he wrote for Saint Joseph at any or all of the celebrations.

**Table 2.2. Further donations endowing the worship of Saint Joseph**

Celebration	Date	Donor	Diario fol.	Principal	Yearly Return	Musical Requirements
Pains and Joys of Saint Joseph	Oct 8 - 14	Diego de Malpartida	92r; 167v	2000	100	7 sung Masses on 7 days; required attendance for music chapel
(During the novena of Pains and Joys)	Oct 12-13	Sr. Canonigo Magistral Dr. Don Pedro Dabalos	93r; 167r	1000	50	None
(During the novena of Pains and Joys)	Oct 16	City Council asks Patriarch Joseph for deliverance from earthquakes	169r	2000	100	Sung Mass
Patronage of Saint Joseph	3rd Sunday after Easter	Diego de Malpartida	45r-46r; 167v	Not mentioned	100	Sung Vespers and Mass
Patriarch or Patronage	Mar 19 or 3rd Sunday after Easter	For Lic. Dr. Juan Cavalleros by Archdean Dr. Don José de Torres y Bergara (as executor)	45r-46r	4000* Not in <i>Diario</i> Ledgers	200* Not in <i>Diario</i> Ledgers	Sung Matins
Betrothal of Mary to Joseph	Jan 23	Diego de Malpartida	X	2000	100	Required attendance for music chapel
<b>Totals</b>				<b>Principal</b>	<b>Yearly Return</b>	
Further Joseph Donations (Table 2.2)				7000	450	
March 19th Total (From Table 2.1)				42100	2105	
Combined Saint Joseph Funds				49100	2555	
Funds in <i>Diario Manual</i>				475020	25906	
Percentage of Joseph Funds in <i>Diario</i>				9.49%	9.09%	

*Source:* Data adapted from *Diario Manual* (folios indicated in table) and Gabriela Sanchez Reyes, “La dotación de misas en honor a San José del canónigo Diego de Malpartida Zenteno en la Catedral de México, 1679-1680,” *Cuadernos del Seminario de Música en la Nueva España y el México Independiente* 6, no. 5 (May 2014): 51-55, in MUSICAT, accessed online April 11, 2021, <http://musicat.unam.mx/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Cuadernos6-5.pdf>. Note: The final percentages did not take into account 4000/200p fund from Torres/Cavalleros in the calculation because the funds are not a part of the *Diario* ledger totals.

<sup>53</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 46r.

## MOTIVATIONAL INFERENCES

Although Salazar references Sumaya's composition of a fourth Mass to the Virgin Mary in his output, today only three Masses by Sumaya survive.<sup>54</sup> The paucity of Masses in Sumaya's output suggests that compositions in this genre do not lie at the heart of his work as *maestro de capilla*, but their intentional crafting point to significant labor and intentionality on his part. In examining the civic, personal, and professional pressures he might have felt in 1714, we may be able to infer some of the motives behind the composition of the Mass.

Civic control of New Spain was within the purview of the viceroy. Sumaya's proximity to viceregal power had already been established in 1711 when he translated Italian librettos and was involved in the opera *Partenope*.<sup>55</sup> Fernando de Alencastre Noroña y Silva, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Linares and Marquess of Valdefuentes, became Viceroy of New Spain in 1711 and served until 1716. 1713 had been a difficult year for New Spain's viceregal capitol, Mexico City, due to famine and plague.<sup>56</sup> On March 7, 1714, less than two weeks before Sumaya's Mass was sung for the first time, the viceroy suffered the loss of his Italian territories through the Treaty of Rastatt. While the peace treaty put an end to part of the European War of Spanish Succession (raging since 1701), as knight commander of the royal arms in Naples, Viceroy Alencastre Noroña lost control and power. The viceroy's damages would have been well known to Sumaya and his circle. There is a link between the subsequent viceroy and this feast through the 10,000p

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<sup>54</sup> Drew Edward Davies, ed., *Manuel de Sumaya: Villancicos from Mexico City*, vol. 206 of *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque* (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2019), xii.

<sup>55</sup> Craig H. Russell, "Zumaya [Sumaya], Manuel de," *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed February 1, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.31064>.

<sup>56</sup> "Fernando de Alencastre, 1st Duke of Linares," *Wikipedia* last modified November 5, 2020, accessed on February 7, 2021, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fernando\\_de\\_Alencastre,\\_1st\\_Duke\\_of\\_Linares](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fernando_de_Alencastre,_1st_Duke_of_Linares).

donation discussed in Chapter Two, so there may have been a more general association between the celebration of Saint Joseph as viceregal patron and honoring of the viceroy. In such a case, obsequious homage to the current viceroy through the opulent Mass was timely. There is no way to know when Sumaya began writing the Mass, so the music as an intentional flattery is hard to prove, but the display of new and lavish music was certainly opportune in the public promotion of Sumaya's skill in the interim *maestro de capilla* position.

There were significant personal pressures on Sumaya at the same time. Sumaya began serving as assistant to Salazar in 1710 and became the interim *maestro de capilla* in 1711.<sup>57</sup> Four years of his teacher's poor health, blindness, and imminent death must have weighed heavily on Sumaya who may have seen the older composer as a father figure.<sup>58</sup> His biological father had passed away in the 1690s, when Sumaya was a boy chorister. At that time, Salazar sought provision for the boy through the chapter: "The cabildo not only granted him the help requested, but also urged him to remain in the choir, giving him all the support for the development of his musical qualities and sufficient compensation for the support of his family."<sup>59</sup> Sumaya's Mass features the rigorous counterpoint which he had learned under the tutelage of Salazar for a feast that celebrates a father-son relationship. Salazar would pass away just six days after the March 19<sup>th</sup> celebration of this feast. The Mass music could easily have been understood to be a tribute to the dying man who served as a symbolic father to Sumaya.

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<sup>57</sup> Aurelio Tello, "Sumaya, Manuel de," *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio et al, vol 10, 1999, accessed November 25, 2020, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015056498606?urlappend=%3Bseq=136>.

<sup>58</sup> John Koegel, "Salazar, Antonio de," *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed February 1, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.24361>.

<sup>59</sup> Tello, "Sumaya."

Salazar's sickness and death also created professional pressures on Sumaya. His effectiveness as interim *maestro de capilla* would have been under scrutiny from members of the choir.<sup>60</sup> The Mass' rigorous treatment of the hymn tune displayed Sumaya's impressive educational pedigree. The score's historic features, including mensural notation, the lack of barlines, and appearance of modality, were evidence of his sound training, while the more modern harmonies and creative textures may have surprised the chapel.<sup>61</sup> Sumaya's use of bass singers was also a departure from common practice. The range and tessitura of the bass part<sup>62</sup> are incongruous to beautiful singing. So, the use of bass voices on the bass line could have been more symbolic than practical. On the one hand, they point again to Sumaya's theoretical counterpoint skill (*música especulativa*) in the manipulation of six voices. On the other hand, it creates a striking visual effect for onlookers who would have observed an irregularly large number of musicians. This adds to the opulence of the feast while also creating a scene in which onlookers<sup>63</sup> can observe Sumaya's adept management of the music chapel. The large numbers performing under his directorship are a corporate symbol of the unity of the musicians.<sup>64</sup> In effect, they were singing praises of God and the praises of Sumaya. The Mass music exhibits

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<sup>60</sup> In this case I refer to the choir to mean the chapter members, priests, vocalists, and instrumentalists all forming one ecclesiastical party, not just the singers.

<sup>61</sup> Aurelio Tello, *Archivo musical de la Catedral de Oaxaca: misas de Manuel de Sumaya*, in *Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México*, vol. 8. *Revisión, estudio y transcripción Aurelio Tello* (Mexico: Conaculta, INBA, Cenedim, 1997), 1, <http://hdl.handle.net/11271/829>.

<sup>62</sup> See Chapter Four of this document.

<sup>63</sup> Here meaning the members of choir: the cathedral governance and priests who were the collected body in the physical choir at the time of celebrations.

<sup>64</sup> For further examples of singing as an example of collective unity and corporate symbolism, see Dawn De Rycke, "Mending the Choir: Newly-written Chant for St. Peter in Eighteenth Century Mexico City Cathedral," in *Músicas coloniales a debate: procesos de intercambio euroamericanos*, ed. Javier Marín López (Madrid : Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2018): 57-73. This term is specifically used on page 58.

both his compositional and managerial skill which were essential components of the *maestro de capilla* position.

An air of uncertainty permeated cathedral governance at the time; the chapter was under financial distress, and they would be for the entire decade.<sup>65</sup> The seat of the archbishop was vacant. Fortunately, José Pérez de Lanciego Eguilaz y Mirafuentes was appointed to the position just three days later on March 21, 1714.<sup>66</sup> Impressive reverence for Saint Joseph would also inspire Treasurer José de Torres y Vergara to donate further to its celebration, thus ameliorating some of the cathedral's financial anxiety. Through the Cavalleros sung Masses<sup>67</sup> and the 1715 *Patroncino* funds (which would create new choirbooks and hymnody), Torres would become an important financial contributor and ameliorating force (in the tradition of Malpartida) in the governance of the cathedral, and it benefitted himself, too.<sup>68</sup> Torres' methods of social climbing through financial support of public activities links the donations for Saint Joseph with a strategy for accessing the ruling class.<sup>69</sup> Torres was a close personal friend of Sumaya,<sup>70</sup> and, if we are to make any assumptions about the double-decade age gap, a mentor, too. Sumaya's *Missa Te, Joseph, celebrant* of 1714 was performed less than three months before his ascent to head organist. Therefore, Sumaya's Mass for Saint Joseph can be seen as a musical cognate of this

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<sup>65</sup> Jesus Ramos-Kittrell, "Music, Liturgy, and Devotional Piety in New Spain: Baroque Religious Culture and the Re-evaluation of Religious Reform during the 18th Century," *Latin American Music Review* 31, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2010): 86.

<sup>66</sup> "Archbishop José Pérez de Lanciego Eguiluz y Mirafuentes, O.S.B. †," Catholic Hierarchy, accessed on February 7, 2021, <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/blem.html>.

<sup>67</sup> See Chapter Two of this document.

<sup>68</sup> "José de Torres y Vergara," Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, accessed on February 7, 2021, <http://mediateca.inah.gob.mx/repositorio/islandora/object/pintura:2208>.

<sup>69</sup> For more on his social climbing see Rodolfo Aguirre, "El acceso al alto clero en el arzobispado de México 1680-1757," *Fronteras de la Historia* no. 9 (2004): 179, Redalyc, <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=83300905>.

<sup>70</sup> Anastasia Krutitskaya, "Los Villancicos Cantados en la Catedral de México (1690-1730): Edición y Estudio" (Tesis para doctor en letras: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2011), 145, TESIUNAM.

same social climbing. The choice of a feast for Saint Joseph hints at burgeoning understandings of nationalism because heretofore “Sumaya’s *criollismo* had barely been showing.”<sup>71</sup> As far back as the Mexican Council in the sixteenth century, Saint Joseph was an important symbol of New Spain, and what better way to align oneself with the chapter, who had to prove their Spanish blood in attaining their ranks, than to express the *criollo* love for Mexico through artistic production.”<sup>72</sup>

In sum, writing the Mass for the Feast of Saint Joseph was a civic, personal, and professional opportunity fashioned by Sumaya for his own career advancement. Consider this contemporary (1735) painting from Mexico City for the March 19<sup>th</sup> feast: *The Coronation of Saint Joseph* by José de Ibarra (Figure 2.1).

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<sup>71</sup> Illari, “Ideas de Sumaya,” 598.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. Illari writes that *Criollo* “attachment to the city, which was often translated into its celebration, was one of the most clear [expressions] of colonial *criollismo*, understood as the promotion of the natives of America, their capacities, and their artistic and intellectual production.”



**Figure 2.1. Unification of civic and religious leaders under the cape of Saint Joseph on the Feast of his Coronation (March 19<sup>th</sup>).** Joseph de Ibarra, *Coronación de San José*, 1735, Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, accessed on February 7, 2021, <http://mediateca.inah.gob.mx/repositorio/islandora/object/pintura%3A2154>.

At the center is Saint Joseph receiving a crown from Jesus and the Virgin Mary.<sup>73</sup> God looks on from above. Kneeling beneath Saint Joseph’s cape are the Pope (left) and King Philip V of Spain (right). Saint Joseph unites the civic and religious under his cape. This image is a strong visual cognate for Sumaya’s Mass. Through the grand Mass music, he unites the appreciation of a beleaguered Viceroy, a new stream of financial support for the fiscally distressed cathedral governors, professional admiration from the musicians and onlookers, and a personal sense of satisfaction in honoring his beloved Salazar. This is true, too, of Sumaya’s written output which reveals professional posturing through political, national, and doctrinal angles.<sup>74</sup> The Mass is

<sup>73</sup> The description in this paragraph translates and summarizes: Joseph de Ibarra, *Coronación de San José*, 1735, Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, accessed on February 7, 2021, <http://mediateca.inah.gob.mx/repositorio/islandora/object/pintura%3A2154>.

<sup>74</sup> Illari, “Ideas de Sumaya,” *Revista de Musicología* 43, no. 2, (2020): 625.

Sumaya's self-made *examen de oposición*<sup>75</sup> through the symbolism of Saint Joseph as the Novohispanic Patron. Not three months later, Sumaya was promoted to head organist. He, too, would successfully apply a similar approach to advancement by appealing to *criollo* identity in his 1715 application for *maestro de capilla*, citing himself as a "national" of the city.<sup>76</sup> Sumaya maneuvers to become the first native-born boy chorister to successfully rise to the very top of the musical ranks of Mexico City Cathedral, and with the help of Saint Joseph's music he succeeds.

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<sup>75</sup> Term used in Spanish cathedrals to denote a public audition for a musical job, usually *maestro de capilla*.

<sup>76</sup> Illari, "Ideas de Sumaya," 600.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Examination of Pieces

Chapter Two discussed the local expectations for musical practice at the cathedral and potential motivations for the composition of the Mass. This chapter will explore many of the compositional devices used by Sumaya in the realization of said expectations. One section each is devoted to the hymn, Mass, and motet. Each begins with a brief description of the location and preservation of the scores. Next is a codification of the relationship between the work and the hymn tune *Te, Joseph, celebrent*. Among the findings is the use of paraphrase technique in the Mass, a rare example in the New World. This dissertation sheds light on significant moments of concordance between text, texture, and harmony to show the relationship between the music and Sumaya's religious and literary training.<sup>1</sup> Because "Seville, Toledo, and Valencia are the liturgical models for Mexico,"<sup>2</sup> this chapter will incorporate the work of Spanish and Novohispanic composers and theorists to situate Sumaya in his musical tradition.

## HYMN

Sumaya's hymn for the Feast of St. Joseph is contained in the fourth of twenty-one books of polyphony associated with the cathedral. Javier Marín López's *Los libros de polifonía de la catedral de México: estudio y catálogo crítico* places it in book MéxC4 as entry No. 97 (4/54)

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<sup>1</sup> Important literary works are a feature of Sumaya's biography such as his translation of the first Novohispanic opera and a history of the Jesuits. As an example of his facility and interest in this regard, see his villancico dedication to José de Torrez, which is penned in sonnet form "in the style of his intellectual heritage." This and other investigations of Sumaya's surviving documents showing him as a "gifted writer" are explored by Bernardo Illari, "Ideas de Sumaya," *Revista de Musicología* 43, no. 2 (2020): 589-628, accessed online, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26975139>.

<sup>2</sup> Javier Marín López, "Música y Músicos entre dos mundos: La catedral de México y sus libros de polifonía, Siglos XVI-XVIII," (PhD diss., Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007), 12.

fol. 14v15r [Te Joseph celebrent] Mr. Sumaya 4 v. (SATB).<sup>3</sup> Book MéxC4A is located in the Archives of the Cathedral Chapter in Mexico City. We know from cover page information that the Mass was written in 1714 and the motet was written in 1715, and we can assume the hymn was composed in close proximity because Marín dates Book 4A before 1720. “In Festo Sanctissimi Iosephi. Secunda pars” is the inscription at the top of page 14v of the hymn. The previous entry in the book is not the *prima pars*, and it is not located in this choirbook.<sup>4</sup> Its location is unknown at this time. The manuscript is in good condition. My edition of the hymn is found in Appendix A.

Vespers hymns written for feasts of the first class had to be “con papeles o en el libro de facistol de la capilla” (on sheet music or in the facistol book of the chapel).<sup>5</sup> *Música de papeles* not only meant on loose sheets of paper, but implied *stile concitato* (with independent instruments). By contrast, *música de facistol* was polyphonic music more closely connected to the plain song tradition; the location of the books of plain chant and polyphony on the facistol linked their style to one another.<sup>6</sup> Plain chant was the “true common thread of the musical activity of the cathedrals.”<sup>7</sup> Sumaya’s hymn for Saint Joseph is *de facistol* because it is polyphonic, without independent instrumental parts, and connects with the plain song tradition by virtue of the plain chant hymn tune in augmented rhythm in the tenor part.

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<sup>3</sup> Marín, *Los libros*, 319.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 3r.

<sup>6</sup> Marín, *Los libros*, 7.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

## Hymn Tune

Given its prominence in this study, the brief known history of the hymn tune itself deserves some attention. Pope Urban VIII’s Breviary of 1632 introduced new hymn texts into the liturgy; this breviary was used “until the twentieth century without major modifications”<sup>8</sup> at the Cathedral of Mexico City. Since the sixteenth century, the practice for adding melodies to the hymn texts was to select an existing tune from a collection in the Sevillian cathedral, “based on appropriate meter and liturgical associations.”<sup>9</sup> The tune sung in Seville to the text *Sanctorum meritis* (Figure 3.1) was chosen for the new hymn text *Te, Joseph, celebrent*.

**Figure 3.1. *Sanctorum meritis* hymn tune from Seville.** Dawn De Rycke, email message to author, December 16, 2020.

Sanc - to - rum me - ri - tis in - cly - ta gau - di - a  
pan - ga - mus so - ci - i ges - ta - que for - ti - a  
nam glis - cit a - ni - mus pro - me - re can - ti - bus  
vic - - - to - rum ge - nus op - ti - mus.

This hymn tune was chosen for Saint Joseph in Mexico City due to the similarity of poetic meter between the two texts.<sup>10</sup> Both *Sanctorum meritis* and *Te, Joseph, celebrent* share the liturgical

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 96.

<sup>9</sup> Dawn De Rycke, “Mending the Choir: Newly-written Chant for St. Peter in Eighteen Century Mexico City Cathedral,” in *Músicas coloniales a debate: procesos de intercambio euroamericanos*, ed. Javier Marín López (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2018), 59-60.

<sup>10</sup> Dawn De Rycke, email message to author through Bernardo Illari, December 16, 2020.

association of praising saints. The mixolydian mode and triumphant fifth opening create opportunities for the performer to further paint the hagiographic adoration.

The form of the tune is ABAC. The tune's structural balance is paralleled by the tessitura. The second phrase stays in the upper fifth of the G-G range. The fourth phrase complements it by laying in the bottom fifth of the octave. In comparing the *Sanctorum meritis* tune with Sumaya's use of it (Figure 3.2), we can see that the contour of the melody is maintained even though over a century of time had elapsed between them. There are only minor internal pitch changes due to issues of syllabification.

**Figure 3.2. Sumaya, *Te Joseph, celebrent*, Verse 5, tenor.**

Phrase 1  
No - bis sum - ma Tri - as, par - ce pre - can - ti - bus,

Phrase 2  
da Jos - eph me - ri - tis si - de - ra scan - de - re,

Phrase 3  
Ut tan - dem li - ce - at nos ti - bi per - pe - tim

Phrase 4  
gra - tum pro - me - re can - ti - cum.

An interesting point of comparison is the rhythmic profile of the tune between the fourth and fifth pitches. Francisco Guerrero used the hymn tune as the basis for his four-part setting of *Sanctorum meritis* (Figure 3.3). The same rhythmic profile is clear in all of the voices in the equal voiced imitative polyphony.

**Figure 3.3. Guerrero, *Sanctorum meritis*, Verse 2, mm. 1-6.**

Francisco Guerrero, *Sanctorum meritis*, no. 20 in *Francisco Guerrero (1528-1599): Opera Omnia Volumen XII. Himnos de Vísperas*, Monumentos de la Música Española, vol. 66, José María Llorens Cisteró and Karl H. Müller-Lancé, eds. (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2018), 244.

This defining feature creates a highly recognizable syncopation, and it is perhaps related to the ligatures as indicated in De Rycke’s transcription (Figure 3.1). Sumaya successfully incorporates that same “Spanish swing” into his hymn and Mass settings.

### Polyphonic Hymn Settings

Sumaya’s polyphonic hymn setting of *Te, Joseph, celebrent* has historic connections with former Spanish musicians.<sup>11</sup> Marín makes one such connection with Guerrero, noting, “[The hymn] has a certain resemblance to [Guerrero’s] *villanesca, Oy, Joseph*.”<sup>12</sup> Marín makes this

<sup>11</sup> My transcription is Appendix A of this document.

<sup>12</sup> Marín, *Los libros*, 320. Marín uses an alternative spelling without “h” for the word “hoy.”



strong connection between “Oy, Joseph” and Sumaya’s *Te, Joseph, celebrent*. Guerrero does not have his own setting of *Te, Joseph, celebrent* because Pope Urban VIII’s 1632 breviary elevating the feast was published after Guerrero’s death in 1599. In order for Sumaya to make a connection to Guerrero, he does so by quoting a Joseph-themed *villanesca*.

One difference between the works, however, is the varying texture. Sumaya places the *cantus firmus* in the tenor, tying the hymn to another traditional texture of a cathedral. The other three voices imitate each other (and Guerrero), a text painting device referencing the Trinity. Guerrero, on the other hand, eschews a *cantus firmus*, perhaps in an attempt to evoke a more rustic folk idiom as befits a *villanesca* (a villager’s song).

A second connection to an earlier musical work found in Sumaya’s hymn is with the work of his teacher. Sumaya’s opening gesture recalls Antonio Salazar’s *Te, Joseph, celebrent* alto and bass parts,<sup>14</sup> as seen in Figure 3.5. Notice Salazar’s dissonant fourth in m. 2 (treble C above G in alto/tenor) which is a very striking opening (if not a mistake of counterpoint made in his first job at Puebla Cathedral). Sumaya’s use of dissonance at the start of his hymn setting parallels this initial shock which, in both cases, leaves the ear temporarily wondering what mode/key the piece is in.

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<sup>14</sup> Marín, *Los libros*, 320.

**Figure 3.5. Salazar, *Te, Joseph, celebrent*, Verse 1, mm. 1-6.**

Salazar, Antonio, *Te, Joseph, celebrent*, Puebla Choirbook V fols. 150v-151, Craig H. Russell, ed. (1995), 1.

Te Jo - seph, Te Jo - seph ce - le - le - brent ag - mina

Te Jo - seph, Jo - seph, Te Jo - seph, Jo - seph ce - le - brent ag - mina

Te Jo - seph, Te Jo - seph, Te Jo - seph ce - le - brent ce -

Te Jo - seph, Te Jo - seph ce - le - brent

We can surmise that Salazar's setting is based on a different hymn tune by the profile of the opening motive alone.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, the half-step neighbor tone is distinguishable, so perhaps Salazar was also referencing Guerrero as Marín suggests, especially in the alto voice which goes on to descend the fourth.<sup>16</sup> Sumaya's homage to his teacher (and reflexively to Sumaya's own educational pedigree under Salazar) is a clearer gesture, though. Salazar taught Sumaya when he was a boy chorister, and the two engaged in writing hymns together (splitting them in half, Sumaya reacting to the work of Salazar), so the opening gesture, exploitation of the system of five fifths, and variety of dissonances shared by the two compositions all point to the counterpoint instruction Sumaya received at the cathedral. Sumaya's organ teacher was Joseph Ydiáquez who presumably reinforced the compositional curricula from the bench. Both Salazar and Ydiáquez would have been important father figures for young chorister Manuel whose father died in the early 1690s. By quoting a historic forefather (Spanish Guerrero) and his scholastic-

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<sup>15</sup> Or is it independent of a chant source?

<sup>16</sup> Although, Marín's association is tentative at best. Marín, *Los libros*, 320.

private guardians (Salazar and Ydiáquez), Sumaya symbolically underscores the father-son dynamic of Joseph and Jesus central to this feast.<sup>17</sup>

### *Form, Texture, and Text Relationships*

The form of Sumaya's hymn is structured around the *cantus firmus* in the tenor part. The tenor performs one iteration of the hymn tune in rhythmic values which are augmented in comparison to the treble, alto, and bass voices. The piece is just fifty measures long, so in a sense it is just one large section especially with regard to the overlapping of cadences throughout.

There are also attractive internal sections that add interest in the delivery of the text. The only significant cadence, which sets the first phrase of the hymn tune off from the rest of the piece, is on G in m. 13, the final of the mode. Sumaya cadences there where a colon divides the text in the *Liber Usualis* (...parce precantibus: Da Joseph...).<sup>18</sup> The scribe for Choirbook 4 has omitted this colon opting for a comma or not punctuation at all, but I have followed the *Liber* in my edition.<sup>19</sup> The cadence (and later elision of ideas only punctuated with commas) points to Sumaya's (if not the scribe's) attention to the literary form (a keen interest of Sumaya's) as expressed in its punctuational hierarchy. Conversely, Sumaya ignores the final punctuation mark in the text, the period which precedes the final "Amen." Instead, the musical gesture predominates, continuing forward toward an energetic final cadence.

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<sup>17</sup> Further conjecture is provided by Stanziano that the use of TB soloists in the Mass may symbolize the father-son relationship between Saint Joseph and Jesus. Stephen Stanziano, "Manuel de Sumaya: A Musical Analysis of Two Masses by the Baroque Mexican Composer" (PhD diss., Kent State University, 2004), 82. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

<sup>18</sup> "Te Joseph celebrent," GregoBase, accessed online January 20, 2021, <https://gregobase.selapa.net/chant.php?id=2235>.

<sup>19</sup> I have followed the scribe's punctuation patterns in Appendix A, see its Critical Report for more information.

Comparing Sumaya's hymn with two earlier settings from the same region, by Loaysa and Salazar (both *maestros de capilla* at Mexico City Cathedral), shows an interesting divergence from the earlier composers' formal-textural precedent. Loaysa set verses one and five of the hymn's text, both in an equal voiced imitative style. The form of the verses is paratactically derived from the phrasal structure of the hymn. Salazar uses the same texture and form in his verse one setting of *Te, Joseph, celebrent*, although with a different hymn tune. Salazar pairs the voices much more often than Loaysa and increases density through repetition. Both Loaysa and Salazar's settings share a common aesthetic, that of the Renaissance *stile antico* motet.

Sumaya points to their traditional *de facistol* style while expanding its value set through the exploration of a variety of textures to express the text with more intensity. Davies notes a similar contrast between Sumaya's villancicos vis-à-vis his teacher. "Antonio de Salazar's works are structured similarly but are simpler harmonically, contrapuntally, and notationally, as well as less refined in the expressive language of their music."<sup>20</sup> The following is an English poetic translation of the hymn to aid in understanding the text and music connections. Table 3.1 summarizes the relationship between text and texture. In the table, texture is expressed as a function of "number of voices without the hymn tune" + "the number of voices with the hymn tune."<sup>21</sup>

O Trinity, most high, spare us as we pray,  
Grant us through Joseph's merits to rise to Heaven:  
So that at last we me perpetually to Thee  
Utter our grateful canticle.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Drew Edward Davies, ed., *Manuel de Sumaya: Villancicos from Mexico City*, vol. 206 of *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque* (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2019), xiii.

<sup>21</sup> For hymn tune phrase assignments refer to Figure 3.2.

<sup>22</sup> "Te Joseph celebrent," GregoBase, accessed online January 20, 2021, <https://gregobase.selapa.net/chant.php?id=2235>.

**Table 3.1. “Nobis summa Trias” textural and topical connections**

Section No.	Measures	Text	Text Topic	Texture	Hymn Tune Phr.
1	1 - 13	Nobis summa	Trinity	3 + 1	1
2	13 - 26	da Joseph	Us through Joseph	2 + 2	1, 2
3	27 - 38	Ut tandem	We to Trinity	2 + 2	3
4	39 - 50	Gratum	Our Song	1	4

The topic of section one is praise to the Trinity which is a doxology, a formula of praise which ends hymns and Psalms.<sup>23</sup> Catholic doctrine teaches that God is expressed in three persons: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. This Trinity is known as the “three in one.” Sumaya uses the Guerrero motive in three voices against the *cantus firmus*, much like Loaysa did with a three-part canon. Listeners used to Salazar and Loaysa’s works, however, would have expected large amounts of diatonicism. By contrast, Sumaya begins the hymn with a chromatically inflected realization (C sharp and F sharp in the treble and alto, which maintain the exact imitation) to heighten awareness of the Trinitarian allusion.<sup>24</sup>

In section two, the topic is “us” (considered a singular acting agent) seeking salvation via Joseph’s deeds. Sumaya chooses a texture of two opposing voice groups (ST vs. AB) to symbolize the interaction between the two subjects of the prayer. The same approach is applied in section three where “we” and the Trinity are the two acting agents.

The fourth and last section is a grateful song to Saint Joseph. A return to a (nearly) equal voiced imitative texture expressed the unified song. The last section is the most melismatic, and

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<sup>23</sup> Although Psalms usually end with the Minor Doxology: Glory be to the Father...

<sup>24</sup> Section one is 3 + 1 for the first four measures. In measure four the bass does contain a fragment of the hymn tune (while the tenor continues on with the full tune). I have listed the section as 3 + 1 in the table, emphasizing the way the piece begins, and the Trinitarian symbolism.

the imitation in the treble, alto, and bass voices is a derivation of the triadic content of the *cantus firmus* in phrase four (Figure 3.6). Elegantly, all the voices have a variation of one *cantus* to sing, a contrapuntal paraphrase of the hymn tune.

**Figure 3.6. Pattern of thirds, a paraphrase of the hymn tune in all voices, mm. 40-44.**<sup>25</sup>

### *Harmonic Signals*

Sumaya may have been motivated to set verse five of the hymn, despite Loyasa already having done so, by a desire to express the text through a more splendid harmonic language. He broadens the understanding of *de facistol* style by including an even wider harmonic palette than his predecessors and using targeted dissonance to express the meaning of the words while still nodding to tradition by keeping the *cantus firmus* in augmentation in the tenor part. His awareness of the text extends a more nuanced alertness of its poetic structure than found in Loyasa or Salazar’s compositions.

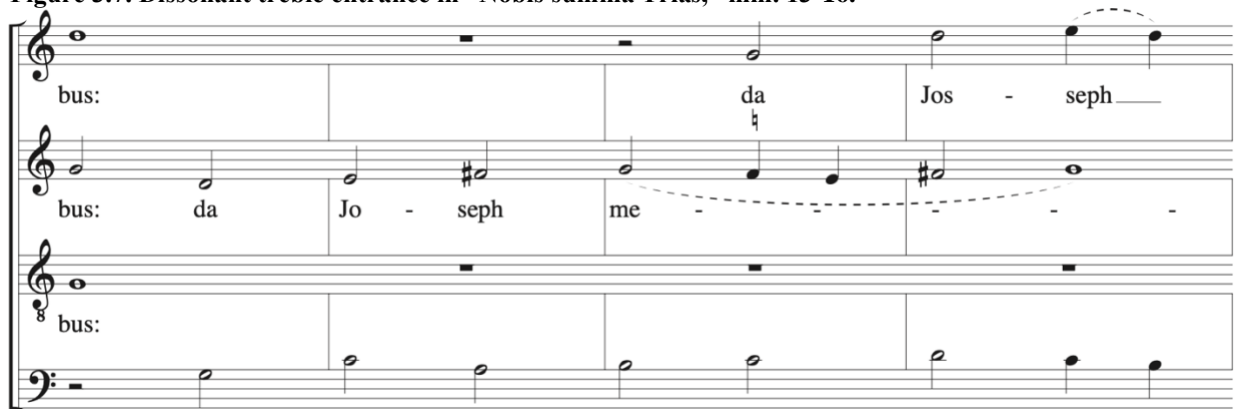
<sup>25</sup> These running quarter notes are defined as a *glosa* by Pablo Nassarre in *Fragmentos musicos*. Their dissonant notes are allowed in voice leading based on his theory of supposition. When one supposes that some of the notes in the *glosa* are consonant notes, the sequential pattern of thirds (also seen in the initial and final half notes circled here) derived from the hymn tune phrase four is apparent. See Donald Forrester, “Pablo Nassarre’s *Fragmentos Musicos: Translation and Commentary*” (Ed.D., University of Georgia, 1969), 171-177.

Loaysa and Salazar used a more conservative harmonic palette than Sumaya. In Loaysa's hymn setting, only the sonorities of G and C are cadences, with F sharp and B natural as the only tones from outside the home mode. Salazar adds a third cadence, on D with a minor third (introducing C sharp). Sumaya cadences on five different notes (adding F and D with a major third inflection), all within the first thirteen measures!

Sumaya uses this increased harmonic palette to paint the text. For example, the harmonic motion for "parce precantibus" (spare us, we pray, mm. 7-13) is F - C<sup>7</sup> - F - G - C - D - G (scale degrees 7, 4, 7, 1, 4, 5, 1). The opening measures have a G center, so the harmonic motion underlying these words is quite striking as the inflections roll through many scale degrees of the hexachord. Interestingly, Sumaya achieves this escalation through management of the hymn tune: the bass of m. 4 facilitates the passing inflection on F (scale degree 7) in the first place and still returns to a cadence on G (scale degree 1), privileging the final in m. 13. This harmonic activity exploits the repertory of opportunities to intensify the prayer's emotional plea.

Those familiar with Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* (which attempts to codify Palestrina's polyphonic principles of voice leading) will find other moments of unusual dissonance equally conspicuous. In m. 15, the treble enters on G at the same time as the unprepared dissonance, the F in the alto (Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7. Dissonant treble entrance in “Nobis summa Trias,” mm. 13-16.



Fux’s rules allow for prepared dissonance on accented parts of the measure (read: downbeats), but imitative entrances must be in concord with the other voices.<sup>26</sup> This is neither a downbeat nor a concordant harmony. This voice leading, however, does follow Spanish rules. In *Fragmentos musicos*, Nassarre permits it, saying, “many times the upbeat occurs on a dissonance, which during the same beat of the measure passes to a consonance, I say that it is not the dissonant interval which is supposed, but the consonance to which it passes.”<sup>27</sup> Sumaya uses this (permitted) dissonance to draw attention to the treble entrance<sup>28</sup> (and perhaps his own ingenuity). Instead of the second phrase of the hymn tune, the trebles sing phrase one. It is a moment of surprise made possible by the syllabic parallelism of “Te, Joseph, celebrent” and “Da Joseph meritis.” This parallel allows the trebles to present the entire hymn tune even though the first line of the text had already passed. The trebles would have otherwise only sung phrases two, three,

<sup>26</sup> Johann Fux, translator unknown, *Practical Rules for Learning Composition translated from a Work intitled Gradus ad Parnassum written originally in Latin by John Joseph Feux* (London: Wecker, n.d.), 5. <https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/3/31/IMSLP370587-PMLP187246-practicalrulesfo00fuxj.pdf>.

<sup>27</sup> Forrester, 169.

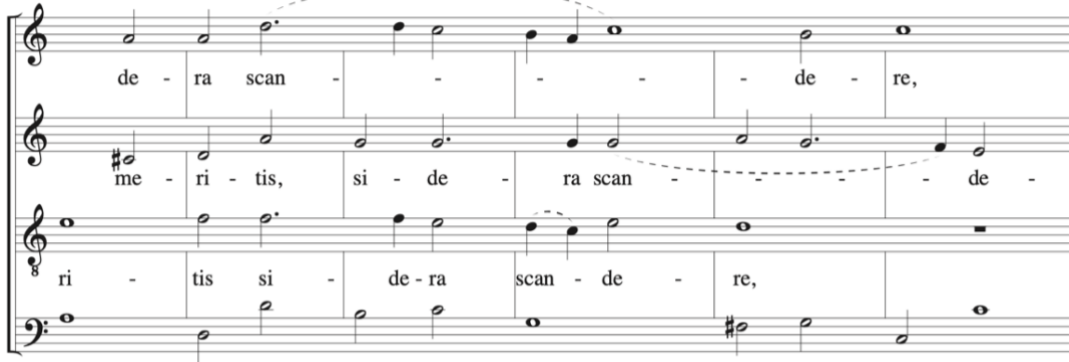
<sup>28</sup> Many thanks to Bernardo Illari for elucidating this text-painting moment, email message to author, December 16, 2020.

and four of the tune. It is an example of Sumaya’s ability and interest in achieving complete and balanced forms and features the 2 + 2 texture of that section.

Another moment of text painting via non-Italianate voice leading (and dissonance) appears at the word “scandere” (to rise) in the treble. Referring to the treble C and bass G in m. 24 (Figure 3.8), Illari writes,

“the ‘consonant fourth’ preparing a diminished fifth on the tiple clausula for scandere [is] made even harsher by the weird escape tone (pre-transposition) A in the tiple that precedes the suspended C. The preparation of a dissonance (which in this case could have been considered a consonance) by another dissonance is allowed by Nassarre. The escaped tone, however, falls outside of normal...This accumulation of dissonances is not Palestrinian.”<sup>29</sup>

Figure 3.8. Permitted and prohibited dissonance treatment for “scandere,” mm. 21-24



Regarding descending voice leading and its intended contour, Nassarre writes, “The voice with the glosa can never skip.”<sup>30</sup> The *glosa* is the descending quarter notes B and A in the treble m. 24 which should continue to either a B or G. Instead, the “rise” to C is a text-painting gesture. This motion is also stressed by the parallel motion of the tenor part which similarly breaks its *glosa* to ascend. When the bass moves down to F sharp in m. 25, the distance between the treble and bass

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Forrester, 171.

is increased. The result is a sense of even greater aural “rise” as the bass drops. Clearly for Sumaya, like Monteverdi, harmony is the mistress of the words.

There are also moments of dissonance that find their impetus in the grammatical structure of the text. The tenor entrance in m. 26 on “Ut” is a second away from the bass; this dissonance increases the tension of the moment. This is a permitted harmonic gesture in Nassarre’s rules of supposition because the bass is considered a suspension.<sup>31</sup> “Ut” (and) is a literary conjunction which connects two ideas and moves an argument forward. Sumaya’s attention to literary content prompts the use of a musical tension to similarly move the music forward.

Another use of dissonance motivated by the intersection of Sumaya’s literary and musical training is the final “Amen.” Sumaya elides phrase four into the “Amen” even though there is a period at the end of phrase four (in keeping with Jesuit practice).<sup>32</sup> The “Amen” is announced by a dissonant F in the alto (Figure 3.9).

Figure 3.9. Sumaya, “Nobis summa Trias,” final “Amen,” mm. 45-50

The musical score for the final "Amen" (measures 45-50) is presented in four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics are: "ti - cum. A - men." The Soprano and Alto parts have a melodic line that spans across the measures, with a dashed line indicating a continuation. The Tenor and Bass parts have a more rhythmic line. The Alto part has a dissonant F in the final measure.

<sup>31</sup> For a definition and translation of Nassarre’s rule of supposition see Forrester, 167n1.

<sup>32</sup> Illari, email correspondence with the author, April 11, 2021.

Nassarre permits this sonority, arrived at through a “re – fa” skip, with his rule of supposition saying, “although there is augmentation of dissonance, the sonority is not destroyed.”<sup>33</sup> Most likely, Nassarre would also allow the gesture because he believes that fifths of any kind (here, the B in the bass with the F in the alto) are consonant.<sup>34</sup> Sumaya employs Spanish guidelines for an exciting herald to the end of the hymn verse, having overlapped all previous cadences and avoiding a final one. Sumaya proclaims the end of the hymn verse, the end of the hymn, and the musical completion of First Vespers simultaneously.<sup>35</sup>

## MASS

The *Missa, Te, Joseph, celebrent* is the first of three in Tello’s *Misas de Manuel de Sumaya del Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Oaxaca*.<sup>36</sup> The Musical Archive of the Cathedral of Oaxaca catalogs it as piece 49.22.<sup>37</sup> The cover page notes the feast (Holy Patriarch) and the year of composition (1714).<sup>38</sup> Each part book is 20 x 29 cm (about 7.9 x 11.4 in).<sup>39</sup> Tello mentions that the tenor score indicates a seventh score, probably a continuo part is missing.<sup>40</sup> The style is in keeping with a 1563 cathedral founding document which requires Masses in

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<sup>33</sup> Forrester, 227.

<sup>34</sup> Illari, email correspondence with the author, April 11, 2021.

<sup>35</sup> See De Rycke (cited above) for other updates to the Joseph music, as inspired by Torres’ endowment, in the composition of new office hymn tunes.

<sup>36</sup> Aurelio Tello, *Archivo musical de la Catedral de Oaxaca: misas de Manuel de Sumaya*, in *Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México*, vol. 8. *Revisión, estudio y transcripción Aurelio Tello* (Mexico: Conaculta, INBA, Cenidim, 1997), 30. <http://hdl.handle.net/11271/829>.

<sup>37</sup> Tello, *Archivo...Misas*, 1.

<sup>38</sup> Tello, *Archivo...Misas*, 29.

<sup>39</sup> Tello *Archivo...Misas*, 1.

<sup>40</sup> Tello *Archivo...Misas*, 1.

polyphony for double major feasts.<sup>41</sup> The manuscript references that instruction by being written in mensural notation.<sup>42</sup> In a scan I received from Dr. Joseph Amante, I observed that no regular barlines are used.<sup>43</sup> Judging from this scan, the manuscript has many deteriorated spots. The only modern edition available is by Tello; Illari's engraving may soon become available for comparative analysis. A Mass' style is referred to as *música a papeles* which was a newly composed piece on sheet music (as opposed to *música de facistol*) and often meant concerted music, though that is not the case here.

The *Missa, Te, Joseph, celebrent* is a rare example of a paraphrase Mass in the New World. A paraphrase Mass is a cyclic Mass unified by a monophonic tune (usually plainsong) in pervasive imitation and melodic embellishment in all voice parts. The most famous paraphrase Mass is probably Josquin des Prez's *Missa Pange Lingua*, and it reached widespread notoriety in works by later composers such as Palestrina, Victoria, and Morales. In paraphrase technique, the form of the source tune and the individual Mass movements are often related, as is the case in Sumaya's Mass. At times, Sumaya pushes the boundaries his Renaissance predecessors' predilection for equal voiced imitative polyphonic texture by using a subject-countersubject texture characteristic of the Baroque.

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<sup>41</sup> Marín, *Los libros*, 11.

<sup>42</sup> Tello, *Archivo...Misas*, 1.

<sup>43</sup> Manuel de Sumaya, *Missa Te, Joseph, celebrent*, 1714, Personal Collection of Joseph Amante y Zapata, South Kingstown, RI.

## Kyrie

### *Form and Hymn Tune Relationships*

The form of the Kyrie is based on the ABA structure of the text. Sumaya intelligently condenses the four-phrased hymn tune (Figure 3.12) into the tripartite Kyrie I – Christe - Kyrie II by taking advantage of the hymn’s melodic repetition - both phrase one and phrase three have identical melodic content. Sumaya’s Kyrie I and Kyrie II open with the same motivic material, creating a musical cognate for the textual parallel.<sup>44</sup> Phrase two of the hymn tune becomes the backbone of the Christe. Phrase four concludes Kyrie II so, Kyrie is constructed with paraphrase technique; its polyphonic form is based upon the monophonic tune’s form. The Kyrie’s paraphrase form is summarized in Table 3.2.

**Table 3.2. Paraphrase form in the Kyrie**

<b>Mass Text</b>	<b>Subdivision</b>	<b>Hymn Phr. No.</b>
<b>Kyrie</b>	Kyrie I	1
	Christe	2
	Kyrie II	3, 4

Kyrie II follows the precedent of many Renaissance Mass settings, beginning with similar music to the Kyrie I, but coming to a more resplendent conclusion. Sumaya achieves the resplendency in three ways. Firstly, he lengthens Kyrie II. Kyrie I is 15 measures long and Kyrie II is 19 measures long. Secondly, he accelerates the melodic motion and contrapuntal activity as seen in Figure 3.10.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> This trait of Sumaya’s is evident in other compositions as well. Craig Russell points to this in the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* where he maps out “musical symmetries that underscore the text’s tripartite nature.” See Craig Russell, “Manuel de Sumaya: Reexamining the *a Cappella* Choral Music of a Mexican Master,” *Encomium Musicae: Essays in Honor of Robert J. Snow* (January 1, 2002): 97, [https://digitalcommons.calpoly.edu/mus\\_fac/12](https://digitalcommons.calpoly.edu/mus_fac/12).

<sup>45</sup> Stephen Stanziano, “Manuel de Sumaya: A Musical Analysis of Two Masses by the Baroque Mexican Composer” (PhD diss., Kent State University, 2004), 12. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

**Figure 3.10. Increased activity in the melodic tail and accompanimental voice.** Stephen Stanziano, “Manuel de Sumaya: A Musical Analysis of Two Masses by the Baroque Mexican Composer” (PhD diss., Kent State University, 2004), 12. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.



The tenor 1 part begins with the simple and recognizable tune that opened the Mass, but it (and later other voices with the tune) are melodically embellished and rhythmically ornamented. An example of this is the descending eighth-note tail of the tenor 1 in Figure 3.10. Voices with the countersubject exhibit an increasing emancipation from their subordinate role. They gain more melodic contour and increased rhythmic energy. For example, the phrase one of bass 1 in Kyrie I has eleven pitches and is comprised almost exclusively of half and quarter notes. The phrase one of bass 1 in Kyrie II has twenty-two pitches and is comprised almost exclusively of quarter notes and eighth notes.

The third way Sumaya increases the resplendency of Kyrie II is through a creative change to the melody of the hymn tune. The fourth phrase of the hymn features prominent thirds and a descending contour. Consider how his predecessors have treated phrase four. Guerrero used the Sevillian hymn tune for his polyphonic setting of *Sanctorum meritis*, verse two. The tune is outlined in the treble part, as seen in Figure 3.11.

**Figure 3.11. Guerrero, *Sanctorum meritis*, Verse 2, mm. 29-35.**

Francisco Guerrero, *Sanctorum meritis*, no. 20 in *Francisco Guerrero (1528-1599): Opera Omnia Volumen XII. Himnos de Vísperas*, Monumentos de la Música Española, vol. 66, José María Llorens Cisteró and Karl H. Müller-Lancé, eds. (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2018), 246, accessed online, April 12, 2021, <https://www.imf.csic.es/index.php/imf-publicaciones/coleccion/publicaciones-coleccion-musica/monumentos-de-la-musica-espanola/26-publicaciones/356-mme-volumenes-publicados>.

que se - cu - ti sunt, rex Chri - ste  
- que se - cu - ti sunt, rex Chri - ste bo - ne, cae li -  
se - cu - ti sunt, rex Chri - ste,  
se - cu - ti sunt, rex Chri - ste bo - ne, cae -  
bo - ne, cae - li - tus.  
tus, rex Chri - ste bo - ne, cae - li - tus.  
rex Chri - ste bo - ne, cae - li - tus.  
li - tus, cae - li - tus.

Guerrero tightly adheres to the tune's pitch content and only deviates momentarily for syllabic reasons or to fill in a skip. Joseph de Loaysa, who served as *maestro de capilla* from 1685/6 – 1688 at the Cathedral of Mexico City, used the same hymn tune (Figure 3.12).

**Figure 3.12.** Loaysa, *Hymnus Sanctissimi Iosephi*. Lincoln Spiess and Thomas Stanford, *An Introduction to Certain Mexican Musical Archives* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1969), 105.  
<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015018107212>.

The image displays a musical score for a hymn. It consists of two systems of music, each with four staves. The top staff of each system is a vocal line with lyrics underneath. The bottom three staves are accompaniment. The lyrics are: "tas Ca-sto fe-de-re Vir-gi-ni, Ca-sto fe-de-re Vir-gi-ni. (Ca-sto fe-de-re Vir-gi-ni.) de-re Vir-gi-ni. Ca-sto fe-de-re Vir-gi-ni. fe-de-re Vir-gi-ni." The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some phrases being more active than others.

As seen in the figure, Loaysa sets the fourth melodic phrase to the text “Casto federe Virgini” at the conclusion of the first verse. He includes more eighth note activity, and after the first three or four notes, abandons the tune altogether. One can surmise from these comparisons that composers took license with internal melodic content but preferred to maintain the overall contour, especially at the start of the phrase. Thereby, the listener is supplied with a recognizable gestalt. Sumaya’s variant of the fourth phrase shows an adherence to that tradition by maintaining the overall descending contour (Figure 3.13).

Figure 3.13. Sumaya's concluding measures of Kyrie II. Stanziano, 13.

Sumaya's changes the pitches, though, adapting them into a sequence, altering the intervallic content from predominantly thirds to a pattern of a rising third and followed by a falling fourth. This sequence, which is spread to all voices, appears in each voice part at least three times and is a paraphrase of the hymn tune (much like he did to end "Nobis summa Trias"). The tenor 1 and 2 parts are offset from the rest of homophonic texture by one quarter note creating a wavering motion toward the final cadence. The implications of this variation of the tune are harmonic in nature. The thirds in the original tune provided a diatonic harmonic field; this altered pattern allows Sumaya to generate greater harmonic direction and launches the tenors and soprano into a more rhythmically active cadence, creating an extroverted and optimistic close to the movement. The third + fourth motive will also conclude the Gloria, Credo, and Agnus Dei, thereby tying the Mass together, a "tail motive" of sorts. While Sumaya uses the old-fashioned approach of

Guerrero and Loaysa (adhering to a hymn tune and maintaining its contour), he changes the pitches and harmony to create a more splendid ending.

### *Texture and Text Relationships*

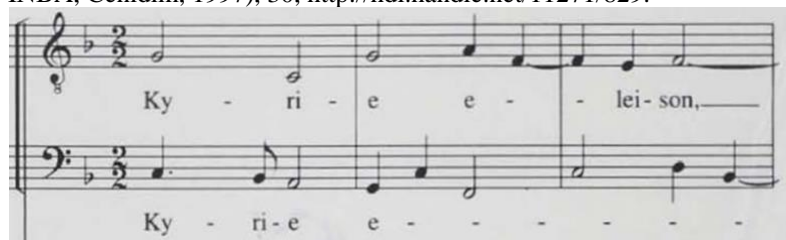
The three sections of the first movement (the two Kyries and the Christe) are sharply contrasted in texture: both Kyries feature a subject-countersubject texture while the Christe is equal voiced imitative polyphony. This change in texture underlines the basic ABA structure of the Kyrie text. The tenor 1 and bass 1 singers initiate all three sections; they are answered by the four voices of Choir II and then re-enter, creating a rich six-part texture at the conclusion of each section. The use of reduced voices at the beginning of each section functions like a head motive in earlier Renaissance Masses, making the division between sections clearly audible to the listener, although they do not always use the same melodic material.

In the Kyries, the subject-countersubject texture is identified through the alternation between the hymn tune and accompanimental material. The tenor 1 and bass 1 present the subject and countersubject, respectively, from the very beginning, as seen in Figure 3.14.

**Figure 3.14. Sumaya, *Missa Te, Joseph, celebrant*, Kyrie, mm. 1-3.**

Aurelio Tello, *Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México*, vol. 8, *Archivo musical de la Catedral de Oaxaca: misas de Manuel de Sumaya*.

*Revisión, estudio y transcripción Aurelio Tello* (Mexico: Conaculta, INBA, Cenidim, 1997), 30, <http://hdl.handle.net/11271/829>.

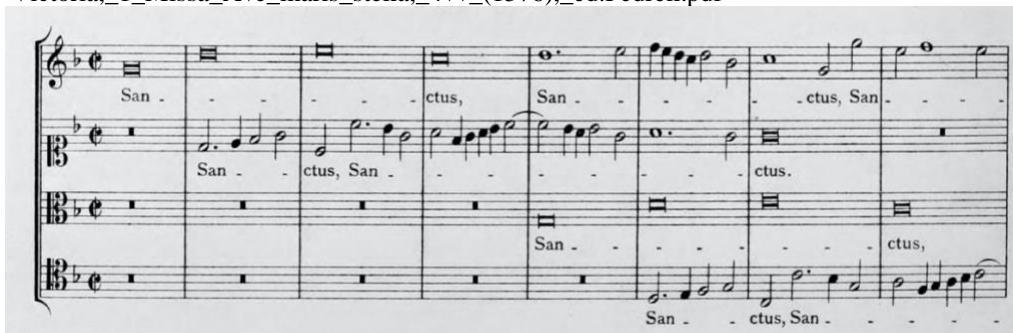


The image shows a musical score for the beginning of the Kyrie. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff for the Tenor 1 and a bass clef staff for the Bass 1. The time signature is 3/2. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: Tenor 1: "Ky - ri - e e - - lei - son, —" and Bass 1: "Ky - ri - e e - - - - -". The Tenor 1 part starts with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and C5. The Bass 1 part starts with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes A3, Bb3, and C4.

As the section progresses, each of the six voices take turns singing both the subject and the countersubject. In this case, the first two measures of bass 1 can also be understood as an ornamentation of the initial descending fifth of the hymn tune, F to C, meaning that the countersubject is a derivation of the subject.

The use of two subjects, with the second derived from the first, is not unique to Sumaya. For example, two Masses based on monophonic tunes by Spanish Renaissance master Tomás Luis de Victoria, the *Missa de Beata Maria* and *Missa Ave, maris stella*, have a similar construction.<sup>46</sup> The Sanctus of the *Missa Ave, maris stella* is a good example of this approach (Figure 3.15), composed in pairs of voices with contrasting melodies.

**Figure 3.15. Victoria, *Missa Ave, maris stella*, Sanctus, mm. 1-8.** Felipe Pedrell, ed., *Thomae Ludovici Victoria Abulensis Opera Omnia*, vol. 2, (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1903), 14. [https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/6/6b/IMSLP412691-PMLP43262-Victoria,\\_1\\_Missa\\_Ave\\_maris\\_stella,\\_4vv\\_\(1576\),\\_ed.Pedrell.pdf](https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/6/6b/IMSLP412691-PMLP43262-Victoria,_1_Missa_Ave_maris_stella,_4vv_(1576),_ed.Pedrell.pdf)



One difference between Victoria and Sumaya is the role of each voice. In Victoria, the general practice is for each voice to maintain its own tune until the full texture changes, here into equal voiced imitative polyphony. The treble voice continues with its augmentation of the Gregorian chant and does not express the melody of the alto. The alto continues with its florid

<sup>46</sup> Dennis Shrock, *Choral Repertoire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 96.

countersubject and does not express the augmented tune. In Sumaya, however, the voices trade subject and countersubject within a section. Whereas in Victoria the listener may be drawn to the florid writing around the augmented tune, for Sumaya, the shifting presentations of the tune itself draw aural attention. This creates a foreground/background (hence stratified) texture more characteristic of Baroque composers.

Although Victoria does use this paired voice technique occasionally, the predominating texture in his Masses is equal voiced imitative polyphony. Sumaya uses this old-fashioned Renaissance texture, too, as in the *Christe* (see figure 3.16).

**Figure 3.16. Equal voice imitative polyphonic texture in the *Christe*, mm. 20-26. Tello, *Archivo...Misas*, 32-33.**

By transposing the hymn tune down a fifth (the opening interval: G to C becomes C to G), Sumaya establishes the C Mixolydian content throughout the section. The voices enter in pairs, and “each pair of voices makes its entrance within one beat of each other.”<sup>47</sup>

Perhaps the change in textures is related to the change in text and expresses Catholic doctrine about God the Father and Christ. Sumaya’s use of the subject-countersubject texture for

<sup>47</sup> Stanziano, 10.

texts describing God the Father highlights the hierarchy between humans and the divine.

Sumaya's use of equal voices for texts describing Christ highlights the parity of Christ and humans; Christ becomes one with his followers by taking on human form.

### *Harmonic Signals*

In the Kyrie, specific harmonies are not used to signal specific words or images, perhaps due the paucity of different words in this movement. Instead, Sumaya uses harmony to signal the approach of a cadence. Specifically, he uses chains of secondary dominants to drive towards major cadences. Figure 3.17 shows a good example at the end of Kyrie I.

**Figure 3.17. Ending of Kyrie I, mm. 12-15.**

Tello, *Archivo...Misas*, 31.

The musical score for the ending of Kyrie I, mm. 12-15, is presented in a standard format with four staves. The top two staves are for vocal parts (Soprano and Alto), and the bottom two are for piano accompaniment (Right and Left Hand). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: 'lei - son. e - - - - lei - son. Ky - ri - e e - - - - lei - son. Ky - ri - e e - - - - lei - son. lei - - - son, Ky - ri - e e - - - - lei - son. lei - - - son.' The score illustrates a series of secondary dominants leading to a final cadence in G major.

In mm. 13-14, there are four V-I pairs:  $C^7$  to F,  $G^7$  to C, G to C, and  $G^{4\#3}$  to C. These chains increase the tension before the release of the cadence. The ending of Kyrie I features another Sumaya fingerprint, the successive cross relation.<sup>48</sup> In m. 14, the final G is harmonized with a 4-

<sup>48</sup> As opposed to a simultaneous cross relation, which he uses infrequently.

#3 suspension, but at the moment of the suspension tenor 2 sings B flat. This is followed immediately by a B natural in the tenor 1. Interestingly, both Kyrie I and Kyrie II conclude with successive cross relations, but the *Christe* final cadence is an unadorned V-i in G minor. This extra turn of the “chromatic screw” creates a harmonically strong, and easily audible, gesture which will be a recurring technique in the Mass, marking structurally important cadences. The lack of successive cross relation in an authentic cadence at the end of the *Christe* is therefore chosen to give the opposite indication: more is to come.

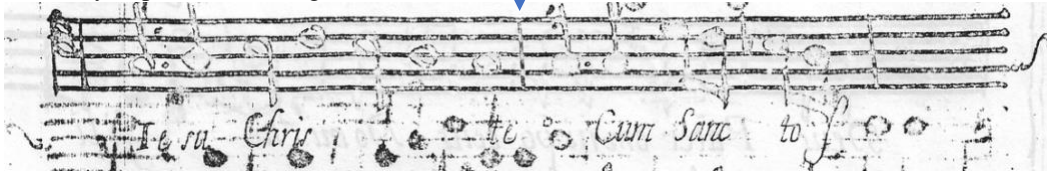
In sum, Sumaya’s formal considerations of the whole Kyrie are in line with his religious education and employment through their adherence to the prayer’s tripartite form. He composes in lockstep with former *maestros de capilla* by maintaining tune contour, while showing his own personal invention in the modification of intervallic content. Sumaya displays his creativity and interest in formal purity in compressing a four-part melodic model into a tri-partite prayer while using textural diversity and harmony in the style of the Baroque.

## Gloria

### *Form and Hymn Tune Relationships*

The words of the Gloria can be divided in a number of ways to highlight particular ideas. Sumaya divides his Gloria into three large parts, but Tello’s edition obscures an important division after “*Jesu Christe*,” just before “*Cum Sancto Spiritu*,” which can be observed in the manuscript (Figure 3.18).

**Figure 3.18. Bass 1 of the Gloria with sectional dividing line between “Christe and “Cum Sancto.** Manuel de Sumaya, *Missa Te, Joseph, celebrant*, 1714, Personal Collection of Joseph Amante y Zapata, South Kingstown, RI.<sup>49</sup>



The presence of a vertical line (labeled with an arrow above) indicates a pause to the performer and delineates the boundary between sections two and three. The sectional division is also prepared rhythmically because the “Jesu Christe” ends with whole notes on its final syllable. This is an important feature as it relates to the paraphrase form of this movement. The first section, “Et in terra,” lasts for forty-four measures and only the first phrase of the hymn tune is used. The second section, “Qui tollis,” is forty-six measures long and develops phrases two and three of the hymn tune. The third section, “Cum Sancto,” is thirteen measures long and uses phrase four of the hymn tune for the final “Dei Patris, Amen.” Sumaya has paired the Gloria’s architectural features with the hymn tune’s phrasal order. In contrast to the Kyrie where he exploits the parallelism of phrase one and three to create an ABA’ ternary design, this three-sectioned Gloria is not similarly rounded. The form of the Gloria is summarized in Table 3.3.

**Table 3.3. Paraphrase form in the Gloria**

Mass Text	Subdivision	Hymn Phr. No.
<b>Gloria</b>	Et in terra	1
	Qui tollis	2, 3
	Cum Sancto	4

<sup>49</sup> This copy of the manuscript is in poor condition. Unfortunately, a copy of a copy makes part of it to read. This does introduce the possibility that the barline is a bleed-through mark from the opposite side, however the clarity and “fit” on this staff (other bleed throughs are misaligned) lead me to believe it belongs here.

Sumaya was strongly tied to cathedral tradition in his structuring of the Gloria as well, and this offers potent reasoning to his choices for the formal divisions. All eight Masses in the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica (E-Mn) by Francisco López Capillas, a previous chapel master in Mexico City Cathedral, begin a new musical section at “Qui tollis,” and all show some sectional division (e.g. change in meter) at “Cum Sancto Spiritu,”<sup>50</sup> just as Sumaya did. Marín describes López Capillas’ Masses as composed in the *stile antico* style, and while this study shows that Sumaya’s are not as such with regard to texture and harmony, he is right that the use of 4-6 voices, paraphrase technique, head motives for each section, and a style similar to *formato de facistol* are nods to techniques used in works of the past.<sup>51</sup> López Capillas’ Masses make a “sporadic use of descriptivism,”<sup>52</sup> and Sumaya continues this tradition as well, although he finds even more opportunities for painting the text via harmony and texture. It appears that perhaps Sumaya wanted to formally associate his Mass with the local precedent (and gravitas?) of López Capillas.

### *Texture, Harmony, and Text Relationships*

Sumaya gives the Gloria’s intricate and lengthy text a kaleidoscope of textures and harmonies. For example, Sumaya changes texture four times in the first thirteen measures before reaching a fifteen-measure stasis in antiphony. From a harmonic perspective, the first twenty-seven measures cadence on D, G, C, Am, F, Dm, Bb, and Gm! While the last section of this

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<sup>50</sup> Francisco López Capillas, 1699, *Misas y Magnificat Música notada*, E-Mn Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, <http://bdh.bne.es/bne/search/detalle/bdh0000004935> (hereafter cited as López Capillas, *Misas*).

<sup>51</sup> *Formato de facistol* translates as “lectern format,” and is read as equal voiced imitative polyphony by Marín because of the predominance of that texture in books which would have been put on the lectern. Marín, 87.

<sup>52</sup> Marín, *Los libros*, 88.

paper focused on Sumaya's connection to the past, we will now explore how his use of texture, harmony, and text relationships are Baroque characteristics.

The movement begins with material that is nearly identical to the beginning of the Kyrie, revealing to the listener that the hymn tune in this subject-countersubject texture will serve as a head motive, unifying the whole Mass (only the Sanctus varies this opening, giving the bass 1 a more active countersubject). Continuous use of the *Te, Joseph, celebrent* tune as a head motive anchors the work in its feast day and communicates Sumaya's contrapuntal skills to the performers and listeners. The use of a stratified texture (read: not equal voiced) sends an immediate message that Sumaya will be exploring new ways to set familiar melodies. This texture is short-lived, though. In m. 6, the choir underscores the call for peaceful coexistence with a syncopated and homophonic "bonae voluntatis." Sumaya uses this change of texture to depict the end of the first sentence of text; the voices coalesce into a portrait of unified good will.

The next section (mm. 8-11) also parallels the text. The first four sentences are a list of four ways people can worship God (praise, blessing, adoration, glorification). Just as the text's author creates a likeness of the four worship styles by using literary parallelism, Sumaya's literary interests prompt him to make a similar musical gesture: with imitation (Figure 3.19).

**Figure 3.19. Musical imitation brings the literary parallelism.** Tello, *Archivo... Misas*, 37.

The image shows a musical score for a mass, specifically measures 8 through 11. It features five vocal parts: Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, and Bass. The lyrics are in Latin and describe the Eucharist. The score includes musical notation with notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The lyrics for each part are as follows:

- Soprano:** tis. Lau-da - mus te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - - - mus te. Glo - ri - fi -
- Alto:** tis. Be - ne - di - ci-mus te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - - - mus.
- Tenor 1:** tis. A - do-ra - - mus te. Glo - ri - fi-ca -
- Tenor 2:** tis. Lau - da - mus te. A-do ra - mus te. Glo - ri - fi -
- Bass:** tis. Be - ne - di - ci - mus te. Glo - ri - fi -

At the bottom of the score, the lyrics are repeated: tis. Lau - da - mus te. Be - ne - di - ci - mus te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - - -

Here, bass 2 is an outlier; it does not imitate the melodic gestures of the other five parts. Sumaya uses the bass to reinforce the text’s list through a very fast harmonic rhythm, which includes a series of secondary dominants. Starting in m. 9, the harmonies are C<sup>7</sup> cadencing deceptively to Dm, G cadencing deceptively to Am/C, D to G, A to Dm, and G<sup>7</sup>/B to C. This extremely active harmonic motion adds another jostling layer to the text’s catalogue of worship styles. Fittingly, he elides the final cadence with the next sentence, “Gratias agimus tibi” (we give thanks), also a style of worship. At that point, Sumaya switches into an antiphonal texture. Leaving behind the ecstatic worship and the quick shifting opening, he creates formal balance for the Gloria by maintaining that texture for the subsequent fifteen measures. This texture continues as the text changes in meaning; the two choirs exchange descriptions of God in their antiphonal dialogue.

Rather than using equal voiced imitative polyphony as a constant style, Sumaya frequently uses it for specific textual reasons – in this case, to suggest a reverence for Jesus. A particularly significant shift into that texture occurs in the second half of m. 27, for the words

“Jesu Christe” – the first time the name is mentioned in the Gloria. According to *General Instruction for the Roman Missal* no. 275a, “A bow of the head is made when the three Divine Persons are named together and at the names of Jesus, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of the Saint in whose honor Mass is being celebrated.”<sup>53</sup> The use of imitation could be seen as a musical genuflection. This texture, accompanied by a decrease in rhythmic drive and harmonic rhythm, also indicates reverence for the saint of the day. Sumaya does this by re-introducing the *Te, Joseph* hymn tune, which has been absent since the opening notes as the polyphonic texture is used.<sup>54</sup> This section features the familiar successive cross relation (tenor 2 E flat/tenor 1 E natural) leading to the cadence on F major. This, combined with the textural gesture, increases the sense of piety and devotion to Jesus.

This reverence for Jesus via equal voiced imitative textures appears elsewhere, giving even more evidence to support the notion. In the Kyrie, Sumaya uses it for the “Christe eleison” text. In the Credo, he uses the same technique for the “Jesum Christum” (mm. 16-24) and in augmentation of “Et incarnatus” (mm. 61-69). In the Gloria the same texture accompanies “Qui tollis” (which describes who Jesus is) and in m. 83, when the name is sung again (Figure 3.20).

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<sup>53</sup> Although this is a document for American Catholics sanctioned by the Vatican in 2003, the preamble goes to great lengths to associate the instructions as historically derived from the Council of Trent. While specifics may be disputed, it is evidence of a history of reverential gestural practices during the Mass. “General Instructions of the Roman Missal Institutio Generalis Missalis Romani Including Adaptations for the Dioceses of the United States of America, La Santa Sede, accessed on January 11, 2021. [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/rc\\_con\\_ccdds\\_doc\\_20030317\\_ordinamento-messale\\_en.html#IV.\\_SOME\\_GENERAL\\_NORMS\\_FOR\\_ALL\\_FORMS\\_OF\\_MASS](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/rc_con_ccdds_doc_20030317_ordinamento-messale_en.html#IV._SOME_GENERAL_NORMS_FOR_ALL_FORMS_OF_MASS).

<sup>54</sup> This is another example of the “associative reverence” discussed in the motet section of this chapter, whereby Joseph’s importance is not in autonomous acts, but rather, through proximity to Jesus.



**Figure 3.21. Text repetition and successive cross relation bringing attention to sectional ending and important text, mm. 39-44. Stanziano, 19.**

The musical score shows six vocal parts: Tenor I, Bass I, Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The music is in 3/8 time and D minor. Measures 39-44 are shown. The lyrics are: Tenor I: "i, Fi - li - us Pa - tris, Fi - li - us Pa - tris."; Bass I: "i, Fi - li - us Pa - tris, Fi - li - us Pa - tris."; Soprano: "Fi - li - us Pa - tris, Fi - li - us Pa - tris."; Alto: "Fi - li - us Pa - tris, Fi - li - us Pa - tris."; Tenor: "Fi - li - us Pa - tris, Fi - li - us Pa - tris."; Bass: "Fi - li - us Pa - tris, Fi - li - us Pa - tris." A sharp sign (♯) is placed above the final note of the Tenor I part in measure 44, indicating a cross relation.

As seen in the López Capillas Masses, ending the first section of the Gloria at “Filus Patris” is a Novohispanic practice. Sumaya brings more attention to this cadence than traditional composers with a successive cross relation in m. 43. It is an extremely striking harmonic event (compared to other successive cross relations) because of the unusual amount of oscillation (F sharp, F natural, back to F sharp)<sup>56</sup> to end this section. In this particular Mass, the repetition of the words “Son of the Father” take on an added layer of importance because of the (earthly) father-son relationship between Joseph and Jesus, and Sumaya makes sure the moment stands out.

## Credo

### *Form and Hymn Tune Relationships*

<sup>56</sup> For these reasons, I argue that Tello’s suggested F natural is an essential harmonic moment of the piece and should be relished with great abundance.

As the lengthiest text in the Mass ordinary, the Credo stands to have the most structural complexity. Sumaya's setting of this text does not have as straightforward an application of the hymn tune as the Kyrie and Gloria, but there is still an inherent logic to the overall architecture. Some of this is obscured by Tello's edition which hides formal markers. In consultation with manuscript, however, a large-scale form is recognizable: three calligraphic letters divide up the sections of the Credo (there are, of course, smaller divisions to be had). The sections are A: "Patrem" (mm. 1-60), B: "Et incarnatus" (mm. 61-86), C: "Crucifixus" (mm. 87-133), and D: "Et in Spiritum" (mm. 134-199). The A section begins and ends with statements of phrase one of the hymn tune. This rounded form aligns with the return of the hymn tune for a text painting "descent" (the hymn tune's characteristic opening gesture is a descending perfect fifth) for "descendit de caelis" (descended from heaven). The B section opens with imitation in the tenor 1 and bass 1 of phrase two of the hymn tune, proceeds to phrase three of the hymn tune at "Ex Maria," and concludes with phrase four of the hymn tune at "Et homo factus est." These two sections (A and B) utilize all four phrases of the hymn tune in order.

Sections C and D have large swaths of music without the hymn tune, but phrase one does occur several times. The first instance is at "Passus et sepultus est," in the soprano 1 part. Perhaps the descending musical gesture, which was used earlier for "descendit," paints the idea of Jesus being laid in the grave. The Credo ends with phrase four of the hymn tune (at the text "saeculi. Amen"), in the most rhythmically energetic setting of the Mass: displaced entrances and rhythmic variation abound (dotted quarter notes and eights replacing the usual half notes). One hears the repetitious entrances painting "saeculi" (forever) in a reverberant echo of eternity.

All eight of López Capillas' Masses divide the text in the same way Sumaya does, showing how closely Sumaya followed cathedral traditions. The form of the Credo (essentially a bipartite apportionment of the tune) is summarized in Table 3.4.

**Table 3.4. Paraphrase form in the Credo**

<b>Mass Text</b>	<b>Subdivision</b>	<b>Hymn Phr. No.</b>
<b>Credo</b>	Patrem	1
	Et incarnatus	2, 3, 4
	Crucifixus	1
	Et in spiritum	4

*Texture, Harmony, and Text Relationships*

As in the Gloria, changes in texture and harmony are often motivated by a desire to paint the text. Antiphony is the main texture in the Credo, perhaps due to the length of its text and a desire to deliver the doctrines of the church clearly and audibly. Using this texture in a polychoral Mass has numerous local and peninsular precedents, so it is probably less an example of Italian influence on Sumaya than a continuation of the tradition as outlined in the *Diario Manual*.<sup>57</sup> In several places, Sumaya creates a relationship between different parts of the Credo text by treating them both with a similar musical gesture. One example of this is the use of a pedal tone in the treble part. “Et in unum Dominum” (And in one God, mm. 14-15) gets a single note recitation from all voices on a single C major sonority in mm. 14-16. Similarly, “Deum verum de Deo vero” (True God, from true God, mm. 35-38) has a treble pedal point on G. The

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<sup>57</sup> Which proceeds in the tradition of ordinals at Spanish cathedrals; See the “Nota primera” in *Diario Manual*, fols. 2r-2v.

connection is straightforward in these examples where he uses the same text painting effect for the one, true God.

Sumaya uses pedal technique with even greater intensity in mm. 123-129 (Figure 3.22) for “Et iterum venturus est cum gloria, judicare vivos et mortuos” (He shall come again with glory to judge the living and the dead).

**Figure 3.22. Pedal point technique for “Et iterum” in the Credo. Tello, *Archivo...Misas*, 62-63.**

The image displays a musical score for the Credo, specifically the section "Et iterum venturus est cum gloria, judicare vivos et mortuos". The score is arranged in two systems. The first system (measures 123-127) features a vocal line with lyrics: "Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est cum glo - ri - a, ju - di - ca - re vi - vos et mor - tu - os:". The second system (measures 127-130) continues the vocal line with lyrics: "vi - vos et mor - tu - os: mor - tu - os: mor - tu - os: mor - tu - os:". A prominent pedal point is visible in the bass line, consisting of a sustained low note (likely E-flat) that serves as a harmonic anchor throughout the passage. The score includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one flat, and various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Around the pedal, the remaining singers perform jagged sequences that move through Dm, C, B flat, and even a distant E flat. The E flat, which is found on the last beat of m. 125 at “judicare vivos et mortuos” (will judge the living and the dead), also appears in several other places in the Mass in which the text expresses ideas of death and the last judgement: “resurrectionem mortuorum” (resurrection of the dead, mm. 184-187) and “passus, et se pultus est” (died, and was buried, mm. 102-103). In linking this harmonic symbolism with the use of a treble pedal tone, Sumaya emphasizes that the final judgment comes from “the one True God.”<sup>58</sup>

<sup>58</sup> One wonders if a subtext vis a vis the religion of the indigenous populations could be read here.

Sumaya also employs striking harmonies to close the movement. The arresting rising sequence, emphasized by the short, fragmented phrases and the voice-leading (the treble starts below the alto and then leaps above it to a dissonant second each time) intensifies the “Et vitam venturi” (and life to come). Figure 3.23 shows this effervescent, if short-lived, moment in Sumaya’s Mass. Note also that, reversing the descent into flat keys motivated by texts about death and judgement, the composer here uses a move into sharp keys to portray the promise of resurrection.

**Figure 3.23. “Et vitam venturi” sequence rising through circle of fifths.**  
Tello, *Archivo...Misas*, 70.

The Virgin Mary also receives a unique textural treatment. The tenor 1 and bass 1 drop out leaving just four voices to sing “ex Maria Virgine” (Figure 3.24). There is no other moment quite like this in the Mass.

**Figure 3.24. Reverential texture for the Virgin Mary in the Credo.** Tello, *Archivo...Misas*, 57-58.

The image shows a musical score for the Credo, specifically the section for the Virgin Mary. It consists of four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, and Tenor 2) and a basso continuo line. The lyrics are "Ma - ri - a Vir - gi - ne:". The music is in G major and 4/4 time. The Tenor 2 part features long note values, creating a sense of suspension and reverence. The score is numbered 70 and 75.

The presence of the hymn tune (tenor 2) in this moment associates Saint Joseph with the Virgin, much like the musical genuflection during “Jesu Christe” in the Gloria or “Maria Joseph” in the motet. The long note values create a sense of a suspended halo around these words. The Virgin Mary is not only central to Catholic doctrine but plays a particularly important role in Latin American religious practice as the Virgin of Guadalupe.<sup>59</sup> Sumaya adds a full measure of rest after this statement to set it off from “ET HOMO FACTUS EST.” This serves both symbolic and practical concerns: to reverence Mary and add time for kneeling before the Incarnation is proclaimed.

## Sanctus

### *Form and Hymn Tune Relationships*

The Sanctus text, as set by Sumaya, does not present a musician with an obvious form because without a Benedictus there is a lack of “Hosanna” parallelism. Musicologist Mark Brill relates to Stanziano, “It was quite common in Spanish (and, by extension New World) Masses of

<sup>59</sup> See Drew Edward Davies, “Villancicos from Mexico City for the Virgin of Guadalupe,” *Early Music* 39, no. 2 (May 2011): 229-244, doi:10.1093/em/car015.

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to omit the Benedictus altogether. Sometimes it was replaced with a villancico or other semi-liturgical work,”<sup>60</sup> but Illari strongly disagrees, suggesting instead to superimpose the Benedictus text on the Sanctus for an aBaB form.<sup>61</sup> One cannot prove and established *modus operandi* for the Mexico City Cathedral regarding this formal issue when consulting the aforementioned López Capillas works. Of the eight Masses, three lack a polyphonic Benedictus. Due to the clarity and detail of this particular manuscript, sent to the Spain as a “presentation copy intended to validate the chapel master’s right to an ecclesiastical benefice,”<sup>62</sup> the omission of a polyphonic Benedictus supports the notion that an alternative approach was employed. The practice of alternation between polyphony and chant (or organ/instruments) is prescribed for other liturgical moments in the *Diario Manual*, therefore it’s plausible to envision a plain chant texture for the Benedictus and a return to Sumaya’s second A section, “Hosanna in excelsis.” This would fulfill the liturgical demands that the entire text be present (in any given texture) and create a musically balanced form.

The text of the Sanctus is three sentences long, so Sumaya sets the music in an ABA’ form. By using the hymn tune phrase one (or three) as the structural element in the A sections, he achieves the same ternary design he used in the Kyrie. We might expect to find phrase two of the hymn tune somewhere in the B section. There may be some hints at phrase two if we remove the initial pitch (G) and truncate the end of the phrase (Figure 3.25), although these motives are more likely heard as cadential material while the harmony shifts to tonicize a Bb major chord.

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<sup>60</sup> Stanziano, 36.

<sup>61</sup> Illari, email correspondence with the author, April 11, 2021.

<sup>62</sup> Lester D. Brothers, “A New-World Hexachord Mass by Francisco López Capillas,” *Anuario Interamericano de Investigación Musical* 9 (1973): 5, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/779905>.

Figure 3.25. Sanctus, treble part, B section with potential tune fragment, mm. 27-30.



In this movement, therefore, Sumaya has avoided any strict adherence to paraphrase beyond using phrase one/three twice; phrases two and four are omitted. The Sanctus’ partial paraphrase form is summarized in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5. Paraphrase form in the Sanctus

Mass Text	Subdivision	Hymn Phr. No.
Sanctus	Sanctus	1
	Pleni sunt caeli	Free/2
	Hosanna	3

Stanziano’s dissertation includes a thorough description of the subject-countersubject relationship in this movement.<sup>63</sup>

### *Texture and Text Relationships*

In keeping with the ABA’ format of this portion of the Mass, the “Sanctus” and “Hosanna” sections share the Baroque subject-countersubject texture. “Hosanna” has more swirling energy than “Sanctus” because of the quantity and density of countersubjects. The B section begins with antiphony and proceeds into a blend of imitation and antiphony. “Pleni sunt” (Are full) fills over four measures of one F major sonority, direct text painting. Similarly, all

<sup>63</sup> Stanziano, “Manuel de Sumaya,” 36-39.



relation approach: the tenors ratchet F natural into F sharp.<sup>64</sup> The word “glorificamus” receives a similarly active harmonic treatment in the Gloria movement (mm. 11-12).

## Agnus Dei

### *Form and Hymn Tune Relationships*

Sumaya’s fidelity to the hymn tune in the Agnus Dei notable. This movement of the Mass contains a complete, and uninterrupted, setting. Beneath the tenor 1 and alto 2 parts, Sumaya inscribes the text of the hymn, making the connection concretely. Tello attests to encountering this in the manuscript and has included it in his edition.<sup>65</sup> The two parts are related by canon: the alto enters two measures after the tenor at the interval of a fourth above. The canon is strict and continues until the last measures of the piece where the tenor’s final breve is held until all voices conclude. The alto truncates the canon by only one note. The Agnus Dei’s hymn tune and text correspondences are summarized in Table 3.6.

**Table 3.6. Paraphrase Form in the Agnus Dei**

<b>Mass Text</b>	<b>Subdivision</b>	<b>Hymn Phr. No.</b>
<b>Agnus Dei</b>	Agnus Dei	1
	Peccata mundi	2
	Miserere nobis	3
	Miserere nobis	4

The text of the Agnus Dei is tripartite, AAB, but the music written does not follow that format. Instead, Sumaya only sets the A (“Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis”).

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<sup>64</sup> The final cadence of “Hosanna” (m. 52) also dazzles with a successive cross relation wheeling into the most tightly packed cadential voicing of the work.

<sup>65</sup> Tello, *Archivo...Misas*, 1.

There is no repeat sign at the end of the section, nor any suggested substitutions for the “dona nobis pacem” which would be needed for the liturgical celebration of the text. The Agnus Dei is one continuous section of thirty-three measures, so, unlike earlier movements, the hymn tune is not used to create a larger architectural shape. The López Capillas Masses show variable treatments of the Agnus Dei. Five of the eight contain a “dona nobis pacem.” Sumaya’s incomplete setting of the text is therefore a relatively common practice at the Mexico City Cathedral, much like the omission of the Benedictus.

Although Sumaya would not have thought of the Agnus Dei as an ending movement, he does create a sense of finality in its final bars. The polyphonic texture descends with the hymn tune, and the voicing of the final chord vis a vis those of the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo (Figure 3.27) is more sonorous; it corresponds with the harmonic series. The Agnus Dei ends with a particularly lovely 4-3 suspension in the highest voice; earlier occurrences of this suspension are always buried in an internal voice.

**Figure 3.27. Final chord voicings**



### *Texture and Text Relationships*

The most important feature of this portion of the Mass is the strict canon between the tenor 1 and alto at the interval of the fourth. This is not a choice driven by text; rather, it ties the *Missa Te, Joseph, celebrant* to a long tradition of Renaissance Mass settings which use canon for

their final movement, and brings a clean, compact form to the last movement. Despite its short length, there is a variety of texture in the Agnus Dei's thirty-three measures. Similar to the Kyrie, hymn tune phrase one and three have a subject-countersubject feel, and phrase two features equal voiced imitative polyphony. A plagal progression (where the Gloria and Credo set a final "Amen") completes the movement.

### *Harmonic Signals*

Sumaya avoids the unusual harmonies he used to paint the text in earlier movements. Perhaps this is due to the solemnity of this text, which occurs just before Communion.

## **MOTET**

"Cum esset desponsata" is appointed for use at various feasts celebrating Saint Joseph. March 19<sup>th</sup> (Patriarch) uses this text for the antiphon of the third Psalm at First Vespers,<sup>66</sup> while the Patronage of Saint Joseph "(celebrated on the Wednesday that comes three weeks after Easter)"<sup>67</sup> uses it as a Magnificat antiphon.<sup>68</sup> Russell also notes the use of this text for a Marian feast and for Christmas.

"'Cum esset desponsata' appears as the Offertory at the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary on October 11...and according to Robert Snow...was be utilized as the antiphon that frames the Magnificat for 1st Vespers at Christmas. (See Robert Snow, "Toledo Cathedral MS *Reservado 23*: A Lost Manuscript Rediscovered," *Journal of Musicology*, vol. 3, no. 2 (summer 1983), 246-77, esp. p. 270."<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> *Liber Usualis*, 1121.

<sup>67</sup> Manuel de Sumaya, *Cum esset desponsata*, Craig Russell, ed. (San Luis Obispo, CA, 2016), ii of an unnumbered introduction.

<sup>68</sup> *Liber Usualis*, 1146.

<sup>69</sup> Manuel de Sumaya, *Cum esset desponsata*, Craig Russell, ed. (San Luis Obispo, CA, 2016), ii of an unnumbered introduction.

The title page of Sumaya's setting reads, "Motet for six voices in honor of the Holy Patriarch Joseph, Cum esset Desponsata, etc., by Master Manuel de Sumaya in the year 1715."<sup>70</sup> The six voices do not count an unfigured continuo part which is also included.<sup>71</sup> The voicing corresponds with that of the Mass (written the previous year), with two bass parts and two tenor parts.<sup>72</sup> There are moments of antiphony between tenor 1/bass 1 and the other four voices, further linking it with the antiphonal textures of the feast's Mass. This also puts the motet in compliance with the *divido* (divided) forces prescribed in the *Diario Manual* "Note One."<sup>73</sup> The facsimile of the manuscript is in very good condition and can be found in Puebla Cathedral Legajo 19, Rollo 5.<sup>74</sup>

There are two modern engravings, one by Russell and one by Illari. As the original is written with high clefs, Illari has transposed the original notation down a fourth (key signature of one sharp). Russell has two engravings available: at the original notated pitch (no key signature) and transposed down a step (key signature of two flats). Both editions use modern clefs, and Russell has included his own realization of the continuo part for use by a modern player.

While the hymns of Choirbook 4 are mostly *de facistol*, the motet genre lies somewhere in between that style and freely constructed *música a papeles* of the Mass. A motet is both polyphonic and preserved on loose sheets of paper. The style is less likely to be linked to plain chant as the *de facistol* tradition.

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<sup>70</sup> Manuel de Sumaya, *Cum esset*, Russell, ed., ii of unnumbered introduction.

<sup>71</sup> Manuel de Sumaya, *Cum esset*, Russell, ed., iii of unnumbered introduction. This further suggests that the missing part of the six-voice Mass is a continuo part.

<sup>72</sup> The antiphonal scoring is obscured by the engraving as SATTBB. Using a TB/SATB division would better align with the Mass, the textural treatment, and the performance practice finding that TB would probably be performed from the organ balcony above the SATB choir.

<sup>73</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 2r.

<sup>74</sup> Manuel de Sumaya, *Cum esset desonsata*, 1715, Personal Photograph Collection of Archivo Catedral Metropolitana de Puebla, legajo 19)9 by Craig H. Russell, San Luis Obispo, CA.

### *Form and Hymn Tune Relationships*

The motet does not contain any references to the hymn tune *Te Joseph, celebrent*. Further, the plain chant in the *Liber Usualis* does not correspond with any of the melodic motives of this piece. More research into the hymn cycle at the Cathedral of Mexico City is necessary to investigate any potential tune sources, but at this time it appears that the work is freely composed.

The form of the motet is ternary: ABA'. The form is Sumaya's creation as the text is only one sentence long. In the liturgy, an antiphon was performed before and after the appointed Psalm (Ant. - Ps. - Ant.). Perhaps that ternary structure inspired him to create an imbedded rounding as well. The text ("Cum esset desponsata Mater Jesu Maria Joseph, antequam convenirent, inventa est in utero habens de Spiritu Sancto")<sup>75</sup> includes two commas. Sumaya concludes the A section at the first comma (m. 22). A four-measure introduction opens the B section where "antequam convenirent" is sung only once,<sup>76</sup> and the section develops the remaining text through m. 43. The A' section of the motet begins in m. 44, recapitulating the text and melodic material of the opening section.

The style of the piece is imitative (*de facistol*), and a closer look at textures uncovers an important change in m. 22. Before that, the A section is mostly in equal voiced imitative polyphony; the B section is mostly in antiphony. An intriguing moment occurs at m. 13 where the full choir enters. In the *Liber Usualis*, "Mater Jesu," is preceded by a \* indicating that when performed as plain chant, the choir begins. In this setting, Sumaya tilts his hat to chant tradition through the use of homophony.

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<sup>75</sup> "Cum esset desponsata (19 Martii)," GregoBase, <https://gregobase.selapa.net/chant.php?id=2778>.

<sup>76</sup> See the next section, "Texture and Text Relationships," where I argue that this could also be seen as an interjection or aside, which points to Sumaya's ability to use his literary training in parallel with musical gesture.

### *Texture and Text Relationships*

The text of the first section is set in equal voiced imitative texture, meaning the biblical story is paired with a historic, backward-looking musical style. This makes for a stark contrast to the antiphony for “in venta” when the surprise of the pregnancy is painted with a noticeably different, full texture of the choir. Neatly sandwiched between the two events is “antequam convenirent” (before they had come together). Showing his literary training, Sumaya acknowledges the important, but less-essential, subclause with a musical aside: he assigns it just four measures of duration. The “habens de Spiritu Sancto” in mm. 34-41 is set as equal voiced imitative polyphony. Its horizontal imitation twists and winds like the dove of the Holy Spirit.

### *Harmonic Signals*

The marriage of Sumaya’s religious training and compositional skill are on display in this motet. Three techniques transform its formless Proper text, which focuses more on Mary and the Incarnation than it does on Saint Joseph, into a potent liturgical tool. The first device Sumaya features is a chain of secondary dominants (a gesture we have seen in the Mass) between mm. 14-21. As seen in Figure 3.28, there are nine V-I progressions (including a deceptive one m. 18-19).



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### Performance Practice Suggestions

The previous two chapters have shown Sumaya's works to be embedded in a rich musical tradition (both local and peninsular) and composed with musical, literary, and dogmatic rigor. In order to facilitate equally attractive performances, this chapter will consider ways to realize their expressive nature via a Spanish-Novohispanic lens. Issues to be addressed are eighteenth century Novohispanic diction, pitch and transposition, composition of the music chapel, implications of Chapter Two's examination of local practices, and implications of Chapter Three's analytical exploration. The chapter concludes with suggestions for concert programming.

### **18<sup>th</sup> CENTURY NOVOHISPANIC DICTION**

Latin was pronounced with the influence of the vernacular language until the beginning of the twentieth century. After this point, in reaction to concerns from the Vatican, most of the world moved to a standard, unified pronunciation of Latin largely influenced by Italian. Thus, Sumaya's Spanish influenced sound-world is lost if performers use the anachronistic twentieth-century pronunciation. The use of locationally inspired pronunciation is particularly integral to this study because of its emphasis on situating Sumaya in the musical tradition of Spain and New Spain. By understanding shifting Iberian and Novohispanic dialects, we attempt to recreate the sound of Sumaya's music as he would have heard it.

Elements of Spanish pronunciation have varied over time and place. These variations in have been partially described by Copeman (whose findings for the Iberian Peninsula are

applicable for the period 1400-1650), Estrada (whose findings are also for Spain post-1600), and Wall (whose modern diction guide for singers helps fill in the gaps).<sup>1</sup>

Spanish is a largely phonetic language, so some of the work here is achieved simply through the “one letter one sound” philosophy, while other suggestions need explanation and qualification. The following is a compendium of the findings, and it is footnoted to facilitate the reader’s ability to understand and evaluate the choices which are made. Conductors should note that Spanish follows “breath phrases” where word boundaries are ignored;<sup>2</sup> the pronunciation of the final letter of a word must be considered in conjunction with the beginning letter of the following word, and vice versa.

### Vowels

- a, e, i, o, and u are pronounced as [a] [e] [i] [o] and [u].
- “oe” and “ae” are pronounced [e].<sup>3</sup>

### Consonants

- “b” and “v” had lost their differentiation in pronunciation by the beginning of the eighteenth century and were pronounced either [b] after a pause or nasal consonant (m or n), or [β] in all other cases.<sup>4</sup>
- “c” before a, o, u or consonant as [k], and before e or i as [s].<sup>5</sup>
- “cc” is [k] unless the following letter is e or i where it becomes [kse] or [ksi].<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Harold Copeman, *Singing in Latin: or Pronunciation Explored* (Oxford: H. Copeman, 1992); Harold Copeman, “Spanish Latin,” in *Singing Early Music*, Timothy J. McGee, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996); Javier Estrada Ramiro, “Pronunciación de los textos latinos puestos en música. Estudio práctico para la interpretación de la música Española,” *Revista aragonesa de musicología* 24, no. 1 (2008), accessed online November 30, 2020, <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=3039617>; and Joan Wall, *Diction for Singers* (Freeland, WA: Pacific Isle, 1990).

<sup>2</sup> Wall, 238.

<sup>3</sup> Estrada, 86.

<sup>4</sup> Copeman, “Spanish Latin,” 163.

<sup>5</sup> Wall 258-9. See discussion below about *seseo*.

<sup>6</sup> Estrada, 80. Although, Estrada does suggest [k:k] as a possibility because each letter receives one sound. Estrada’s ce and ci use [θ] because of the Iberian peninsular focus. This is addressed in the next section “Further Qualifications and Explanations.”

- “d” is [d] after pause, l, m, n, r, or s, and [ð] intervocalic and elsewhere (Copeman adds *Deus* and its variants to the [ð] list).<sup>7</sup>
- “f” as [f].<sup>8</sup>
- “g” before a, o, u, or consonant [g]; before e, i [x]; between vowels and following s as [ɣ].<sup>9</sup>
- “gn” as [ɣn].<sup>10</sup>
- “h” is silent.<sup>11</sup>
- “i/j” consonant (not “i” as vowel) as [j], the voiced palatal fricative.<sup>12</sup>
- “k” as [k] and without aspiration.<sup>13</sup>
- “l” as [l]. “English speakers need to produce this sound on the ridge behind the teeth, not as a dark semivowel.”<sup>14</sup>
- “ll” as [l:l] (not as the Spanish glide “elle” [ʎ] or [j]) or simply as [l].<sup>15</sup>
- “m” as [m], “mn” as [n], word-final “m” as [m] unless mp or mb as [np] and [nb].<sup>16</sup>
- “n” as [n], “nct” as [nt], “nf” and “nv” as [mf] and [mβ].<sup>17</sup> Probably np as [mp].<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Copeman, *Singing in Latin*, 178; Wall, 234. They have different ways of approaching this but following Copeman gets the same results without the need to understand Spanish syllabification. This simplifies the IPA transcription process. The general rule is to follow Modern Spanish instincts (if you have them).

<sup>8</sup> Copeman, “Spanish Latin,” 163.

<sup>9</sup> See discussion below in “Further Qualifications.”

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Margarita Hidalgo, *Diversification of Mexican Spanish: A Tridimensional Study in New World Sociolinguistics*, vol. 111, *Contributions to the Sociology of Language*, ed. Ofelia Garcia and Francis M. Hult (Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter, 2016), 23.

<sup>12</sup> Estrada 78-9. This is one of the major changes to Copeman’s research introduced by Estrada. He uses the Spanish “y” as the symbol. I have represented this with the IPA symbol because Estrada, like many Spanish speakers, equates [j] with Italian [dʒ] in his Italianate Latin section, but that varies regionally. He also points to the avoidance of [x] for the “j”. YouTube account Glossika Phonetics has helpful images and sounds such as “[j] voiced dorsal palatal non sibilant fricative,” YouTube Video, 1:03, October 1, 2016, <https://youtu.be/jXY5wj56kQY>.

<sup>13</sup> Copeman, “Spanish Latin,” 164; Wall, 240.

<sup>14</sup> Copeman, “Spanish Latin,” 164.

<sup>15</sup> Estrada, 81. Manuel de Sumaya, *Missa Te, Joseph, celebrent, Agnus Dei*, 1714, Personal Collection of Joseph Amante y Zapata, South Kingstown, RI, shows a misspelling of “tollis” as “tolis” which can be used as evidence to support this finding.

<sup>16</sup> Copeman, “Spanish Latin,” 164. Unfortunately, Estrada omits these words (e.g., omnes), so we cannot tell what his approach would be.

<sup>17</sup> Copeman, “Spanish Latin,” 164. Unfortunately, Estrada omits these words (e.g., sanctus), so we cannot tell what his approach would be.

<sup>18</sup> Wall, 241.

- “p” as [p], [b] between vowels, dropped in consonantal groups.<sup>19</sup> Always without aspiration.<sup>20</sup>
- “qu” + a or o as [kwa] and [kwo], but “qu” + ae, e, or i as [ke], [ki].<sup>21</sup>
- “r” as [r] (flap) with the addition of Wall’s [r] for word initial or after n, s because of increased specificity in modern pronunciation.<sup>22</sup>
- “rr” as [r].<sup>23</sup>
- “s” [s], unless before a voiced consonant, then [z].<sup>24</sup>
- “ss” as [s].<sup>25</sup>
- “sc” + a, o, u as [sk]; e, i as [se], [si]<sup>26</sup>
- “t” has always been dental.<sup>27</sup>
- “v” same as “b” above
- “x” [ks].<sup>28</sup>
- “z” as “s” above in Latin America.<sup>29</sup>

### *Further Qualifications and Explanations*

There are a few holes in the scholarship of pronunciation because linguists understandably point to the complexity of language in any given place, and at any given time. A choir director, however, needs to make one decision and seek uniformity from their singers.

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 164. No findings from Estrada in this regard and his tables omit the words in question like “omnipotentem.”

<sup>20</sup> Wall, 240.

<sup>21</sup> Following Copeman’s suggestion here because Estrada gives us two options, and this is one of them. Copeman, “Spanish Latin,” 164.

<sup>22</sup> Wall, 264. Also see Hidalgo, 13 and 15, for charting irregular spelling changes that confirm pronunciation trends.

<sup>23</sup> Copeman, “Spanish Latin,” 164.

<sup>24</sup> Copeman, *Singing in Latin*, 179; Wall, 266.

<sup>25</sup> Copeman, *Singing in Latin*, 179n143.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 178-9. (see note regarding *seseo* below)

<sup>27</sup> “*occlusiva en toda la península ibérica*,” Estrada, 66.

<sup>28</sup> Copeman, “Spanish Latin,” 165. There are many qualifiers here and unresolved issues which lead to options to choose from. I’ve elected for a simplified application of this rule from Copeman.

<sup>29</sup> Copeman, *Singing in Latin*, 180.

Estrada and Copeman agree that “qui” can be pronounced as [kwi] or [ki]; I have chosen the more modern sounding (and to my ear Spanish sounding) [ki] in these cases.<sup>30</sup>

The “g” and “gn” are also thorny letters. Estrada suggests modern Spanish pronunciation rules for “g” as a velar fricative [x] or [g] depending on context.<sup>31</sup> I suggest the modern rule articulated by Wall which uses [ɣ] when “g” follows “s,” but that doesn’t occur in the Mass Ordinary.<sup>32</sup> Copeman’s suggestion that “gn” is [gn] with a light “g” is confusing.<sup>33</sup> I have chosen to represent this as [ɣ] to simplify the situation. You may wish to follow Copeman more closely by differentiating between [g], light “g” (symbol unknown), and [ɣ].

One of the most noticeable differences between some Iberian dialects and Latin American Spanish is in the pronunciation of “s,” “c,” and “z,” a phenomenon known as *seseo*, *ceceo*, or *distinción*. “*Seseo* is a variety of Spanish pronunciation in which a single phoneme [s] corresponds to both [θ] and [s] of standard Peninsular Spanish.”<sup>34</sup> Margarita Hidalgo’s *Diversification of Mexican Spanish* tracks the predominance of *seseo* in Mexico in this time period.<sup>35</sup> Despite proximity to the Viceroy (and thus Castilian speech patterns), *seseo* was used at the cathedral, too. There is evidence of this in the spelling of particular words in the *Diario Manual*. The entry for Saint Joseph reads, *hay procesión que hase estación en la capilla de este glorioso santo* (There is a procession that stations itself in the chapel of this glorious saint).<sup>36</sup> The

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<sup>30</sup> Estrada, 79.

<sup>31</sup> Estrada, 82.

<sup>32</sup> Wall, 261.

<sup>33</sup> Copeman, “Spanish Latin,” 164.

<sup>34</sup> Ralph Penny, *A History of the Spanish Language*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 327 quoted in Sonia Kania, “Documenting ‘yeísmo’ in Medieval and colonial Spanish texts,” *Romance Philology* 64, no. 2 (2010): 223n1, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44741901>.

<sup>35</sup> Hidalgo, 286-7.

<sup>36</sup> Or “at the chapel.” Depending on the size of the procession, this may be an important qualification. Catedral de México – Cabildo, 1751, fol. 68r, *Diario Manual de lo que en la catedral de México se practica y observa en su altar, coro y demás que le es debido hacer en todos los días del año* [manuscrito] / hecho por el M. I.

use of the spelling *hase* instead of *hace* means the word would likely have been pronounced [ase] not [aθe]. Evidently, the so-called “Castilian Lisp” ([θ]) was not an essential feature of the cathedral pronunciation system during Sumaya’s tenure. The use of the spelling *hace* not eight days later also indicates a potential equivalence: the scribe may have interchanged the two versions because they sounded the same to him.<sup>37</sup> Estrada’s research shows that by 1862 “ti” + vowel was pronounced like the Spanish letter “c.”<sup>38</sup> His research uses [θ] when followed by “e” or “i,” one peninsular pronunciation. The IPA guide below transcribes “ti” + vowel as [s] (the Latin American pronunciation of the letter “c”) to support the findings of the emerging *seseo* trends in New Spain.

### *Pronunciation Guide*

The format for this section uses IPA on the first line without brackets, the source text on the second line, and in the case of the motet and hymn, literal translations on line three. The motet and hymn are also accompanied by poetic translations of the text. For word for word and poetic translations of the Mass text, consult the work of Ron Jeffers.<sup>39</sup> The entire Mass Ordinary is transcribed, even the texts not set in *Missa Te, Joseph, celebrent*, for two reasons: some of these texts are set by Sumaya in his other Masses, and conductors seeking to perform works by Sumaya’s contemporaries may also find this comprehensiveness helpful.

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*y Bene. Sr. Deán y Cabildo*, E-Mn Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000111740> (hereafter cited as *Diario Manual*).

<sup>37</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 69v.

<sup>38</sup> Estrada, 84-5.

<sup>39</sup> Ron Jeffers, *Translations and Annotations of Choral Repertoire. Vol. 1, Sacred Latin Texts*. Earthsongs, 1998.

## **Kyrie**

kirie eleison  
Kyrie eleison.

kriste eleison  
Christe eleison.

## **Gloria**

gloria in ekselsis ðeo<sup>40</sup>  
Gloria in excelsis Deo.

et in tera paks  
Et in terra pax

ominiβus, bone<sup>41</sup> βoluntatis  
hominibus bonæ voluntatis.

lauðamus te beneðisimus te  
Laudamus te; benedicimus te;

aðoramus te glorifikamus te  
adoramus te; glorificamus te.

grasias aximus tibi  
Gratias agimus tibi

propter maynam gloriam tuam  
propter magnam gloriam tuam.

domine ðeuz rekselestis<sup>42</sup>  
Domine Deus, Rex coelestis,

ðeus pater onibotens  
Deus Pater omnipotens.

domine fili unixenite jesu kriste<sup>43</sup>  
Domine Fili unigenite Jesu Christe.

---

<sup>40</sup> Deo as a form of Deus with [ð]

<sup>41</sup> Left as [b] because of a new breath group. Preceding punctuation “,” from Tello’s score indicates potential for breath at this spot. Texture change also indicates a new section.

<sup>42</sup> A final letter and the same beginning letter of the next word are combined into one sound. Wall, 249.

<sup>43</sup> Copeman, “Spanish Latin,” 163, for this pronunciation which departs from vernacular pronunciation patterns.

domine deus agnuz dei<sup>44</sup>  
Domine Deus, Agnus Dei,

filius patris  
Filius Patris.

ki tolis pekata<sup>45</sup> mundi  
Qui tollis peccata mundi,

miserere nobis  
miserere nobis.

ki tolis pekata mundi  
Qui tollis peccata mundi,

susipe deprecationem nostram  
suscipe deprecationem nostram.

ki sedes ad dexteram<sup>46</sup> patris  
Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris,

miserere nobis  
miserere nobis.

kwoniam<sup>47</sup> tu solusantus  
Quoniam tu solus Sanctus,

tu soluz dominus  
tu solus Dominus,

tu solus altisiumus jesu kriste  
tu solus Altissimus, Jesu Christe.

kum santo spiritu  
Cum Sancto Spiritu

in gloria dei patris  
in gloria Dei Patris.

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<sup>44</sup> Derived from Deus, so with [ð].

<sup>45</sup> See section *Further Qualifications and Explanations* for issues of doubling. Also, consider (sins) may benefit from extra emphasis for expressive delivery.

<sup>46</sup> In a breath group, ending and beginning syllables of the same letters are considered a single sound.

<sup>47</sup> Like Spanish *cuando* [kwando], but [koniām] is also an option.

amen<sup>48</sup>  
Amen.

**Credo**

kredo in unum deum  
Credo in unum Deum;

patrem onibotentem  
Patrem omnipotentem,

faktorem seli et tere  
factorem coeli et terrae,

bisiβilium onium et inbisiβilum  
visibilium omnium et invisibilium.

kredo in unum dominum jesum kristum  
Credo in unum Dominum Jesum Christum,

filium dei unixenitum  
Filius Dei unigenitus,

et eks patre natum ante onia sekula  
Et ex Patre natus ante omnia saecula.

deum de deo lumen de lumine  
Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine,

deum verum de deo βero  
Deum verum de Deo vero,

xenitum non faktum  
Genitum non factum,

konsuβstansialem patri  
consubstantialis Patri:

per kem onia fakta sunt  
per quem omnia facta sunt.

ki propter nos omnes  
Qui propter nos homines,

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<sup>48</sup> Although Copeman, *Singing in Latin*, 177, suggests “may now be heard as [amin].”

et propter nostram salutem  
et propter nostram salutem

desendit ðe selis  
descendit de coelis.

et inkarnatus est de spiritu santo  
Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto

eks maria ßirxine et omo faktus est  
ex Maria Virgine: et homo factus est.

krusifiksus esiam pro nobis  
Crucifixus etiam pro nobis

sub ponsio pilato<sup>49</sup>  
sub Pontio Pilato,

pasus et sepultus est  
passus et sepultus est.

et resureksit tersia ðie  
Et resurrexit tertia die

sekundum skripturas  
secundum Scripturas.

et asendit in selum  
Et ascendit in coelum:

sedet aðeksteram patris  
sedet ad dexteram Patris.

et iterum benturus est kum gloria  
Et iterum venturus est cum gloria,

juðikare ßiβos et mortuos  
judicare vivos et mortuos:

kujuz reyni non erit finis  
cujus regni non erit finis.

kredo in spiritum santum  
Credo in Spiritum Sanctum,

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<sup>49</sup> Because it is a proper name, I've decided to keep this "p" as [p] although the rules would indicate [b]

dominum et vivificantem  
Dominum, et vivificantem:

qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.

qui cum Patre et Filio simul  
Qui cum Patre et Filio simul

Adoratur et conglorificatur  
adoratur et conglorificatur:

qui locutus est per profetas  
qui locutus est per Prophetas.

kredo in unam sanctam  
Credo in unam sanctam

katolikam et apostolicam ecclesiam  
catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam.

confiteor unum baptisma  
Confiteor unum baptisma,

in remissionem peccatorum  
in remissionem peccatorum.

et expecto<sup>50</sup> resurrectionem mortuorum  
Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum

et vitam venturi saeculi  
et vitam venturi saeculi.

amen  
Amen.

### **Sanctus**

santus dominus deus sabaoth  
Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth.

pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua  
Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua.

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<sup>50</sup> Copeman, "Spanish Latin," 165.

osana in ekselsis  
Hosanna in excelsis.

beneðiktus<sup>51</sup> ki ßenit  
Benedictus qui venit

in nomine ðomini  
in nomine Domini.

osana in ekselsis  
Hosanna in excelsis.

### **Agnus Dei**

aynuz ðei  
Agnus Dei,

ki tolis pekata mundi  
qui tollis peccata mundi,

miserere noßis  
miserere nobis.

dona<sup>52</sup> noßis pasem  
Dona nobis pacem.

### **Motet: “Cum esset desponsata”**

kum eset ðesponsata mater jesu maria josef  
Cum esset desponsata Mater Jesu Maria Joseph,  
when was espoused mother (of) Jesus Mary Joseph

antekwam conbenirent  
antequam convenirent,  
before they came together

inbenta est in utero haßenz de spiritu santo.  
inventa est in utero habens de Spiritu Sancto.  
Found was in uterus bearing of Spirit Holy

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<sup>51</sup> Benedictus does not appear in this version of the mass. Assuming that the word starts a new breath group, it will be pronounced [b] as indicated here.

<sup>52</sup> “Dona nobis pacem” does not appear in this version of the mass. Assuming that this word starts a new breath group, it will be pronounced [d] as indicated here.

*Poetic Translation*

When Mary, the mother of Jesus, was espoused to Joseph,  
before they came together,  
she was found with child of the Holy Spirit.<sup>53</sup>

**Office Hymn: Te, Joseph, celebrent**

noβis suma trias parse precantiβus  
Nobis, summa Trias, parce precantibus:  
Us greatest Trinity spare us we entreat

da josef meretisiðera skandere  
Da Joseph meretis sidera scandere,  
Give us Joseph merits star to rise to

utandem liseat nos tiβi perpetim  
Ut tandem liceat nos tibi perpetim  
So that at last allowing us to you perpetually

gratum promere kantikum amen  
Gratum promere canticum. Amen.  
grateful bring out song Amen

*Poetic Translation*

O Trinity, most high, spare us as we pray,  
Grant us through Joseph's merits to rise to Heaven:  
So that at last we me perpetually to Thee  
Utter our grateful canticle.<sup>54</sup>

## PITCH & TRANSPOSITION

### Performing Pitch

The two large organs are the instruments that determine the pitch in the cathedral. These organs are the same instruments in use at the cathedral today. When Sumaya was a boy, the Sesma organ was installed on the Epistle side (from the choir looking to the high altar, the right)

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<sup>53</sup> This anonymous translation is from "Cum esset desponsata (Heinrich Isaac)," CPDL, accessed on January 27, 2021, [https://www.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Cum\\_esset\\_desponsata\\_\(Heinrich\\_Isaac\)](https://www.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Cum_esset_desponsata_(Heinrich_Isaac)).

<sup>54</sup> "Te Joseph celebrent," GregoBase, accessed January 27, 2021, <https://gregobase.selapa.net/chant.php?id=2235>.

and was finished in April of 1695.<sup>55</sup> It is known as the Spanish organ because it was made in Spain and then shipped to the New World. The Nassarre organ is on the Gospel side (from the choir looking to the high altar, the left) and was finished in 1736, just before Sumaya would leave for Oaxaca Cathedral.<sup>56</sup> The Nassarre organ was constructed in Mexico and is referred to as the Mexican organ.

The chapter requested that the Sesma organ be pitched a step below Madrid pitch, “tuned to approximately  $a' = 392$  Hz – a half step lower than the 415 Hz typical of Spain.”<sup>57</sup> The head organist, Joseph Ydiáquez, requested that the *cadereta de espaldas*<sup>58</sup> be kept at the Madrid pitch of  $a' = 415$  Hz in order to facilitate the accompanying of instruments without the organist’s need to transpose.<sup>59</sup> Sesma pitched the organ a whole step below Madrid (apparently, *punto bajo* could mean either a whole or half step lower), so, after installation, two tunings were needed: 1) to raise it to the requested  $a' = 392$  Hz, and 2) to raise it again to  $a' = 415$  Hz after complaints from the musicians.<sup>60</sup> The higher stops were simultaneously raised to a final position of  $a' = 440$  Hz because the tuning was facilitated by shortening all of the pipes.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Javier Marín López, “Música y Músicos entre dos mundos: La catedral de México y sus libros de polifonía, Siglos XVI-XVIII,” (PhD diss., Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007), 187.

<sup>56</sup> Marín, “Música y Músicos,” 186.

<sup>57</sup> Drew Edward Davies, ed., *Manuel de Sumaya: Villancicos from Mexico City*, vol. 206 in *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque* (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2019), xvii37.

<sup>58</sup> Defined as “a small division of the organ placed at the rear of the organist’s back and on the gallery rail. Its equivalent in England is the choir organ, or in Germany the rückpositiv,” in Ruben Valenzuela, “The Basso Continuo in Mexico City Cathedral, ca. 1700-1750: Instruments, Practices, and Performers” (PhD diss., Claremont Graduate University, 2015), 266, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

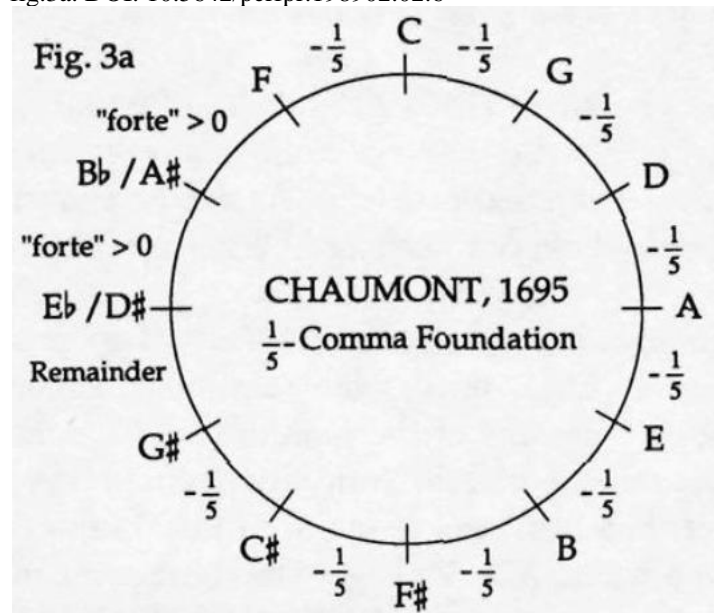
<sup>59</sup> Ruben Valenzuela, 125-126.

<sup>60</sup> Edward C. Pepe, “The Installation by Tiburcio Sanz and Félix de Yzaguirre of the Jorge de Sesma Organ for Mexico City Cathedral: 1692-95,” *Revista de musicología* 29, no. 2 (2006): 453-455, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20798195>.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. Pepe describes that despite the request for the *cadereta de espaldas* to be higher in pitch, Sesma decided to apply the transposition to a “secondary chest raised above the main chest and played by the keyboard of the Great organ. Pepe, 453.

In the 1970s, Flentrop Orgelbouw restored both fire-damaged organs to their eighteenth-century specifications.<sup>62</sup> At that time, the company pitched the organs at  $a' = 415$  Hz and tuned them with *Chaumont* temperament, a finding related to the measurements of the pipes' original length.<sup>63</sup> This unequal temperament is a modification of meantone created by narrowing many of the fifths by one fifth of a comma as seen in Figure 4.1.

**Figure 4.1. Distribution of fifths in *Chaumont* temperament**  
 Robert Bates and Kimberly Marshall, "A Response from the Custodians: More Thoughts on the Stanford Temperaments," *Performance Practice Review* 2, no. 2, Article 6 (Fall 198): 158, fig.3a. DOI: 10.5642/perfpr.198902.02.6



## High Clefs

The terms high clefs (*claves altas*) or *chiavette*<sup>64</sup> refer to a modally-derived practice of Renaissance composers to keep the pitches of their compositions on the musical staff and to

<sup>62</sup> Ruben Valenzuela, 127.

<sup>63</sup> Ruben Valenzuela, 127.

<sup>64</sup> *Chiavette* is most likely an anachronistic term since Sumaya was not living in the Renaissance, and in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the term was not associated directly with high clefs. See Early Music Sources, "High clefs (so called Chiavetta) and transposition," YouTube Video, 11:35, January 10, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qBmBuMsiIt0>.

avoid more than one ledger line.<sup>65</sup> Sumaya's use of high clefs "points to the persistence of Counter-Reformation polyphonic practices at Mexico City Cathedral in the early eighteenth century."<sup>66</sup> Pieces written with high clefs (soprano G clef on the second line, alto C clef on the second line, tenor C clef on the third line, and bass either F clef on third line or C clef on fourth line)<sup>67</sup> should be transposed down from their written pitch in order to find the intended pitches.<sup>68</sup>

Editors disagree as to the amount of transposition one should implement when dealing with high clefs. In "Durango [Spain], a harpist, supplied a villancico with two harp parts, the second transposed up at the interval of a perfect fifth, but at least in one instance wrote on his manuscript, 'May be played one step lower than is written with accidental.'"<sup>69</sup> On the other hand, Davies notes that "Spanish theorists Pablo Nassarre, Francisco Valls, and Joseph de Torres all advocated the downward transposition of a fourth in Spanish works, specifically excluding Italian compositions."<sup>70</sup> He suggests that music by Sumaya should be transposed down a fourth (and not a fifth as Praetorius suggests in some cases) based on archival research in Mexico City Cathedral: the relationship between violin and voice parts in Sumaya's villancico "Oíd, moradores del orbe" are a fourth apart.<sup>71</sup> Gaspar Sanz and Illari similarly promote the fourth down, while Tello's edition of the Mass is transposed down a fifth (perhaps to concord with

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<sup>65</sup> Chester Alwes, *A History of Western Choral Music: From Medieval Foundations to the Romance Age*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 8-9.

<sup>66</sup> Davies, *Manuel*, xvii.

<sup>67</sup> Alwes, 9.

<sup>68</sup> It should be noted that this process is distinct from pitch adjustment which raises or lowers a piece to better fit the group at hand. "This was called *punto alto/bajo* or *dos puntos altos/bajos* and could mean adjustment of up to a third from the intended, notated pitch." Illari, email communication with the author, April 11, 2021.

<sup>69</sup> Paul Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 79n17.

<sup>70</sup> Ruben Valenzuela, 223.

<sup>71</sup> Davies, *Manuel*, xviii.

Praetorius' directive or due to the early date of his engraving). The general consensus here is that a fourth transposition is the most standard practice.

### Implications for the Saint Joseph Pieces

All of Sumaya's pieces for Saint Joseph would have been performed with basso continuo ensembles and with *colla parte* instruments tuned to the Sesma organ. The pitch standard would have been about  $a' = 415$  Hz, around a half step below modern pitch, because the aforementioned issues with variant tunings were resolved by May of 1695. This is fortunate as many modern performers working on period instruments have adopted  $a' = 415$  Hz as a standard tuning practice.<sup>72</sup>

In examining Russell's edition of Salazar's hymn, it seems to be without transposition because it lies about a fourth above the others. We can determine that Spiess/Stanford's edition of Loaysa's hymn is without transposition though comparison of the edition with Marín's catalogue entry No. 55 which shows the same pitch content and high clefs.<sup>73</sup> Illari's forthcoming edition of the Mass will be transposed down a fourth. I have chosen to transpose the hymn "Nobis summa Trias" down a fourth in keeping with the Spanish and local evidence suggested above. Table 4.1 summarizes the amount of transposition each editor has used when realizing the high clefs for their modern scores.

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<sup>72</sup> This is, of course, a compromise of sorts which seeks to make things easier on the players of period instruments who travel because research shows that pitch varied from town to town in Early Modern times.

<sup>73</sup> Marín, "Música y Músicos," 268.

**Table 4.1. Amount of downward transposition to realize high clefs**

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Editor</b>	<b>Transposition</b>
Sumaya	Mass: <i>Te, Joseph, celebrent</i>	Illari	4th
Sumaya	Mass: <i>Te, Joseph, celebrent</i>	Tello	5th
Sumaya	Motet: "Cum esset desponsata"	Illari	4th
Sumaya	Motet: "Cum esset desponsata"	Russell	2 Ver: None & 2nd
Sumaya	Hymn Vs 5: "Nobis summa Trias"	Mason	2 Ver: None & 4th
Salazar	Hymn Vs 1: "Te, Joseph, celebrent"	Russell	Unknown
Loaysa	Hymn Vs 1: "Te, Joseph, celebrent"	Spiess/Stanford	None

Sumaya adhered to the prime modal rule of using near uniform voice ranges within and across the works (see Table 4.4). This suggests that the use of a uniform transposition for high clefs of the works would complement his thoroughness and perhaps realize one local practice on a single feast. Conveniently, uniformity allows for fewer, or a more consistent practice of, revoicing technique for performance with a modern mixed ensemble.<sup>74</sup>

## COMPOSITION OF THE MUSIC CHAPEL

Just as Bach wrote his *Entwurff* to the City Council of Leipzig, Sumaya outlined the numbers of musicians in his ideal chapel to the Mexico City Cathedral Chapter on September 19, 1718.<sup>75</sup> Sumaya appeals to mathematic analogies to determine a staffing range. The minimum end of the range is based on an ideal of twenty singers. This is derived from a proportion of one

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<sup>74</sup> The piece was originally performed by male singers. There are a few instances where the alto part drops beneath the tenor, a range that is probably too low for modern ensembles which use female altos. Switching some singers between alto and tenor in these cases will result in a better sound.

<sup>75</sup> Marín, "Música y Músicos," vol. 3, 67-70.

on a part singing in five choirs of four singers each.<sup>76</sup> He acknowledges his experience that all singers are not equal (saying some are industrious but not talented, and some are talented, but lazy), and thus a greater number is required. Further justification by appealing to peninsular precedent is presented. He notes the reasons grand Spanish courts and chapels have traditionally staffed more than twenty musicians, appealing to a sensibility of national precedent. To follow their lead, he suggests the establishment of a core of positions (*plazas*), leaving the remainder of the need to be addressed through flexible hiring. The fixed positions make up choir 1. They are two trebles, two altos, two tenors, an organist or harpist, and a skilled *bajón* player.

To determine the maximum number of musicians needed, Sumaya calculates for variation of vocal quality using another proportion, multiples of 4. This is derived from the base number of singers in a single choir. Using this logic, he suggests staffing choir 1 with four singers, choir 2 with eight singers, and choir 3 with twelve singers for a total of twenty-four. This higher number of musicians would account for less talented singers by placing more of them in choirs 2 and 3, a “safety-in-numbers” philosophy. It also addresses the issue of *coro divido* whereby a choir further away (e.g. up in the organ tribunes<sup>77</sup>) would need more singers to balance a choir which was closer to the listener. He also augments this argument by noting the size of the Mexico City Cathedral: larger forces and more robust voices are needed to compensate for such a vast acoustic space.

To summarize his case, Sumaya uses the two aforementioned mathematical frameworks to suggest a range for staffing: twenty on the low end and twenty-five on the high end.<sup>78</sup> He then

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<sup>76</sup> For an understanding of reasons behind submitting his request in this way, including Neoplatonism, see Bernardo Illari, “Ideas de Sumaya,” *Revista de Musicología* 43, no. 2 (2020): 617-624.

<sup>77</sup> The tribunes are small balconies above the choir. Some face out into the nave.

<sup>78</sup> Twenty-five would be arrived at by adding the *maestro de capilla* to the aforementioned twenty-four singers.

reports that the existing staff (and lists their names) is fulfilling all of the necessities of the church.<sup>79</sup> The apportionment of Sumaya’s ideal twenty-four is summarized in the following chart where *seises* refers to boy choristers and *contralto* is the term used by Sumaya for the alto part which was generally sung by adult males. No basses were kept on staff at the cathedral during this time, but they were hired for special events. Although Sumaya’s original framework used voices to determine a staffing range, here Sumaya takes those 24 positions and divides them among vocalists and instrumentalists.

**Table 4.2 Sumaya’s ideal music chapel forces (1718)**

<b>Musician</b>	<b>Sumaya's Ideal 1718</b>
<b>Treble Voice</b>	No adults mentioned. Perhaps <i>seises</i> only (assuming they're well qualified)
<b>Contralto Voice</b>	5 (2 for choir 1, 3 for other choirs)
<b>Tenor Voice</b>	5 (2 for choir 1, 3 for other choirs)
<b>Violin</b>	2 (to support the trebles)
<b>Violón</b>	1
<b>Corneta</b>	2 (that can also play chirimía from tribunes)
<b>Bajón</b>	4 (that can also play chirimía from tribunes)
<b>Sackbutt</b>	1
<b>Harp</b>	1
<b>Organist</b>	3 (one preeminent player and two weekly players)
<b>Total</b>	24

*Source:* Data adapted from Javier Marín López, “Música y Músicos entre dos mundos: La catedral de México y sus libros de polifonía, Siglos XVI-XVIII,” (PhD diss., Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007), 175.

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<sup>79</sup> Is it surprising that the top number Sumaya asks for is exactly the same as what was employed, excepting a few instrument assignments? Regarding the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Jesus Ramos-Kittrell writes, “[it was] a period marked by acute financial deficit in the cathedral. In effect, it is during this time that the exuberance of ritual performance comes into question, since the individuals immediately affected were those responsible for ritual performance, namely the music chapel and the choir chaplain.” Jesus Ramos-Kittrell, “Music, Liturgy, and Devotional Piety in New Spain: Baroque Religious Culture and the Re-evaluation of Religious Reform during the 18th Century,” *Latin American Music Review* 31, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2010): 86. It is worth considering if Sumaya went to great lengths *not* to articulate an ideal. Was his inspiration to provide a palatable and rational argument to a cathedral chapter under financial duress in order to maintain the status quo?

## Vocal Forces

The music chapel at Mexico City Cathedral was comprised of men and boys. Curiously, Sumaya does not discuss the ideal number of boys needed in the 1718 letter. The boys, known as *seises*, sang the treble part along with some adult men. The number of boys varied from year to year, and *mozos de coro* (other male adolescents who were undergoing voice changes who may have had religious duties in addition to or in place of singing) were lumped into the total number of boys even though they may or may not have sung the *triple* line (Table 4.3).<sup>80</sup> Further, “archival documents show that, from 1687 until 1738 (the last year of Sumaya’s tenure as chapel master) the [music chapel] was comprised of anywhere from twenty-four to thirty individuals. It is unlikely that the chapel kept a consistent number of members since musicians came and left the cathedral quite regularly throughout the years.”<sup>81</sup> Table 4.3 shows this variation of the number of boy singers.

**Table 4.3. Number of boy choristers at Mexico City Cathedral**

Chapel Master	Year	Number of <i>seises</i> and <i>mozos de coro</i>
Hernando Franco	1582	12
Antonio Rodríguez de Mata	1623	4
Luis Coronado & Melchor Reyes	1647	6
Juan de Zúñiga Coronado	1675	5

Source: Data adapted from Javier Marín López, “Música y Músicos,” 171.

Sumaya does, however, bemoan that the *seises* of 1718 are lacking in musical knowledge which requires him to teach music by rote and lowers the quality of the final product.<sup>82</sup> He lists the names of three adult men who are adequately singing treble at that time to fill in the gap

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<sup>80</sup> “Glosario – M,” Red Digital MUSICAT, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, accessed online March 22, 2021, <http://musicat.unam.mx/red-ontologica/Glosario.php?search=m>.

<sup>81</sup> Jesus Ramos-Kittrell, “Dynamics of Ritual and Ceremony at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico: 1700-1750” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2006), 54.

<sup>82</sup> Marín, “Música y Músicos,” vol. 3, 67-70.

created by the mediocre *seises*.<sup>83</sup> Presumably, the adult men “led the charge” by virtue of their advanced music literacy, and the *seises* increased the tonal beauty. Ramos-Kittrell has shown that the chapter was always looking for more quality adult singers. “On December 10, 1749, for example, Archbishop Manuel Rubio y Salinas gave permission to pay for four *castrati* from Naples.”<sup>84</sup> The three adult men that Sumaya mentions could therefore have been *castrati* or falsettists, but the nature of his writing suggests that they were a stopgap, not ideally suited for the part as a *castrati* might have been. Unlike what we hear from British cathedrals today, the resulting timbre at Mexico City Cathedral was a unique blend of intergenerational sounds on the treble part.

The alto part would have generally been performed by adult men. The presence of solo/choir 1 lines in Davies’ edition of Sumaya’s villancicos shows that A and T are the most common soloists, pointing to a virtuosity of a trained adult singer. Illari corroborates this with findings in Sucre Cathedral where consistent names on the alto part are adult men, not *seises* (although *seises* might sing the alto line of the lowest (third or fourth) choirs because those are generally much simpler).<sup>85</sup>

There are no vocal basses on staff in the music chapel. Much of Salazar’s music features bass lines without text, and Sumaya’s villancicos “are all untexted, and thus no bass singers are needed to perform any of them.”<sup>86</sup> In fact, the lack of vocal basses is a characteristic of most Latin American cathedral music compositions, perhaps an aesthetic preference or lack of natural

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Jesus Ramos-Kittrell, “Dynamics of Ritual and Ceremony at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico 1700-1750” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2006), 48.

<sup>85</sup> Illari, email correspondence with the author, April 11, 2021.

<sup>86</sup> Davies, *Manuel*, xv.

bass voices at large.<sup>87</sup> Sumaya would have needed to hire basses for the Feast of Saint Joseph to sing the texted bass parts or move some tenors with lower ranges to the bass part. He may not have had to look that far. In Valladolid and Madrid, Spain, “the chaplains’ voices are added to the [SAT] forces, and their participation together with the chapel in singing polyphony—not only plainchant, which is their main role—has been documented in several [other] institutions.”<sup>88</sup>

There were two chaplaincies at Mexico City Cathedral: Erection and Lorenzana, named for the funding source of either the original founding documents or a donor named Lorenzana. Sumaya himself was examined for an Erection Chaplaincy in 1708 which required candidates to sing an antiphon, intone a psalm, and read a lesson, and despite his “eminent” performance, he did not win the position.<sup>89</sup> We may assume, then, the high quality of the chaplains at Mexico City Cathedral and there is the possibility that they followed the precedent of Valladolid in hiring them when basses were needed.<sup>90</sup>

Consider the following chart which outlines the vocal ranges of each of the Latin pieces written for Saint Joseph.

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<sup>87</sup> Illari, email correspondence with the author, April 11, 2021.

<sup>88</sup> Pablo Ballesteros Valladolid, “Performing a Polychoral Mass with Voices, Organ, and Minstrels during the Middle Decades of the Seventeenth Century in the Cathedral of Valladolid, Spain,” *Fontes Artis Musicae* 66, no. 3 (July-September 2019): 284 and 284n12, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26797453>.

<sup>89</sup> Unfortunately, Sumaya did not win the spot, perhaps owing to a sentiment by the archbishop that he would choose the most convenient candidate (Loa was already a skilled Lorenzana chaplain) and Sumaya (lauded as eminent) as assistant organist would have left his spot open. Archive of the Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México (ACMM), *Actas de cabildo*, book 26, fols. 166v-167v, June 21, 1708, in *Musicat-Actas de cabildo y otros ramos*. Databases of the cathedrals of Mexico, Puebla, Oaxaca, Guadalajara, Morelia, Mérida and Durango (here after *Musicat -Actas de cabildo*), registry MEX 69000148, available at: [www.musicat.unam.mx](http://www.musicat.unam.mx), April 12, 2021.

<sup>90</sup> His hymn “Sit Trinitati” just before “Nobis summa Trias” in Mexico City Choirbook 4 (13v and 14r) has a texted bass part, so he did write for them in other spots besides the Mass and motet, even if they were not regularly employed or trained by the cathedral specifically for this purpose.

**Table 4.4. Ranges of the voice parts for Sumaya’s works for the Feast of Saint Joseph<sup>91</sup>**

Voice Part		Hymn	Motet	Kyrie	Gloria	Mass			Composite
						Credo	Sanctus	Agnus Dei	
Treble	High Note	D5	E5	E5	E5	E5	E5	E5	E5
	Low Note	D4	D4	D4	D4	C4	C4	D4	C4
Alto	High Note	A4	A4	A4	A4	A4	A4	G4	A4
	Low Note	D3	G3	G3	A3	G3	E3	G3	D3
Tenor 1	High Note	D4	F#4	E4	F#4	F#4	E4	D4	F#4
	Low Note	D3	D3	D3	D3	D3	F#3	D3	D3
Tenor 2	High Note		E4	D4	F4	F#4	D4	E4	F#4
	Low Note		D3	D3	D3	D3	C#3	D3	C#3
Bass 1	High Note	A3	B3	B3	B3	C4	B3	C4	C4
	Low Note	F#2	F#2	F2	D2	D2	G2	G2	D2
Bass 2	High Note		A3	B3	B3	C4	G3	A3	C4
	Low Note		F#2	F#2	D2	D2	E2	D2	D2
Continuo	High Note		B3						B3
Melody	Low Note		D2						D2

All of the ranges are low by modern standards of an SATB choir. The tessitura (not indicated here) is quite low, as well. The bass 1 and bass 2 parts lie at the bottom quarter of the staff and extend downward to D2 a few times. With another half step lower for performance pitch, the lowest note is C#2! Was Sumaya concerned that his basses might not be able to sing that line very well, or at all? This evidence may support the assertion that the written bass lines were doubled, perhaps with *bajón* - the instrument that most regularly played the untexted bass lines in polychoral music at the cathedral.<sup>92</sup>

Modern basses would find it quite comfortable to sing the lines labeled tenor because of their correspondence with modern baritone ranges. Shifting upward, allotting some tenors to the alto lines and some altos to the treble lines, which are also lie quite low, will be more functional for a modern ensemble. In Chapter Two, I discussed some possible symbolic reasons that

<sup>91</sup> C4 is “middle C.” Reference also the issue of *chiavette* transposition in this dissertation and its implications for the indicated ranges of the Mass. This chart adjusts Tello’s edition to a 4th transposition instead of a 5th so all pieces are uniformly treated. The result is nearly identical ranges for each voice part. This shows Sumaya’s fastidious attention to this element of composition and to the original octave range of the hymn tune.

<sup>92</sup> Davies, *Manuel*, xvi.

Sumaya texted the bass part, but the modern choir may have to choose between using an SATB ensemble which leaves out a few notes on the bass part (being covered by a doubling instrument) or transposing the high clefs less far if they want the clearest singing from the lowest part.

### Instrumental Forces

If we consider the established, regularly funded, positions in the music chapel (Table 4.5), there are three possible instruments for *colla parte* performance (beyond those in the continuo group): violin, cornett,<sup>93</sup> and chirimia.<sup>94</sup> Sumaya requests two violins to double the treble part in his 1718 letter to the chapter, and “string instruments are known to have performed *colla parte* with choirbooks in various European churches of the period.”<sup>95</sup> The cornett and chirimia come in different sizes, a versatility which makes them helpful in doubling voices other than tiple.<sup>96</sup> The Spanish term for consorts of instruments is *ministriles*, “by far the favorite seventeenth-century doubling [method].”<sup>97</sup> In Europe, consorts of cornetts were not uncommon, and at Mexico City Cathedral they were essential during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>98</sup> The treble and tenor versions of cornett or chirimia were used to double in Mexico City Cathedral,<sup>99</sup> seemingly leaving the alto undoubled. However, Table 4.4 points to an overlap

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<sup>93</sup> “Corneta” Wind instrument with a circular mouthpiece and a wooden body covered in leather in a curved shape. “Glosario – C,” Red Digital MUSICAT, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, accessed online April 5, 2021, <http://musicat.unam.mx/red-ontologica/Glosario.php?search=c>.

<sup>94</sup> Precursor of the oboe, a woodwind with a free reed. Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Davies, *Manuel*, xiv.

<sup>96</sup> Douglas Kirk, “Cornett,” in *A Performer’s Guide to Renaissance Music*, ed. Jeffrey Kite-Powell (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 106.

<sup>97</sup> Illari, email correspondence with the author, April 11, 2021.

<sup>98</sup> Marín, “Música y Músicos,” 215 and 208.

<sup>99</sup> Marín, “Música y Músicos,” 215.

between tenor and alto ranges, so the tenor cornet player might also be able to perform the alto line.<sup>100</sup>

**Table 4.5. Music chapel forces under Salazar and Sumaya**

Musician	Salazar 1709	Sumaya 1718	Sumaya's Ideal 1718
Treble Voice	2 adults	3 adults	0? Perhaps <i>seises</i> only (assuming they're well qualified)
Contralto Voice	8	7	5 (2 for choir 1, 3 for other choirs)
Tenor Voice	4	7	5 (2 for choir 1, 3 for other choirs)
Singers w/o part assignment	3	-	-
Violin	0	1 plays violin and violón	2 (to support the trebles)
Violón	1 (played by a singer)		1
Corneta	3	0	2 (that can also play <i>chirimía</i> from tribunes)
Bajón	6 (one of which plays <i>chirimía</i> )	4	4 (that can also play <i>chirimía</i> from tribunes)
Sackbutt	1 (plays sackbutt and harp)	1 (plays sackbutt and harp)	1
Harp			1
Organist	2 (+1 who can also play <i>bajón</i> )	2 (both preeminent players)	3 (one preeminent player and two weekly players)
Total	31	26	25

Source: Data adapted from Javier Marín López, “Música y Músicos,” 171.

Note: Consult Marín’s version of the chart for further comparison which contains the apportionment of the music chapel in later years as well as the corresponding numbers from viceregal Lima.<sup>101</sup>

It is important to consider instruments that are not established, regularly funded, positions in the music chapel of 1718 because players were expected to have a facility with a variety of instruments. Instruments one might have assumed were only for Renaissance doubling are suggested by Illari as still a part of the traditional sound-world. “The typical group would use soprano cornetto, alto and tenor shawms, tenor sackbut and bass curtal; [or] *bajoncillo* quartets (which honor their other English name, dulcians), while evidence for sackbuts is slim in Mexico. Finally, if you have multi-instrumentalists capable of doubling on corneta, bajón, and *chirimía*, they certain were able to play recorders.”<sup>102</sup> Unsuspecting modern audiences would certainly enjoy hearing Sumaya’s harmonic daring on “Renaissance” instruments.

<sup>100</sup> On the other hand, one might consider that in the mid-sixteenth century in Spain there is an account of mixed ensembles. “From a foreigner’s viewpoint, the most distinctive aspect of Spanish sacred music was the role of instruments. According to Marguerite de Valois, *une messe à la façon d’Espagne* (a mass in the Spanish manner) meant in 1577 a mass with *violons et cornets*.” Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1961), 298.

<sup>101</sup> One wonders at the skill of the *violón* player who was co-listed as a singer. Did he ever do both at once?

<sup>102</sup> Illari, email correspondence with the author, April 11, 2021.

*Basso Continuo: Harmonic Instruments*

The two most common options for harmonic realization of the *basso continuo* (indicated in sheet music as bass, continuo, or *acompañamiento*) are harp and organ, with harp being a first choice.<sup>103</sup> Davies finds that two small positive organs were available to Sumaya (the harpsichord being prescribed during Holy Week), and the double-stringed harp was the version used.<sup>104</sup> Marín corroborates the presence of two portative organs saying, “In 1683 the number...was two, remaining this number until the end of the viceregal period.”<sup>105</sup> Valenzuela notes that the two main organs were also likely used as continuo instrument “even when the ensemble was positioned on the choir’s main floor,” although Davies is more demure, noting they “may or may not” have done so for villancicos.<sup>106</sup> Valenzuela bases his argument on the existence of the *cadereta de espaldas* which “had, and continues to have, similar characteristics to that of a portable organ allowing for continuo accompaniment.” Valenzuela equivocates a bit by referencing his conversation with the current assistant organist at Mexico City Cathedral (who is playing the same organs installed during Sumaya’s tenure) who relates that the principal instrument (not *cadereta de espaldas*) is more often used for continuo because it is higher up and that allows him to hear the other players better (the *cadereta de espaldas* sounds just behind the organist’s bench).<sup>107</sup> Nevertheless, as will be discussed in the coming section “Implications of the Examination of Local Practices,” the organ balcony is over 26 feet above the floor of the choir, problematizing a nuanced interaction between the main organ as basso continuo with

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Davies, *Manuel*, xvi.

<sup>105</sup> Marín, “Música y Músicos,” 189.

<sup>106</sup> Valenzuela, “Basso Continuo in Mexico City,” 135 and 104. Davies, *Manuel*, xvi.

<sup>107</sup> Valenzuela, “Basso Continuo in Mexico City,” 117-118.

distant performers.<sup>108</sup> That is not to say that a small group of singers or instruments in the balcony would not have performed with the organ in this way. “Organ, whenever called for in the scores, plays the bass of the highest-numbered choir, whose members, one would assume, climbed to the organ loft to sing...but the harp was the most common instrument.”<sup>109</sup>

It is important make a note regarding guitar since it is so often heard today in Spanish music. Davies writes, “Although strummed guitar is a popular choice among modern-day performers by virtue of its associations with Spanish music in general, the guitar would not have been in regular use as a continuo instrument at Mexico City Cathedral, though it is known to have been present at certain special festivities on Corpus Christi and perhaps Christmas.”<sup>110</sup>

#### *Basso Continuo: Melodic Instruments*

The available instruments for melodic basso continuo were *bajón* (bassoon), *sacabuche* (sackbut),<sup>111</sup> and *violón* (bass violin)<sup>112</sup> *Violón* was most often a solo instrument, frequently used in dialogue with vocal soloists, and evidence for *sachabuche* is slim.<sup>113</sup> The *bajón*, on the other hand, is a consistent part of the Spanish timbre throughout the history of its musical performance. “In the Cathedral of Mexico, several types of *bajón* were used: the *bajón* proper, with bass tessitura, and three other *bajones* of smaller size and higher register (treble, alto, tenor) that were called *bajoncillos*. The little ones are employed at least from the second quarter of the

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<sup>108</sup> Illari, email correspondence with the author, April 11, 2021.

<sup>109</sup> Illari, email correspondence with the author, April 11, 2021.

<sup>110</sup> Davies, *Manuel*, xvi.

<sup>111</sup> Active in the cathedral until the 1750s. Marín, 220.

<sup>112</sup> *Violón* is “the six-stringed fretted bass instrument capable of playing at 8’ and 16’ pitch, was one of the principal continuo instruments in Spanish music during the seventeenth-century until the arrival of the violonchelo and the contrabajo in the eighteenth-century.” Ruben Valenzuela, 70.

<sup>113</sup> Illari, email correspondence with the author, April 11, 2021.

seventeenth century to about 1750.”<sup>114</sup> Quite surprisingly, the *Diario Manual* proscribes *bajón* for the performance of plain chant; it was “an accompaniment to the *canto llano* on anniversaries in which there was no polyphony.”<sup>115</sup> Further, “*bajón* is admitted as the only instrument in all ordinary and special processions both inside and outside of the cathedral.”<sup>116</sup> Because Davies notes that “*bajones*...were regularly used to accompany polyphonic choral music”<sup>117</sup> their use as the melodic instrument for continuo could provide a distinctly Spanish sound to modern performances. The large numbers of *bajón* players on staff certainly gives credence to using the family in doubling the other parts with *bajoncillos*.

#### *Basso Continuo: Group (Or Lack Thereof)*

The previous sections outlining the options regarding the basso continuo group have led to the conclusions that harp (or perhaps some kind of organ) and *bajón* were the two most likely instruments used for Sumaya’s compositions. I should be careful to note that the theoretical framework of a basso continuo as a *combination* of two forces (melodic and harmonic) does not necessarily hold in Mexico City Cathedral (or in other locations for that matter). Illari firmly believes that Sumaya’s continuo practice followed seventeenth-century Italian practice, whereby continuo lines were not doubled by a melodic instrument unless a separate part was issued.<sup>118</sup> He notes a change in the eighteenth-century, “double continuo parts become the norm in mid-

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<sup>114</sup> Marín, “Música y Músicos,” 211.

<sup>115</sup> Javier Marín López, *Los libros de polifonía de la catedral de México: estudio y catálogo crítico* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2013), 14, ProQuest Ebook Central.

<sup>116</sup> Marín, *Los libros*, 119.

<sup>117</sup> Davies, *Manuel*, xvi.

<sup>118</sup> As resources on this topic, Illari suggests Tharald Borgir, *The Performance of the Basso Continuo in Italian Baroque Music* (Rochester, NY: Univ. of Rochester Press, 2010) and Giulia Nuti, *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo : Style in Keyboard Accompaniment in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Burlington, VT : Ashgate; c2007).

century, for example under Manuel de Quirós in Guatemala. I don't know of ANY evidence for multiple continuo players reading from a single part [before that], and most pieces include but one copy of the continuo."<sup>119</sup> Davies concurs, adding that figures in Sumaya's villancicos almost never occur on an untexted bass part in a choir, but when they rarely appear, they are on a continuo (*acompañamiento*) part.<sup>120</sup> In summary, an untexted bass part which is counted as a voice in a polychoral texture would most likely be played by a melodic instrument, while a part specifically written for continuo would most likely receive only a harmonic instrument.<sup>121</sup>

### Implications for the Saint Joseph Pieces

The general needs of the pieces in this study are A.) for the Mass: instrumental doubling (perhaps *bajones* for the two bass parts which are quite low and instrumental in nature) and harmonic continuo instrument (generally harp, possibly portative organ), B.) for the hymn: instrumental doubling (SAT) and a melodic bass instrument (most likely *bajón*), and C.) for the motet: instrumental doubling and a harmonic continuo instrument (generally harp, possibly portative organ).

In order to make decisions regarding doubling, one can take into account actual, ideal, and traditional makeups of the music chapel. Davies' suggestions for instrumentation in Sumaya's villancicos works well for this Latin music as well: "Orient performances of these pieces, if not toward historically accurate renditions, at least toward plausible performances that

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<sup>119</sup> Illari, email correspondence with the author, April 12, 2021.

<sup>120</sup> Davies, *Manuel*, xvi.

<sup>121</sup> There is some "wiggle room" here with regard to the final (third? fourth?) choir in polychoral textures which would have the largest number of singers and could best be balanced by an organ for *ripieno* effect, at least with regard to precedent at Valladolid where the first choir was mostly performed one to a part. See Ballesteros: 294-295.

are satisfying both aesthetically and intellectually.”<sup>122</sup> Table 4.5 compares the differences between the music chapel staff in 1709, 1718, and Sumaya’s ideal formation articulated in 1718. These lists act as a starting place to imagine aesthetically and intellectually informed choices. One framework for determining doublings is the original performance of the Mass in 1714 and motet in 1715. Because Salazar died in 1715, Sumaya would have had Salazar’s apportionment of players at his disposal for their first performances (Table 4.5, Column 1). Cornett and *bajón* consorts are the most likely options from this chart, though Illari points to the more traditional mixed ensemble of soprano cornetto, alto and tenor shawms, tenor sackbut and bass curtal, or a consort of recorders.

A second framework for determining doubling might be the 1718 ideal articulated by Sumaya (Table 4.5, Column 2). It is possible that Sumaya repeated his Saint Joseph works for later celebrations of the same feast (or for other celebrations of Saint Joseph), so this reflects the changes in personnel in the music chapel over time. Regarding the number of singers, Sumaya would place 2 singers on each part in choir 1 and 3 singers on each part in choir 2 (hiring basses or conscripting the tenors on staff with lower extensions). Sumaya preferred the 2 vs. 3 apportionment between the choirs in order to *equalize* the choirs because of the range of ability amongst the singers. This is not an example of our modern solo v. choir texture, or the Baroque concertino vs. ripieno relationship, but rather a pragmatist’s attempt to find balance. While unlikely, it is also possible in this framework to make a historically informed choice to use strings for doubling. Sumaya’s villancico “Oid moradores del orbe” (the version written sometime after 1715) has two independent violin parts, so we know Sumaya employed violins before they became an established position in the music chapel and indicated them for treble

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<sup>122</sup> Davies, *Manuel*, xv.

doubling in his 1718 ideal.<sup>123</sup> He would add viola to the cathedral staff by 1720, and the *violón* had been around for some time as a solo instrument.<sup>124</sup> The double bass and cello wouldn't have been options until the 1750s.<sup>125</sup> These facts lead to a string consort for doubling, though the wind consorts are much more likely at that time, too.

## IMPLICATIONS OF THE EXAMINATION OF LOCAL PRACTICES

The most important finding in the primary source documents with regard to performance practice is the spacing of the choirs. *Cori sepzzati*, an Italian term commonly associated with Venetian polychorality, is an essential feature of Novohispanic music practice. In fact, it's written into the ordinal's very first note. While some theorists use the term *cori spezzati* to denote the presence of more than one choir, and that is certainly true in this music, its specific meaning here is also fundamentally linked with distance. "Note One" of the *Diario Manual* describes that "the first, third, and fifth Psalms, and Magnificat canticle *con papeles*<sup>126</sup> and instruments by choirs in the tribunes and floor of the choir."<sup>127</sup> Sumaya's motet "Cum esset desponsata" is the antiphon for the third Psalm at First Vespers, so it could have been performed in this *coro divido* (divided) formation just before the Psalm<sup>128</sup> to avoid musicians having to ascend the stairs between two otherwise connected pieces of the liturgy. Further, we see evidence

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<sup>123</sup> Marín, "Musica y Músicos," 193.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 197-8.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 199.

<sup>126</sup> Indicating concerted music on sheet music and not from a choirbook. See Marín, *Los libros*, 79.

<sup>127</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 2r.

<sup>128</sup> Illari notes that antiphons were often set as motets (but polyphony was not a requirement) and used freely within the services, not just in this liturgical location attached to the Psalm. Email correspondence with the author, April 9, 2021.

of this in the texture of the music: tenor 1 and bass 1 often sing in antiphony with the other singers. One example is shown in Figure 4.2. They should be considered choir 1 with the remaining SATB singers as choir 2.

**Figure 4.2. Antiphonal voicing related to the *Diario Manual*'s suggestion for *coro divido*, mm. 22-28.**  
Manuel de Sumaya, *Cum esset desponsata*, Bernardo Illari, ed. (2016), 3.

The image displays a musical score for a choir, specifically focusing on the antiphonal voicing between Tenor 1 (Te.1) and Bass 1 (B.1). The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "an - te - quam con - ve - ni - rent, in - ven - ta est in u - te - ro". The score is divided into two systems. In the first system, Te.1 and B.1 sing in antiphony, with Te.1 starting on a whole note and B.1 starting on a half note. In the second system, they continue their parts, with Te.1 and B.1 often singing in antiphony. The other voices (Ti.1, A., Te.2, B.2, and Cont.) are shown in the first system but are mostly silent in the second system, indicating they are part of a second choir.

The tribunes are at the same level as the choir gate. The gate measures in at 8.75 yards tall, so we can calculate that one of the choirs was more than 26 feet above the other!<sup>129</sup> The implication in performance is not only to space the choirs out, but also to take advantage of any vertical distance a venue may provide. Sumaya sets “Cum esset desponsata” with the same voicing as the Mass, a textural link between the two genres on the feast. One could also apply the *coro divido* principle to the Mass music, although the *Diario Manual* is silent on this matter.

<sup>129</sup> “The Choir, Mexico City Metropolitan Cathedral,” accessed January 27, 2021, <https://www.hisour.com/the-choir-mexico-city-metropolitan-cathedral-53082/>.

## IMPLICATIONS OF THE TEXTURES, CROSS RELATIONS, AND MUSICA FICTA

### Textures: Implications for Dynamics and Meter Groupings

The exploration of Chapter Three led to the description of three distinct textural types employed by Sumaya in these works. These textures are equal voiced imitative polyphony, antiphony, and subject-countersubject texture. There are some dynamic implications to consider for each of these textures. Equal voiced imitative polyphony and antiphony both imply parity of the voices' dynamic within a choir.<sup>130</sup> Subject-countersubject texture implies an inequality between the voices' dynamic. The following three examples provide cases where a conductor might choose to reinforce Sumaya's textural choices with dynamic choices designed to honor the composer's expressive intent.

The opening of the Gloria changes texture four times in just twelve measures. It begins with a subject-countersubject texture, so one might bring out the subjects based on the hymn tune with a *forte* dynamic and countersubjects behind them with a *piano* dynamic. This highlights the Mass' head motive and links it to the hymn, and thus to the feast. It also highlights the compositional backbone underpinning Sumaya's work. A decrescendo at the end of this phrase-texture unit (beat one of measure six) would set it off from the next idea, the phrase "bonae voluntatis" (m. 6), which features both choirs singing in homophony. A conductor might choose to perform this *forte*, with all voices equally weighted, to compliment the natural dynamic increase resulting from six voices singing at once. This dynamic treatment respects Sumaya's expressive intent to bring attention to "bonae voluntatis."

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<sup>130</sup> There are, however, many examples of antiphony where echoes are created by dynamic differences between choirs (Schütz Psalm 100, for example).

Equal voiced imitative polyphony follows at “Laudamus te. Benedicimus te. Adoramus te. Glorificamus te” (mm. 8-12). In this new texture, the voices should continue to be equally balanced. Their shared volume and phrase shaping (derived from the syllabification of the text) will bring out Sumaya’s intention to parallel the literary structure. This list of worship methods is set as a chain of secondary dominants, increasing in harmonic tension as they proceed through the chain of verbs. A crescendo would complement the growing harmonic energy. Starting the beginning of the section (m. 8) at a lower dynamic would allow the crescendo to be more audible and exciting.

A second example of textural contrast may be found at “Qui ex Patre” (Credo, m. 139). Here the choirs exchange phrases in antiphony before the equal voiced imitative polyphony of “simul adoratur.” Emphasis might be needed because the text amplifies the importance of the father-son relationship of the feast of Saint Joseph. There are no barlines in the original manuscript, so the singers would be primed to interpret this piece with the mindset of chant. Further supporting this idea, the *Diario Manual* prescribes that the environment surrounding this Mass would be all chanted, not spoken. In chant, groupings of three and word stress give contour and micro-phrasing to the line. With that in mind, one option is for the performer to view choir 2 beginning not with a tie across a barline, but as a half note/quarter note pair, creating a feeling of triple meter. These groupings of three are notated in Figure 4.3.

**Figure 4.3. Sumaya, *Missa Te, Joseph, celebrant, Credo*, mm. 138-145, with annotations of groups of 3 Aurelio Tello, *Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México*, vol. 8, *Archivo musical de la Catedral de Oaxaca: misas de Manuel de Sumaya. Revisión, estudio y transcripción Aurelio Tello* (Mexico: Conaculta, INBA, Cenidim, 1997), 64-65, <http://hdl.handle.net/11271/829>.**

We can bring out a sense of a joyous dance in these moments by emphasizing the temporary feel of compound meter: stress the new “downbeats” and shorten the final quarter note. This articulatory treatment also allows for an effective employment of the Baroque principal of inequality for when the texture changes. As such, the next texture’s stepwise-based polyphony might imply legato. It brings out their new “similarity,” a text-painting articulation which is most appropriate for “simul.”

A third example of textural contrast worthy of exploration is “in remissionem peccatorum” (Credo, mm. 1167-179). Here the equal voiced imitative polyphony implies an equivalence of dynamic and phrase treatment for the five voices. The sixth voice (bass 1) enters amid the polyphonic cloud singing the first phrase of the hymn tune in augmentation. Not unlike the Monteverdi *Vespers of 1610* where the *cantus firmus* is sung against a contrasting imitative texture, the conductor must choose whether or not to bring out the entrance of the hymn tune. The augmented tune’s late entrance, contrast with the imitation around it, and augmented rhythm

imply an increased focus on the tune. Raising its dynamic above the rest, and using a more marked articulation, will balance the legato, stepwise subject in the other voices. The imitated subject itself, with repeated quarters and a rising contour, parallels Sumaya's treatment of "simul adoratur" (together is adored) earlier in the Credo. This effect shows "meticulous care in crafting formal structure...by mapping out musical symmetries that underscore the text."<sup>131</sup> In effect, Sumaya's theological impulse is to make the text link, saying "we must adore God for the remission of sins." A marked entrance of the hymn tune thus creates a moment of contrast between the two parallel sections and an increased urgency related to the theological idea of sin.

### Cross Relations and Musica Ficta

Chapter Three showed that one of the important features of Sumaya's harmonic language is the use of the successive cross relations at structurally or doctrinally important authentic cadences, and in the motet, he increases the effect by using a simultaneous cross relation to end the work. Davies calls this an "unconventional quirk of Sumaya's counterpoint...especially in polychoral works."<sup>132</sup> When a cadential motion contains a  $V^{4\#3}$  harmonization of the penultimate chord, potential for a successive cross relation exists. There are many places in Tello's edition of the Mass where a choice must be made by the performer whether or not to follow the editor's suggestion as regards these cadences. Two guiding questions can be asked when evaluating the editorial suggestions: 1. What is the structural prominence of this cadence, and 2. Is there doctrinal or text painting significance to this cadence? There are many examples where one

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<sup>131</sup> Craig Russell describes Sumaya employing a similar technique in the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* for Holy Saturday, "Manuel de Sumaya: Reexamining the *a Cappella* Choral Music of a Mexican Master," *Encomium Musicae: Essays in Honor of Robert J. Snow* (January 1, 2002): 97, [https://digitalcommons.calpoly.edu/mus\\_fac/12](https://digitalcommons.calpoly.edu/mus_fac/12).

<sup>132</sup> Davies, *Manuel*, xiii.

could sing the successive cross relation as Tello suggests when answering the questions affirmatively. One example is “Filius Patris” (Gloria, m. 44). It ends the first section of the Gloria and brings attention to the feast’s father-son relationship through the oscillation between F sharp, F natural, and F sharp. Allowing for some ritard into these cadences could also give the ear an opportunity to appreciate the harmonic tension created by the effect.

Conversely, in the Gloria, the second section closes with a strong cadence in m. 90 on the name “Jesu Christe” (Figure 4.4). Here, however, Tello does not suggest a cross relation, instead preferring a B natural. The B flat may be more likely given the rest of the pitches in the tenor 1 line, and the striking structural prominence (as indicated in the manuscript and discussed in Chapter Three) points to its use. If you’re using a continuo player (for whom a part is non-extant at this time) they should realize the harmony as  $G^{4\#3}$  to support the voices in m. 89.

**Figure 4.4. Sumaya, *Missa Te, Joseph, celebrent, Gloria*, mm. 87-90.**

Aurelio Tello, *Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México*, vol. 8, *Archivo musical de la Catedral de Oaxaca: misas de Manuel de Sumaya. Revisión, estudio y transcripción Aurelio Tello* (Mexico: Conaculta, INBA, Cenidim, 1997), 47, <http://hdl.handle.net/11271/829>.

The image shows a musical score for measures 87-90. It consists of four vocal staves and a continuo line. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major/G minor) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: 'Chri - - - - - ste.' and 'su Chri - - - - - ste.' The score shows a cadence in measure 90 on the name 'Jesu Christe'.

Another example is the section “Et homo factus est” (Credo, m. 77) which cadences without cross relation. This moment regarding the Incarnation is both structurally and doctrinally important, so a cross relation could be used at the cadence. Using a cross relation brings gravitas, which adds to a sense of balance (another of Sumaya’s intentional compositional characteristics) just before an otherwise pedestrian treatment of the “Crucifixus.”

A final example to consider is the ending of Krynje II (m. 45). There is potential for a *simultaneous* cross relation, at the octave, between tenor 1 and treble.<sup>133</sup> The structural and doctrinal importance of this cadence is strong (notice by contrast, the internal “Christe” cadence does not create the opportunity for a cross relation, attesting to its medial position in the form). The sequence of harmonic motion begins in measure forty and gathers toward a dissonant approach to end the tri-partite form. Chapter Three discussed the voicing of the final chord as spacious. One might crescendo through the chromatic cadential approach and ease into the wide ending with a decrescendo.

## CONCERT PROGRAMMING

Church musicians will find use for this music in liturgical services. Most of its modern performance opportunities, however, will arise in concert settings. Understanding the liturgical context of the motet and the hymn could be helpful in choosing related concert pieces.

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<sup>133</sup> We see this same effect at the end of the motet as edited by Illari. Note Russell’s avoidance of what Sumaya has written in that exact same spot. Russell changes what Sumaya has written both melodically and harmonically.

The motet “Cum esset desponsata” is the appointed antiphon for the third Psalm at First Vespers.<sup>134</sup> Antiphons are to be performed before and after a Psalm. The breviary indicates that the Psalms for Saint Joseph’s First Vespers are to be the same as any normal Sunday, except that the fifth Psalm should be changed to *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*.<sup>135</sup> Therefore, the Psalms at this Office are 1. *Dixit Dominus* (Ps. 109), 2. *Confitebor tibi Domine* (Ps. 110), 3. *Beatus vir* (Ps. 111), 4. *Laudate pueri* (Ps. 112), and 5. *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes* (Ps. 116). Regrettably, no *Beatus vir* (Ps. 111) setting is extant by Sumaya. Instead, conductors could choose a *Dixit Dominus* a 8 or *Laudate Dominum* a 8 by Sumaya.<sup>136</sup> Sumaya’s *Dixit Dominus* a 8 begins with an A major sonority which could transition nicely from the concluding D major of the motet. About *Dixit Dominus*, Tello writes, “the calligraphic traits of this manuscript are similar to the Mass *Te, Joseph, celebrent* of 1714...this Psalm could come from the period in which Sumaya was chapel master in Mexico City.”<sup>137</sup> Tello points this out because the Psalm was found in the Oaxaca archive where Sumaya lived at the end of this life. Pairing this Psalm with the motet displays the energy of Sumaya as the new chapel master, working to establish himself and his musical style at the cathedral.

The hymn is the concluding musical offering of First Vespers. It has five verses, three of which would have been performed in polyphony. Sumaya set two of the verses polyphonically, one of which is missing, and he may have used compositions by other composers to fill out the

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<sup>134</sup> Catholic Church, *Liber Usualis* (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée, 1924), 1121 (hereafter *Liber Usualis*).

<sup>135</sup> This is the Parisian Breviary from the same time period. Further exploration into the local breviary would hopefully corroborate this instruction. Catholic Church, *Brevarium Romanum: Pars Verna*, (Parisii, 1697), 778 of PDF or “v” of book which unfortunately appears several times in the online version, Google Books, accessed online <https://books.google.com/books?id=-EhmAAAACAAJ&hl=de&pg=PA239#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

<sup>136</sup> Scores can be found in modern editions by Aurelio Tello, *Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México*, vol. 12, *Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Oaxaca. Cláusulas, secuencias, salmos de Manuel de Sumaya. Revisión, estudio y transcripción Aurelio Tello* (Mexico: Conaculta, INBA, Cenidim, 2007), <http://hdl.handle.net/11271/1276>.

<sup>137</sup> Tello, *Archivo...Cláusulas*, 38.

requirement. A program following Sumaya's model and program music by other local composers: Loaysa set verses one and five and Salazar set verse one (but with another tune). "Note One" of the *Diario Manual* indicates a preference for the use of *canto llano* (plain chant) in alternation with the organ and instruments to create the most solemnity for the event.<sup>138</sup> We can surmise from the surviving documents that the organ and instruments doubling the singers are the odd verses and the *canto llano* would be used for even verses. This follows the pattern established in the cathedral's early days used for the Psalms where "a capitular agreement of 1587 established the tradition of 1 and 5 in polyphony on ordinary days, and added in the third on important festivals, all in *fabordón* style."<sup>139</sup> One possible program might use Loaysa for verse one and Sumaya for verse five with *canto llano* in between. Some creativity with verse three would be needed, or it could be performed as an improvised *fabordón*.

Another possibility for programming music related to the hymn is also suggested by the primary source documents: to combine works by several different composers. The March 19<sup>th</sup> entry in the *Diario Manual* says, "The hour is solemn, all as was said in the first note. There are no *capas* nor *almucias* [repeated] from First Vespers, nor in this whole day."<sup>140</sup> This note points to the interest in utilizing as many people as possible for the celebration of this feast. A concert program could focus on that inclusive intent by performing many composers. The set could include Guerrero's *Sanctorum meritis*, Loaysa's verse one, Salazar's verse one, and Sumaya's verse five. This would have the benefit of illuminating the Spanish chronology from Renaissance to Baroque while displaying a continuous *cantus-firmus*-based hymnodic practice.

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<sup>138</sup> *Diario Manual*, fols. 2r-2v.

<sup>139</sup> Marín, *Los libros*, 78-79.

<sup>140</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 68r.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Conclusions

The significance of this project is found in its examination of music that is unpublished, un-transcribed, or otherwise difficult to find in performance editions, but worthy of attention. This dissertation examines the cathedral's expectations for the feast, explores the works' compositional characteristics as they relate to Spanish and Novohispanic influences, and makes suggestions to aid with historically informed performance. Specifically, it is a case study of the occupational pressures and rigor expected of the newly minted composer-priest in the first few years of adult employment at the Cathedral of Mexico City. More generally, it is a resource for understanding and performing music by Sumaya and his Latin American contemporaries.

In studying this music, I became increasingly attracted to Sumaya's use of harmony and texture as text painting devices. The music appears at first to be backward looking in its allegiance to mensural notation, paraphrase technique, lack of barlines, and the appearance of modality. When I first sang each line (and adopted the lens of Tello and Stanziano, important first analysts), I was fooled by its *stile antico* guise. After laying my hands on the keyboard to hear how the voices worked in an ensemble, Sumaya's rich harmonic world came alive. Illari's "Ideas de Sumaya" proved that the time was ripe for new investigation and provided a pathway via an alternative lens. Sumaya's training on the organ was an important link between his days as a *seis* and achieving the position of *maestro de capilla*; it should not have surprised me quite so much that an exploration of his music at the keyboard would have revealed the expressive potential of his talent. With this exploration at hand, performers and audience members can focus on the piquant compositional techniques which honor and build upon a tradition while understanding the occupational pressures which motivated the Renaissance guise.

This dissertation has situated Sumaya in his Hispanic tradition in order to further highlight his creativity as both nodding to, and departing from, his predecessors. Illari characterizes Sumaya as a “capable, restless, and versatile creator, who modernized his style without losing his roots.”<sup>1</sup> I make the suggestion to honor this conception of Sumaya through chronological programming (Guerrero -> Loayasa -> Salazar -> Sumaya) especially because Sumaya’s style becomes stunningly noticeable in context. This approach was recently presented (through no suggestion of my own, but to my great delight) by the Seattle-based Byrd Ensemble directed by Markdavin Obenza. Obenza programmed thematically unrelated works from the 1717 Mexico City Choirbooks (whose compilation was overseen by Sumaya and financed through Torres’ foundation) by Palestrina, Victoria, Lobo, Mata, Salazar, and Sumaya.<sup>2</sup> The performance was thrilling<sup>3</sup> and is a successful example of one way in which the Renaissance and Baroque performance canon can be engagingly expanded by today’s performing ensembles.

As a choral director, I am particularly proud of Chapter Four of this document because it is a vehicle by which performing ensembles interested in music of the Novohispanic Baroque can thoughtfully engage with the music. One goal of a historically informed performance practice study is to raise awareness of the artistic options available to the composer. Modern conductor-scholars can sensibly meet Sumaya (and his music), not as a deified New World opera composer, but as a dedicated human musician through the words spoken by his lips (the diction guide), the sounds in his ears (links between dynamics, textures, and harmony), the spectacle he beheld (vertical spacing in a grand cathedral setting), and the creative potential of his mind

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<sup>1</sup> Bernardo Illari, “Ideas de Sumaya,” *Revista de Musicología* 43, no. 2 (2020): 588.

<sup>2</sup> Program accessed online, April 13, 2021, [https://d999fd7f-7e26-4f91-8977-4ceadb42648d.filesusr.com/ugd/7885b1\\_05b584b8f7834269aa59b76cacd6597a.pdf](https://d999fd7f-7e26-4f91-8977-4ceadb42648d.filesusr.com/ugd/7885b1_05b584b8f7834269aa59b76cacd6597a.pdf).

<sup>3</sup> Some of the selections are available on their YouTube Channel: [www.youtube.com/byrdensemble](http://www.youtube.com/byrdensemble).

(instrumental doublings and basso continuo ensembles). Illari characterizes Sumaya as, “someone who stood out for his experimentalism.”<sup>4</sup> I look forward to his forthcoming book, *Barroco Criollo*, which will deepen our understanding of what motivations lay in Sumaya’s heart. Afterall, seeking a deep understanding of what influences our human nature is always a much more engaging pursuit than making the acquaintance of an exoticized other.

The unspoken goal of this dissertation is to lobby for the inclusion of Sumaya’s music in modern performances. Sumaya’s oeuvre is an expressive and inventive contribution not just for the annals of musicology, but it is also worthy of a place on the concert stage. Conductors may have overlooked Latin American Baroque music through characterizations of its style as backward. Illari rightly recognizes this problematic reception history of even Sumaya’s most outstanding works saying, “sometimes they are overlooked by the desire of some authors to highlight developments that may be more obvious to them (or more pleasing).”<sup>5</sup> “Mexico is just 50 years behind Europe” and “Sumaya is just bad Bach” are two evaluations I received from professors about my research topic. Those comments and this dissertation both testify to the importance of which lens we choose when evaluating music. An Italianate lens has many values, but it may also inadvertently lead to characterizations of Sumaya’s music as unremarkable. A Spanish and Novohispanic lens reveals the ways in which Sumaya (like all creatives) employed his skill in dialogue with, and reaction to, his own milieu. In this way, we attempt to meet Sumaya on his own terms. Sumaya’s music career as we know it almost never came to be; cathedral authorities were resistant to admitting the talented young Manuel into the choir because of his parents’ skin color. We avoid the mistakes of the past when we choose to celebrate the

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<sup>4</sup> Illari, “Ideas de Sumaya,” 604.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

creative potential in all voices. Sumaya's output is an important slice of Early Modern musical development outside of Europe, and it is my hope that these words will be a catalyst for the admission, appreciation, and performance of a more inclusive eighteenth-century repertoire.

### SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Suggestions for further investigation have materialized throughout the research and writing of this study. For example, archival research to uncover extant writings by Dr. Don José de Torres may illuminate his influence on Sumaya's works. Another line of inquiry concerns Sumaya's use of *cantus firmi* in his Masses: an understanding of any festal connections and knowledge of the Mexico City hymnals may provide deeper understanding of Sumaya's use of hymn tunes as a structural device. Further research into payment records can shed light on the degree of female participation in cathedral liturgy of the period.

Performance practice studies are also suggested by this study. There is a need for a *guión* (basso continuo part which covers both choirs) for the Mass since it has not survived. A study of the continuo part in the motet "Cum esset desponsata," which parallels many of the same textural and harmonic effects of Mass, could provide a model, along with José de Torres y Martínez Bravo's *Reglas Generales*. A historically informed performance could also include a double-stringed harp, so some notational system for that player must be created as well. A further question arises as to whether the basso continuo group should be silent during special moments, such as "Et homo factus est" or "Ex Maria Virgine," which are austere moments of reverence in this Mass setting. Locating extant Mexico City instrumental parts for other concerted works with *tacet* indications would hint at this practice.

Archival research and modern transcription of Choirbook M31 could be helpful for performances of concerts with Joseph-themed music, since it contains plain chant Propers for this feast.<sup>6</sup> To complement that research, a look at Choirbook M03 may provide a suitable Benedictus for the Mass because it contains the Mass Ordinary music for first-class feasts.

Finally, a more comprehensive study of the Latin spellings in manuscripts at the Mexico City Cathedral will anchor diction findings here in primary source documents. This should also include investigation into the interchangeability (or not) of the sounds “b” and “v” as the *Diario Manual* writings may indicate a distinction in pronunciation.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Catedral Metropolitana de México (CMM), *Librería de cantorales*, Misa, M31, in *Musicat-Libros de coro*, <http://www.musicat.unam.mx/nuevo/misa31-43.html>, accessed on February 10, 2021.

<sup>7</sup> See *Diario Manual*, fol. 69v, for one example.

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## APPENDIX A

### “Nobis summa Trias” Critical Report & Scores

#### Source

This edition is derived from a manuscript conserved in the Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México (ACMM), the archive of Mexico City Cathedral. Javier Marín López’s *Los libros de polifonía de la catedral de México: estudio y catálogo crítico* places it in book MéxC4 as entry No. 97 (4/54) fols. 14v15r [Te Joseph celebrent] Mr. Sumaya 4 v. (SATB).<sup>1</sup> I obtained a color scan of the manuscript directly from Marín.<sup>2</sup> The source is clearly legible with some deterioration along the edges. There is one tear which does not interfere with text or music. Minor bleed-through exists from opposing pages, but they do not pose problems with legibility. The title is slightly cut off, but all words are decipherable.

#### Editorial Methods

*Title:* In festo Sanctissimi Iosephi. Secunda Pars (14v). Maestro Sumaya (15r).

*Score Order and Clefs:* 14v: treble (top) and tenor (bottom); 15r: alto (top) and bass (bottom). Part names are absent in the manuscript, have been left off this edition, and are determined by the location of the clef: G2, C2, C3, C4. The edition uses modern clefs.

*Barlines:* The manuscript has no barlines. Mensurstrich (between staff) barlines are editorial.

*Signatures:* There is no key signature. On sharp is used when the hymn is transposed down a fourth. The c-slash meter is indicated in the source and reproduced here.

*Rhythmic units:* Durational values are identical with the source.

*Slurs:* Dashed slurs are added to indicate text syllabification

*Accidentals:* Those on the staff are in the manuscript. Editorial accidentals are above the staff.

*Orthography of Text:* The punctuation included follows the *Liber Usualis* (e.g., *LU* has a colon between “precantibus” and “Da Joseph” which is missing in the manuscript). Where commas were added by the scribe which are not in the *LU*, I have left them in because they appear to be breath marks. Shorthand notation (e.g., “cāticū” = “canticum”) are written without abbreviation. See Figure A.1 for an example in the alto part of this manuscript. Text in parenthesis is a written-out version of *ij* which indicates a repetition of the previous text.

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<sup>1</sup> Javier Marín López, *Los libros de polifonia de la catedral de México: estudio y catálogo crítico* (Jaén, Spain: Universidad de Jaén, 2013), 319. ProQuest Ebook Central.

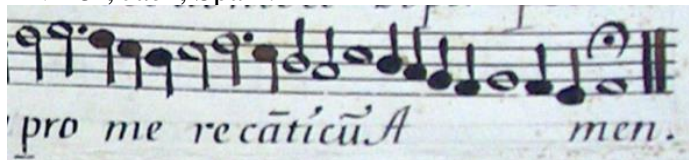
<sup>2</sup> Manuel de Sumaya, *In festo Sanctissimi Iosephi Secunda Pars*, Hymn, In the personal photograph collection of Javier Marín López, fols. 14v-15r, Jaen, Spain.

## Commentary

M. 1, Bass: There is no text underlay beyond the first few words: *Nobis summa Trias ij*. This accords with notational practice of many bass parts of Latin American manuscripts of the period. While *ij* indicates text repetition, I believe it to be an indication to the performer that after they begin playing, they will hear that incipit text two times (from treble and alto). The previous entry in MéxC4 *Sit Trinitati sempiternal gloria* also by Sumaya has the whole text beneath the bass, indicating that text omission here is intentional. Therefore, a text underlay or recreation is not included for the bass in this edition. The part is for basso continuo team or *bajón* alone.

M. 42-46, Alto: There are a few other alternative text underlay possibilities in this section. Due to the size of the text letter and its consistency through the manuscript, I believe that the scribe's ability to put the syllable directly where it should go was affected. An entrance on F for "Amen" increases the dissonance of the chord and heralds the final section. In addition, this avoids "cum," an unaccented syllable being placed on a high and long note.

**Figure A.1. Sumaya, "Nobis summa Trias," Alto ending.** Manuel de Sumaya, *In festo Sanctissimi Iosephi Secunda Pars*, Hymn, In the personal photograph collection of Javier Marín López, fols. 14v-15r, Jaen, Spain.



# Te Joseph, celebrent

Verse 5

Manuel de Sumaya (1680 - 1755)

Musical score for the first system, measures 1-4. It features four staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), a basso continuo line (treble clef with an 8), and a bass line (bass clef). The lyrics are: No - - - bis, sum - / No - bis, sum - / No - - - bis, sum -.

5

Musical score for the second system, measures 5-8. It features four staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), a basso continuo line (treble clef with an 8), and a bass line (bass clef). The lyrics are: ma Tri - as, par - ce pre - / ma Tri - - - / ma Tri - - - as, /

9

Musical score for the third system, measures 9-12. It features four staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), a basso continuo line (treble clef with an 8), and a bass line (bass clef). The lyrics are: can - - - ti - / as, par - ce pre - can - - - ti - / par - - ce pre - can - - - ti - /

13

bus: da Jos - seph

bus: da Jo - seph me

bus:

17

me - - - - - ri - tis, si -

- - ri - tis da Jo - seph

da Jos - eph me - - - -

21

de - ra scan - - - - -

(me - ri - tis) si - de - ra scan

ri - tis si - de - ra scan - de -

25

de - re, (scan de - re)  
de - re Ut tan - dem  
re, Ut tan -

This system contains measures 25 through 29. It features four staves: a vocal line (top), a piano accompaniment line (second), a basso continuo line (third), and a bass line (bottom). The vocal line begins with a rest, followed by the lyrics 'de - re, (scan de - re)'. The piano accompaniment line has a melodic line with a dashed slur over the notes for 'de - re Ut tan - dem'. The basso continuo line has a melodic line with a dashed slur over the notes for 're, Ut tan -'. The bass line provides a harmonic accompaniment.

30

Ut tan - dem li - - ce -  
li - ce - at nos ti - bi per  
dem li - - ce - at

This system contains measures 30 through 34. It features four staves: a vocal line (top), a piano accompaniment line (second), a basso continuo line (third), and a bass line (bottom). The vocal line begins with a rest, followed by the lyrics 'Ut tan - dem li - - ce -'. The piano accompaniment line has a melodic line with a dashed slur over the notes for 'li - ce - at nos ti - bi per'. The basso continuo line has a melodic line with a dashed slur over the notes for 'dem li - - ce - at'. The bass line provides a harmonic accompaniment.

35

at, nos ti - bi per pe - tim, gra -  
pe - tim  
nos ti - bi per - pe - tim gra -

This system contains measures 35 through 39. It features four staves: a vocal line (top), a piano accompaniment line (second), a basso continuo line (third), and a bass line (bottom). The vocal line begins with a rest, followed by the lyrics 'at, nos ti - bi per pe - tim, gra -'. The piano accompaniment line has a melodic line with a dashed slur over the notes for 'pe - tim'. The basso continuo line has a melodic line with a dashed slur over the notes for 'nos ti - bi per - pe - tim gra -'. The bass line provides a harmonic accompaniment.

40

Musical score for measures 40-44. The score consists of four staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), a bass line (bass clef), and a basso continuo line (bass clef). The lyrics are: - tum pro - - me - re - can -  
gra - tum pro - me re can -  
tum pro me re can -

45

Musical score for measures 45-49. The score consists of four staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), a bass line (bass clef), and a basso continuo line (bass clef). The lyrics are: - - ti - cum. A - - - - men.  
ti - cum. A - - - - men.  
ti - cum. A - men.

# Te Joseph, celebrent

Verse 5: Transposed down P4

Manuel de Sumaya (1680 - 1755)

Musical score for the first system, measures 1-4. The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). It features four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics are: "No - - bis, sum -".

5

Musical score for the second system, measures 5-8. The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). It features four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics are: "ma Tri - as, par - ce pre -".

9

Musical score for the third system, measures 9-12. The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). It features four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics are: "can - - - ti - as, par - ce pre - can - - - ti - par - ce pre - can - - - ti -".

13

Musical score for measures 13-16. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It features four staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and two piano accompaniment staves (Right and Left Hand). The lyrics are: "bus: da Jos - seph" (measures 13-14) and "bus: da Jo - seph me" (measures 15-16). The piano accompaniment consists of a simple bass line with quarter notes.

17

Musical score for measures 17-20. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It features four staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and two piano accompaniment staves (Right and Left Hand). The lyrics are: "me - - - ri - tis, si -" (measures 17-18) and "- ri - tis da Jo - seph" (measures 19-20). The piano accompaniment continues with a simple bass line.

21

Musical score for measures 21-24. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It features four staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and two piano accompaniment staves (Right and Left Hand). The lyrics are: "- de - ra scan -" (measures 21-22) and "(me - ri tis) si - de - ra scan" (measures 23-24). The piano accompaniment continues with a simple bass line.

25

de - re, (scan - - de - re)  
de - re Ut tan - dem  
re: Ut tan -

This system contains measures 25 through 29. It features four staves: a vocal line with lyrics, a piano accompaniment line, a bass line, and a tenor line. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "de - re, (scan - - de - re)", "de - re Ut tan - dem", and "re: Ut tan -".

30

Ut tan - dem li - - ce -  
li - ce - at nos ti - bi per -  
dem li - - ce - at

This system contains measures 30 through 34. It features four staves: a vocal line with lyrics, a piano accompaniment line, a bass line, and a tenor line. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "Ut tan - dem li - - ce -", "li - ce - at nos ti - bi per -", and "dem li - - ce - at".

35

at, nos ti - bi per - - pe - tim, gra -  
pe - tim  
nos ti - bi per - pe - tim gra -

This system contains measures 35 through 39. It features four staves: a vocal line with lyrics, a piano accompaniment line, a bass line, and a tenor line. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "at, nos ti - bi per - - pe - tim, gra -", "pe - tim", and "nos ti - bi per - pe - tim gra -".

40

Musical score for measures 40-44. The score is written for four staves: Treble 1, Treble 2, Treble 3, and Bass. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "tum pro - - me - re - can -", "gra - tum pro - me re can -", "tum pro - me - re can -".

45

Musical score for measures 45-49. The score is written for four staves: Treble 1, Treble 2, Treble 3, and Bass. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "ti - cum. A - - - - men.", "ti - cum. A - - - - men.", "ti - cum. A - men.". The score ends with a double bar line.

## APPENDIX B

### *Diario Manual* Translation

#### Source

Catedral de México – Cabildo, 1751, fols. 68r-69v, *Diario Manual de lo que en la catedral de México se practica y observa en su altar, coro y demás que le es debido hacer en todos los días del año* [manuscrito] / hecho por el M. I. y Bene. Sr. Deán y Cabildo, E-Mn Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000111740>.

#### Section

DIARIO DE TODO EL AÑO

Diary of the Full Year

This section begins on fol. 59r.

#### Editorial Methods and Commentary

I have modernized the language and expanded contractions in the source document where possible. Some terms have been left in italics to indicate specific occupations at the cathedral which would be either unusual in translation or unfamiliar to modern readers. Consult the glossary at MUSICAT for definitions for these terms, <http://musicat.unam.mx/red-ontologica/>. Both Spanish and English are included here because of the density and length of the text. The use of brackets indicates additional words added by the author of this document for the purposes of clarification.

**(Marzo) Día 19.** El Patriarcha Señor San José Patron Principal de esta N. E. Doble de primera clase, y día de puntos desde primeras Visperas hasta el otro día a Sexta inclusive. Hay 6 capas en primeras Visperas y Misa y 4 en segundas Visperas todas de quadrante; En todo hay capilla, música, instrumentos, y repiques, hay procesion que hace estación en la capilla de este glorioso santo. Hay sermón, y se adelanta media hora por la mañana para esta solemnidad, y asi se entraen el coro a ella a las 8 y media. La hora es solemne, todo como esta dicho en la nota primera. No hay capas ni almucias desde primeras Visperas ni en todo este día. El Señor Maestre Escuelas Doctor Don Simón Esteban de Alzate donó 2,000 pesos que con los 100 pesos de sus reditos se repartieren en esta solemnidad, que no grabó mas que en una Misa cantada antes de Prima, si se celebra esta festividad en Quaresma, y si se transfiere, despues de Prima, como lo expresa la clausula de la fundación, en la que asimismo se expresa la distribución siguiente: a los señores capitulares que asistieren a Visperas, y Misa combentual sin cargo de mas asistencia y obligacion que la que tienen por capitulares, se han de divider 50 pesos en la forma que se hace en el aniversario de San Bernardo; a la capilla 20 pesos con la misma obligacion; a la fabrica espiritual 8 pesos porque dé la cera para el altar quando faltare quien la ponga; 2 pesos para los que llevaron el santo en hombros en la procesion; a los 8 padres capellanes de Lorenzana 4 pesos; a los acolitos 4 pesos; al señor de la Misa dicha de aniversario 3 pesos; a los señores que cantan la epistola y evangelio 4 pesos; para los padres capellanes que oficiaren la Misa dicha 2 pesos; al padres sachristan 1 peso; al sochante y organista 1 peso; y al maestro de ceremonias, y pertiguero 1 peso. Las Segundas Visperas de este día son con capilla música y 4 capas de quadrante, y la comemoracion de Señor San Joaquin se canta por la capilla en el facistól mayor, de contrapunto como esta dicho en el día 3 de febrero se hace con la de San Blas. En el día Vispera de Señor San José se cantan los Maitines con toda solemnidad de capilla, música,

Villancicos, instrumentos, organos, 6 capas, y demás como en las notas Prohemiales [del proemio] de este diario se previene. Estos Maytines han de ser y cantarse inmediatamente despues de Completas, y por la tarde que asi los dotó con 10,000 pesos de principal y 500 pesos de renta a el año. El ilustrísimo y excelentísimo Señor Doctor Don Juan Antonio de Vizarron y Eguiarreta, Arzobispo que fue de esta Santa Iglesia como consta de la clausula de su Fundación, y boluntad, de que tan presisamente sean en el tiempo de la tarde, que si estandose en ellos se pusiere el sol, desde aquel tiempo se reze lo que faltare, para que no toquen en la noche. No tiene esta fundacion obligacion de Misa, ni otra mas que la asistencia y solemnidad de los Maitines. Su distribucion es a los Señores Capitulares, Ministros, y costas 470 pesos y los 30 pesos restanes a la capilla.

**(March) Day 19** – Patriarch St. Joseph, Principal Patron of New Spain – Double First Class. A day when attendance is taken<sup>1</sup> from First Vespers until the next day at Sext, inclusive. There are 6 *capas* in First Vespers and Mass, and 4 in Second Vespers, all recorded in the *cuadrante*.<sup>2</sup> In all, there is the *capilla*, music, instruments, and ringing of the church bells. There is a procession that stations itself in the chapel of this glorious saint. There is a sermon, and it's a half an hour before [normal] in the morning for this solemnity, and so [the procession] will enter the choir at 8:30 A.M. The hour is solemn, all as was said in the first note<sup>3</sup>. There are no *capas* nor *almucias* [repeated] from First Vespers, nor in this whole day. Señor Escuelas Doctor Don Simón Esteban de Alzate donated 2,000 pesos, which with 100 pesos of yearly earnings, are distributed on this solemnity, but he didn't require more than one Mass sung before Prime, if this festivity is celebrated in Lent, and if is transferred [until after Lent], [the Mass is] after Prime, as is expressed in the Foundation Cause [of this cathedral], in which the following distribution is also expressed: to the gentlemen of the chapter that assist at Vespers and *combentual* <sup>4</sup> Mass without an attendance requirement or obligation fee beyond what they earn as *capitulares*, 50 pesos must be divided in the manner that is done on the anniversary of St. Bernard, 20 pesos to the *capilla* with the same obligation, to the *fabrica espiritual* 8 pesos because I gave the wax for the altar when a willing donor was missing, 2 pesos for those who carry the saint on their shoulders in the procession, to the 8 fathers serving as *capellanes de Lorenzana* 4 pesos, to the acolytes 4 pesos, to the father who says the anniversary Mass 3 pesos, to the gentlemen that sing the Epistle and Gospel 4 pesos, for the *capellanes* fathers that officiate the spoken mass 2 pesos, to the father *sacristán* 1 peso, to the *sochantre* and organist 1 peso, and to the master of ceremonies and *pertiguero* 1 peso. Second Vespers of this day are with *capilla musica* and 4 *capas* attendance noted in the *cuadrante*, and the commemoration of St. Joaquin is sung by the *capilla* in the main *facistól*, with counterpoint as is said and done on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February<sup>5</sup> for the commemoration of St. Blasius. On the day of the Vespers of St. Joseph, Matins are sung with all solemnity by the *capilla*, music, villancicos, instrumentalists, organs, 6 *capas*, and the rest like the notes of the preface of this diary previses. Those Matins are to be held, and sung, immediately after Compline, and in the afternoon as is endowed by 10,000 pesos of principal and 500 pesos of rent

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<sup>1</sup> Attendance was taken to track payments for chapel members.

<sup>2</sup> The attendance ledger.

<sup>3</sup> See "Nota Primera" in the *Diario Manual*, fols. 2r-3r.

<sup>4</sup> See *Diario Manual*, fol. 11v for definition and location of masses on these multi-mass celebrations.

<sup>5</sup> *Diario Manual*, fol. 63v.

per year by the illustrious and most excellent Señor Doctor Don Juan Antonio de Vizarron y Eguiarreta, archbishop of this holy church, as its foundation clause contains, and wills, that they are so precisely in the afternoon, that if the sun sets on them, from that time on, what is lacking will be prayed, so that they do not play at night. This foundation [document] doesn't have the obligation of a Mass nor anything more than the attendance and solemnity of Matins. Its distribution is to the gentlemen of the chapter, ministers, and costs 470 pesos, and the 30 remaining pesos to the *capilla*.<sup>6</sup>

**Día 20** – Señor San Joaquín Doble. Hay capilla y 4 capas en primeras Visperas y Misa y 2 capas en Segundas Visperas con el Salmo quinto alternado con el organo. Para estos días 19 y 20 esta dotado aniversario por el Señor Racionero Doctor Don Christoval Millan de Poblete, con 1,000 pesos de principal que oi quedado en 800 pesos y de renta 40 pesos de Visperas y Misa al Señor San José con tumbilla dobles y responsos por la alma de el ilustrísimo Señor Arzobispo de Manila Don Miguel Poblete en cuyo nombre lo fundo dicho Señor Racionero: Su distribucion son 12 reales de la Misa, 1 peso de el Evangelio, 4 reales de la Epistola, y los 37 pesos restantes para los Señores Capitulares, ministros, y demas que es costumbre.

**Day 20** – St. Joaquín – Double – The *capilla* and 4 *capas* are present for First Vespers and Mass, and 2 *capas* in Second Vespers with the fifth Psalm in alternation with the organ.<sup>7</sup> For these days, the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> [of the month], an anniversary is endowed by Mr. Racionero Doctor Don Christoval Millan de Poblere, with 1,000 pesos of principal paid by 800 pesos and the rent of 40 pesos for Vespers and Mass of St. Joseph with a casket/little casket,<sup>8</sup> bells, and responses for the soul of the illustrious Archbishop of Manila, Don Miguel Poblete, in whose name Mr. Racionero said he founded it. Its distribution is 12 reales [1.5 pesos] for the Mass, 1 peso for the Gospel, 4 reales [0.5 pesos] for the Epistle, and the remaining 37 pesos for the gentlemen of the chapter, ministers, and the rest as is customary.

**Día 21.** San Benito Patriarcha doble. No tiene solemnidad alguna aora en los años pasados hasta el de 1728 la tenia con capilla, 4 capas en primeras Visperas y Misa, y dos en segunda Visperas todas de quadrante, y quinto Salmo en estas segundas Visperas alternado con el organo. Es Patriarcha como todos los demas, parece debia tener esta solemnidad como la tienen los demas.

**Day 21** – St. Benedict, Patriarch (Abbot) – Double – There is no solemnity like the ones had in the past up until 1728 which were had with *capilla*, 4 *capas* in First Vespers and Mass, and 2 [*capas*] in Second Vespers, attendance notated in the *cuadrante*, and the fifth Psalm in Second Vespers in alternation with the organ. [St. Benedict] is a Patriarch like all the others, it seems he should have this solemnity like the others do.<sup>9</sup>

**Días 22. 23. y 24.** Los santos que ocurren, no hay más que lo que les da el rito que tienen.

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<sup>6</sup> See *Diario Manual* 119r for summary information.

<sup>7</sup> Antiphon formula p. 16/f. 14v

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps a small box in remembrance of the person for whom the event is donated.

<sup>9</sup> This note indicates an area for further research regarding the specific importance of St. Benedict to the cathedral or to the writer of the diary who seems to be articulating a personal opinion.

**Days 22, 23, and 24** – For the saints that occur, there is nothing more than that which is given by the rite that they have.

**Día 25**, La Encarnacion del Divino Verbo – Doble de segunda clase son puntos desde las primeras Visperas hasta otro día a Sexta inclusive. Hay 4 capas en Primeras Visperas y Misa; y dos y quinto Salmo alternado con el órgano en Segundas Visperas; todas son de cuadrante. Asiste la capilla de los músicos a primeras Visperas, Tercia, y Misa, y en estas Visperas, y Tercia que es solemne. Hay Salmo al órgano de versos en el, hay procesion, que hace estación en una de las capillas de Nuestra Señora, hay sermón, se adelanta media hora, y se entra en el coro a Sexta a las 8 y media de la mañana. Desde primeras Visperas, y en todo esta día no hay capas ni almucias

**Day 25** – Incarnation of the Divine Word – Double Second Class – Attendance is taken from First Vespers to the next day at Sext, inclusive.<sup>10</sup> There are 4 *capas* in First Vespers and Mass, the second and fifth Psalm are performed in alternation with the organ in Second Vespers, attendance recorded in the *cuadrante*. The music chapel is in attendance for First Vespers, Terce, and Mass; and in said Vespers and Terce, they are solemn. The Psalm is with organ verses, there's a procession that stations itself in one of the chapels of Our Lady, there's a sermon that's half an hour earlier [than usual], and they [the procession] enter the choir for Sext at 8:30 A.M. Beginning with First Vespers, and for all of this day, there are neither *capas* nor *almucias*.

**Día 26 hasta el 31**, Los santos óferias que ócurren, no hay cosa especial.

**Day 26 until the 31<sup>st</sup>**. For the conferred saints that occur, there is nothing special.

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<sup>10</sup> See *Diario Manual*, fol. 11r for more information on *Días de Puntos* (days on which attendance is recorded).

## Section

RAZON DE LOS Anniversarios, Capellanias, y demas Obras Pias, que estan fundadas en esta Santa Yglesia Cathedral Metropolitana de México. Sus fundadores, Patronos, Capellanes, Principales, Reditos Escrituras, y condiciones con que se han fundado, y a que esta obligado El M. Ylle. [unknown symbol] Señor Dean y Cabildo de dicha Santa Yglesia que todo es en la forma siguiente.

Reasons for anniversaries, chaplaincies, and other pious works that are founded in this Holy Metropolitan Cathedral Church of Mexico. Its founders, patrons, chaplains, principal, yearly earnings, deeds, and the conditions with which they have been founded, and are obligated. Most Illustrious Señor Dean and chapter of said Holy Church all is in the following form.

This section begins on fol. 110r.

## Editorial Methods and Commentary

Methods as described above with the exception that in some cases the original Spanish is not included due to the direct nature and brevity of the notes themselves. Folio citations are included in the event that comparison with the source document is considered necessary.

*Anniversario Solemne a Sr. San José por el Sr. Alzate* (fol. 118v)

Días 18 y 19. Anniversario solemne a Sr. San José que con 2,000 pesos de principal y 100 pesos de renta annual dotò del Sr. Maestre Escuelas Dr. Don. Simon Esteban Beltran de Alzate con las obligaciones siguientes: Una misa cantada en tiempo de Cuaresma antes de Prima, y si se tansfiere para despues de Cuaresma el rezo y festividad de el Sto. hade ser entra misa despues de Prima. A los Srs. Capitulares es para su asistencia se hande dan 50 pesos y esta hade ser la misa que por obligacion tiene de asisten a misa y visperas, como capitulares sin que se añade de nuevo cosa alguna de rizo (?) o asistencias y la distribucion de estos 50 pesos sea como en el aniversario de San Bernardo. A la capilla 20 pesos con la misma obligacion a la fabrica 8 pesos con el cargo de costean la cena de el altar quando no hubiere quien la dé, para los que llevaren el santo en hombros dos pesos, para los 8 capellanes nuevos 4 pesos, para los acolitos 4 pesos, para el Sr. Capítular que dipere la misa antes de Prima 3 pesos, para los Srs. que cantaren en dicha misa el Evangelo y la Epistola 4 pesos, para los capellanes que oficiaren la misa 2 pesos, al sacristan 1p, al maestro de ceremonias y pertiguero 1p, todo por su alma y la de sus padres, y superiores. Como todo consta en el Libro 3 de Anniversarios folio 8 hasta 20, y en el Libro Grande fol. 66 y 67.

*Solemn Anniversary of St. Joseph for Sr. Alzate*

March 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>. Solemn anniversary of Saint Joseph, with 2000 pesos of principal and 100 pesos of annual rent was given by Sr. Maestre Escuelas Dr. Don Simon Esteban Beltran de Alzate with the following obligations: a sung mass in Lent before Prime, and if it is transferred until after Lent the prayer and festivity of the saint [Joseph] has to be in Mass after Prime. To the gentlemen of the chapter for their assistance [attendance?] has been given 50 pesos and to be for the Mass which they have an obligation to attend Mass and Vespers, as chapter members without which is added anything new [unknown word], or assistance and the distribution of said 50 pesos will be as is done in the Anniversary of St. Bernard. To the *capilla* 20 pesos with the same

obligation, to the *fabrica [espiritual]* 8 pesos with the charge of paying for the *cena de el altar*<sup>11</sup> when no one has given money for it, for those that carry the saint on their shoulders [in the procession] 2 pesos, for the 8 new *capellanes* 4 pesos, for the acolytes 4 pesos, for the chapter father who says the Mass before Prime 3 pesos, for the gentlemen that sing the Gospel and Epistle in said Mass 4 pesos, for the *capellanes* that officiate the Mass 2 pesos, to the *sacristán* 1 peso, to the master of ceremonies and *pertiguero* 1 peso, all for the soul and the souls of his parents and superiors.<sup>12</sup> All recorded in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Book of Anniversaries folio 8 – 20, and in this Large Book from folio 66-67.

*Matins for Saint Joseph for the Most Excellent Sr. Vizarron (119r-199v)*

The Vespers of this day on the 18<sup>th</sup> are sung with Matins [and] with all solemnity. Immediately [proceed] then to Compline as was ordered by the Most Excellent Illustrious Sr. Dr. Don Juan Antonio de Vizarron y Eguiareta so that nothing is done at night, with such expression that if they are singing when the sun sets, from then on, they pray what is remaining.<sup>13</sup> This was donated by his illustrious excellency without further obligations nor qualifications as expressed with 10,000 pesos of principal and 500 pesos of annual rent that have to be distributed in this form: to the gentlemen of the chapter, ministers, and *costas* 470 pesos, *capilla* 30 pesos, as was recorded in the Chapter Book. In the Anniversary Book there is no reason for this foundation.

*Anniversary of Saint Joseph for Señor Millan Poblete*

19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> days (of March). Anniversary of Saint Joseph is founded by Sr. Racionero Dr. Don. Cristobal Millan de Poblete in the name of the soul of the Most Excellent Archbishop of Manila Dr. Miguel Poblete with 1000 pesos of principal I determine is 800 pesos and 40 of yearly rent for what the farm suffered according to its apportionment. It says the simple reason in from folios 89-92 found in the *Libro Grande* [Large Book] of Anniversaries in this manner: for that which are yearly earnings of 50 pesos in Second Vespers of the Glorious Patriarch Saint Joseph, and on the other day the Mass with *tumba*,<sup>14</sup> responses, and chimes. The simple reason for this anniversary is also found in the Third Book of Anniversaries, folio 21 where the exemption (?) of its foundation is found.

Marginal Note by the author of the *Diario Manual*: I doubt if this has to be fulfilled at Second Vespers of the day [Feast of St. Joseph], or has to be done on other days as it is a whole year of Requiem, and it has been practiced this way.

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<sup>11</sup> Eucharist?

<sup>12</sup> Ancestors?

<sup>13</sup> Pray (as opposed to singing) means the mass is spoken, an indication that things will then continue in an expedited fashion.

<sup>14</sup> Like *tumbilla* above...a small casket used in ceremonies of remembrance to reference a particular person

**Section**

Fundaciones de Misas y Obras Pias en esta Santa Iglesia Cathedral de que es Patron de M. Y. y De Señor Dean y Cabildo

Foundations of Masses and Pious Works in this Holy Cathedral Church that M. Y. is Patron and by the Dean and Chapter.

This section begins on fol. 191r.

**Editorial Methods and Commentary**

Methods as described above. Spanish is not included due to the direct nature and brevity of the notes themselves. These descriptions are summaries and not full translations of the entries. Folio citations are included in the event that comparison with the source document is considered necessary.

*Lamps for the Chapel of Saint Joseph (194r)*

1000p principal 50p of annual rent for the oil for the lamps for St. Joseph's chapel in front of the altar from several houses (Garcia, Vega, Balbanera)

*Mass for Saint Joseph on the 19<sup>th</sup> Day of Each Month (195v)*

Sung mass endowed by Archdean José de Torres y Bergara: 1200 pesos principal and 60 of annual rent in honor of Saint Joseph's seven pains and joys, in the chapel and altar or in another chapel that seems convenient with 6 pesos of alms each month for the soul of Lic. Dr. Juan Cavalleros, on whose behalf I [José de Torres] act as executor.