



Martín de Montesdoca: Spain's First Publisher of Sacred Polyphony (1550's) Chantre in Guatemala Cathedral (1570's)

IN HIGINIO ANGLÉS'S PIONEERING STUDY, "Der Musiknotendruck des 15.-17. Jahrhunderts in Spanien," published in *Musik und Verlag Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag am 12. April 1968* (Kassel [etc.]: Bärenreiter, 1968), pages 143-149, he began his list of 94 music imprints containing polyphony with Francisco Guerrero's *Sacrae cantiones, vulgo moteta nuncupata* issued at Seville by Martín de Montesdoca in 1555. Sent forth in five exquisitely printed partbooks, Guerrero's maiden publication was followed next year by the first polyphonic choirbook published in Spain, Juan Vásquez's superb *Agenda defunctorum* (measuring 31.5 by 21 cm, only two copies are now known to have survived).¹

Preceding these two epochal publications, Martín de Montesdoca had in 1554 issued what most schol-

ars now rank as the crown jewel among all seven vihuela tablatures published in Spain between Luys Milán's *El maestro* at Valencia in 1536 and Esteban Daza's *El parnasso* at Valladolid in 1576.² Nonetheless, Donald W. Krummel's excellent compendium, *Music Printing and Publishing* (New York/London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990) makes no mention of Montesdoca nor of any other sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Spanish native who published music in the Iberian peninsula. Allusion is made to members of the Italian Giunta family active at Burgos and Madrid (page 264) but the first native Spanish entry is Unión Musical Española, a conglomerate that in the forepart of the present century absorbed Casas Dotesio, Romero, Zozaya, Fuentes y Asenjo, and Eslava (pages 451-452).

As if omitting any mention of Spain's first publisher of polyphony were not sufficiently symptomatic, Krummel's compendium also omits any allusion to early peninsular imprints containing plainsong or cipher notation. Publications of both types had been issued at Seville before Montesdoca

¹ Reacting to information received from Pedro de Aizpurúa, the brilliant researcher Alejandro Luis Iglesias in "El Códice de la parroquia de Santa María de Ledesma," *Revista de Musicología*, xii/1 (1989), 187, recorded the existence at Valladolid Cathedral of a "magnificently preserved second copy of Juan Vásquez's *Agenda defunctorum*." Overlooked by previous cataloguers, "it is presented in its original covers and appears to have belonged originally to a maestro Joan de Bustillo, whose biographical data are unknown." The only previously known copy of Vásquez's *Agenda defunctorum* survives at the Barcelona Biblioteca de Cataluña, and it was this copy signalled by Felipe Pedrell in his *Catàlech de la Biblioteca Musical de la Diputació de Barcelona* (1908), I, 281-282, that served Samuel Rubio for his transcription and analytical study in *Juan Vásquez: Agenda defunctorum; estudio técnico-estilístico y transcripción* (Madrid: Real Musical, 1975).

² For a review of Charles Jacobs's epochal 997-page transcription and study of Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) dedicated to "Philippe princepe de España, Rey de Ynglaterra, de Napoles &c," see Robert Stevenson, *Music & Letters*, 60/2 (April 1979), 233-235. The nonpareil overview of the entire printed vihuela repertory remains John Milton Ward's "The *Vihuela de mano* and its music (1536-1576)," New York University Ph.D. dissertation, April 1953.



began his career. Printing of chantbooks began at Seville as early as 1491 when Quatro compañeros alemanes (Paul of Cologne, John Pegnitzer of Nuremberg, Magnus Herbs de Fils, and Thomas Glockner) published the 166-leaf *Antiphonarium at graduale ad usum ordinis S. Hieronymi*.³ Hard on its heels came the *Processionarium ordinis praedicatorum* published at Seville in 1494—of which more copies survive than of any other Spanish incunabulum whatsoever⁴—and the *Manuale Toletanum* there in the same year (this was the first Spanish imprint to contain the chant for a nuptial mass).⁵ So far as theory manuals go, Seville takes priority with Domingo Marcos Durán's *Lux bella* issued by Quatro compañeros alemanes in 1492 and published there anew by Juan Cromberger in 1518.⁶ The contents of *Lux bella* began being advertised in the United States as long ago as 1932 when Otto Kinkeldey alluded to it in "Music and Music Printing in Incunabala," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, xxvi, 96. In giving attention to music printing in incunabula, Kinkeldey followed a trend started by Spaniards as early as Ramon Diosdado Caballero's *De prima typographiae hispanicae aetate specimen* (Rome, 1793) and Francisco Méndez's *Typographia española* (Madrid, 1796; second improved edition, 1861–1864).

Leaving aside the question of incunabula—always a favorite topic among bibliographers, whatever their nationality, Seville boasts a cipher notation imprint in 1546 by Juan de León⁷ (who in 1549 and

³ Concerning this incunabulum see Francisco Vindel, *El arte tipográfico en España durante el siglo XVI: Sevilla y Granada* (Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones, Culturales, 1945), p. 110.

⁴ Over one hundred copies were discovered in one Dominican house in 1912, placed on sale, and disseminated throughout the world. See Vindel, p. 181.

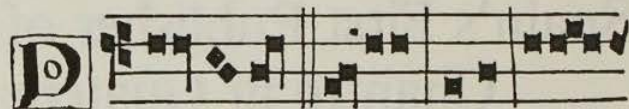
⁵ The apparently unique copy of this 76-leaf incunabulum, printed at Seville before Toledo lured a first-class *impresor* of liturgical books, survives at El Esconial (Vindel, p. 194).

⁶ For a comprehensive exegesis of Durán's collected theoretical oeuvre see Roger Craig Vogel's 447-page "The Theoretical Writings of Domingo Marcos Durán: A Translation and Commentary" (Ohio State University Ph.D. dissertation, 1975 [University Microfilms, 76-10,064; *Dissertation Abstracts*, xxxvi, 11, p. 7040A]).

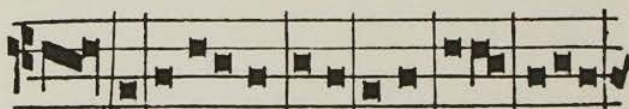
⁷ The Juan de León recruited by Juan Téllez Girón, fourth Count of Ureña, as University of Osuna printer, published Juan Bermudo's *Libro primero* in 1549, *El arte Tripharia* in 1550, and the five books of Bermudo's *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* in 1555; he also published there in 1551 Juan Vás-

quez's *Villancicos y canciones . . . A tres y a quatro*. Before departing from Seville, this Juan de León published in 1546 Alonso Mudarra's *Tres libros*. However, any connection with the other four Sevillian sixteenth-century printers named Juan de León lacks confirmation.

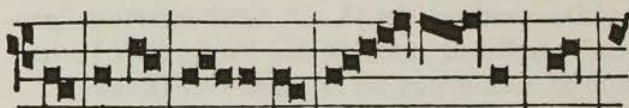
et ad discipulos eius in capucijs cum eo cumq; ad me
dium capiculi puenerit. stans verso vultu ad crucifixu
dicat humili voce hanc orationem.
Antiphonas nras quesum⁹ domine aspirando
pneni et adiuvado psequere: ut cuncta nra
opatio ate semp icipiat et p te cepta finiat
Per xpm dominum nostrum. Amen.
Qua oratioe termiata per xpm. Cator in
cipiat añaz sequente Dñs ihel⁹. et versus De⁹ misereat
nri. et couent⁹ psequat que cantada sunt: cator incipi
te antiphonas et versus. Ad mandatu antiphona.



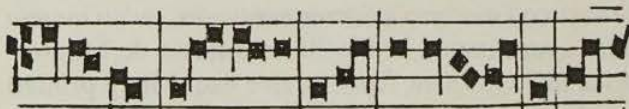
Omi nus ihe sus postcena



ui t cū discipulis suis la uit pedes e orū



et a it i llis sci tis quō



fece rim vo bis ego domi nus et ma

o j

This sample page from *Processionarium*, 1494, contains the Antiphon III chant sung at Maundy Thursday Evening Mass (*Liber usualis*, 1961 edition, pages 672–673).

1555 became Juan Bermudo's publisher at nearby Osuna). The colophon date on Alonso Mudarra's *Tres libros de musica en cifras para vihuela* is December 7, 1546, two months after Mudarra was confirmed in the Seville Cathedral canonry October 18 that he was to inhabit with great benefit to Sevillian

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A certain Juan de León "empremedor vecino desta çibdad de Seuilla" resident "en la collación de Sant Salvador" who on March 17/18, 1551, agreed with a *naypero* (card dealer) named Juan de la Torre to print two reams of *naypes e espadillas* every



Alonso Mudarra's *Tres libros* (Seville: Juan de León, 1546).

music until his death there April 1, 1580. But in contrast with Mudarra's printer, Juan de León, whose origins remain obscure and whose activities after 1555 remain in 1992 a question mark, the career of Martín de Montedoca has now been spectacularly illuminated, thanks to the researches of Klaus Wagner in the Archivo de Protocolos at Seville. His results, published in *Martín de Montedoca y su prensa: Contribución al estudio de la imprenta y de la bibliografía sevillanas del siglo XVI* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1982) still remain so little known outside Spain that a précis offered foreigners even a decade later seems altogether apposite.

Born either in 1525 or 1526 at Utrera on Ginetes

day during 1551 and 1552 cannot with any likelihood be the University of Osuna printer Juan de León. See José Gestoso y Pérez, *Noticias inéditas de Impresores sevillanos* (Seville: Gómez Hnos., 1924). For data on the others, see Joaquín Hazañas y la Rua, *La imprenta en Sevilla: Noticias inéditas de sus impresores* (Seville: Diputación Provincial, 1949), II, 253–255.



Juan Bermudo's *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna: Juan de León, 1555).

Street, Martín de Montedoca was the eldest of four children born to the propertied middle-class couple Pedro Álvarez de Montedoca and Leonor Núñez de Cortegana. After his father's death March 20, 1547, Martín abandoned his studies at the Colegio de Santa María de Jesús in nearby Seville, in order to attend to his inheritance at Utrera. Approximately two months later he married a distant relative resident at Seville, Elvira de Montedoca. While they were residing in her mother's house two children were born to them, Pedro in 1548 and Leonor in 1552 (both evidently named after his parents). His wife having brought to the marriage the comfortable dowry of 400 gold crowns and he on July 2, 1549, having become majordomo of the San Leandro nuns' convent in Seville, he decided in February 1550 to make ready for a publisher's career. On April 27, 1551, he signed a contract with the typefounder and printer Antonio de Espinosa, who had the previous



year been recruited by Juan López, a luthier from Mexico City briefly acting while in Seville as a scout for Mexico City's pioneer printer, Juan Pablos (= Giovanni Paoli from Brescia).⁸ By its terms he took over the rental of property leased by Espinosa for "two lifetimes" from the Hospital and Confraternity of Saint Bernard at Seville. In a contract with Francisco Gutiérrez signed May 8, 1551, he already designated himself "Martín de Montesdoca, ynpresor de libros, vecino desta cibdad de Seuilla, en la collación de San Juan de la Palma." On that date Montesdoca rented a shop from Francisco Gutiérrez located in the "collación de Santa María" for the annual sum of 28 ducats.

The press run of 1050 copies for Montesdoca's first publication, Pedro de Cieza de León's *Parte primera De la chronica del Peru* (10 + 134 folios) took him three-and-a-half months to complete (December 1, 1552–March 15, 1553).⁹ Miguel de Fuenllana's *Libro de musica para Vihuela, intitulado Orphenica lyra* occupied him from March 29, 1554, the date that Fuenllana's father-in-law, *licenciado* Juan de Salazar, physician resident "en la collación de Sant Marcos," at Seville, signed the contract for 1000 copies, until the colophon date, October 2, 1554.¹⁰ (Blind Fuenllana married Graciana Salazar sometime before the dowry and earnest money contract was signed June 7, 1555 [Wagner, page 40, note 2, citing Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla, Oficio IX



Tallado en veynte y ocho reales.

Madrid: Biblioteca nacional copy, R. 9283 = 9278. USA copies are at the New York Public Library and the Newberry Library.

de Mateo de Almonacid, Libro 1.º, 2 of 1555, un-foliated].) That negotiations between Fuenllana's father-in-law and Montesdoca had begun before March 29, 1554, becomes evident from various provisions in the contract:

And in the printing of the copies of this book, the words and the ciphers shall conform with proof given you with my assurance that all the horizontal lines will be straight and that the bar-lines will appear with equal space between them: furthermore making certain that everything else conforms with the order desired by Miguel de Fuenllana or his chosen deputy. If the results fail to satisfy him or you, Juan de Salazar, I, Martín de Montesdoca, obligate myself to correct the faults at my own expense. From the sum that you are to pay to me I am to provide the necessary paper and do all else required to

⁸ Concerning Antonio de Espinosa whose 330-page *Missale Romanum Ordinarium* (Mexico City, 1561) has long been recognized as the handsomest Mexican sixteenth-century imprint, see Gestoso y Pérez, p. 115; and Alexander A. M. Stols, *Antonio de Espinosa: el segundo impresor mexicano*, 2. ed. (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1964); and Robert Stevenson, *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 178–180. Stevenson discusses Juan Pablos's Mexican printing career at pp. 175–178.

⁹ In *Noticias inéditas*, pp. 121–122, Gestoso y Pérez published Montesdoca's contract with Cieza de León dated October 26, 1552. Cieza de León's acute observations concerning Inca musical usages are cited in Stevenson's *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory*, pp. 270–271 and 297–298. See also Cieza de León's *Obras completas, edición crítica, notas, comentarios e índices*, ed. Carmelo Saenz de Santa María (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984–1985), for documents.

¹⁰ Jacobs's edition opens with facsimiles of the title-pages of Madrid Biblioteca Nacional, R. 9278 and 5647, showing the difference in the last three lines of the title. At page xxix he reproduces the handwritten title page of a "1564" Madrid edition (already declared false by John Milton Ward in his "The vihuela de mano," p. 365).

produce the agreed-upon 1000 copies. As an advance acknowledge having received from you, licenciado Juan de Salazar, 104 gold ducats, each ducat worth 375 maravedies. . . . The rest of the sum due me will be paid upon your receiving the 1000 copies properly printed. And since Sebastián Lara Burón, Genoese, furnished me 22 bales of paper to print the books, you having provided surety for the 68,068 maravedies to be paid him in installments, I today obligate myself not to seek more money from you until the books are ready for delivery. Of the 104 gold ducats that you have provided to start the work, 80 were drawn on the bank of Pedro Morga and 24 given me on account. I also acknowledge having received from you, Juan de Salazar, another 12 gold ducats, of the 22 that you agreed to give me in addition to 2 maravedies per sheet of the finished product.

Among other clauses in the contract, Montedoca promised not to stop his presses until the whole batch of 1000 copies were ready for delivery, and to let no other printing enterprise occupy him in the interim. Even so, he was unable to meet the targeted July 31 delivery date, the enterprise costing him another two months to complete. Who his assistants were during the five months that the printing of the 1000 copies required remains unknown, except for a certain Guillermo Bonete = Guillaume Bonet, French nationality pressman ("tirador en la prensa"¹¹) who worked with him from 1552 to 1557. On the same day, March 29, 1554, that Montedoca signed his contract with Fuenllana's father-in-law before notary public Fernando de Postigo, Montedoca—before another Sevillian *escribano público*, Cristóbal de Escobar—contracted to pay Sebastián Lar[c]a Burón, Genoese paper merchant residing at Seville, the sum of 68,068 maravedies for 22 bales of the best paper obtainable ("del buitre"¹²) at 8¼ ducats per bale.

The total cost of printing *Orphénica lyra* therefore ran to 254,068 maravedies (254 maravedies per copy). The profit from the 1000-press run, even if giveaways were numerous, should have been considerable if each copy were sold for 578 maravedies

¹¹Klaus Wagner, *Martin de Montedoca y su prensa: Contribución al estudio de la imprenta y de la bibliografía sevillanas del siglo XVI* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1982), p. 43 ("Guillermo Bonete, que trabajó con Montedoca desde los comienzos de su tipografía"), and 120 (document 57) identified Bonete as Montedoca's sole workman whose name cropped up in Archivo de Protocolos documents.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 111 (document 33). The expense of the paper therefore ran between one-fourth and one-third of the total cost of printing *Orphénica lyra*.

the going price in 1559, according to Oficio X of notary public Melchor de Portes, Libro 1 of 1559, folios 259–261.¹³ The profit would have been greater still were copies actually sold at the stated price printed at the bottom of the title page, 28 reales = 932 maravedies ("tassado en veynte y ocho reales").

Unfortunately for Fuenllana, an alternate edition lacking colophon and with different front matter began circulating before January 14, 1555, and it is this alternate edition, perhaps set afloat by Montedoca's French pressman Guillermo Bonete or some other unscrupulous employee, that is now the prized possession of The New York Public Library and the Newberry Library at Chicago. The interior contents of both editions are mostly the same.¹⁴ Nonetheless, it is the European libraries, British at London, Bodleian at Oxford, Bibliothèque nationale and Bibliothèque du Conservatoire (now in the French national library) that own what Wagner considers to be the authentic edition.¹⁵

As with the *Crónica del Peru*, the 1050 copies of which Cieza de León was himself the seller, so also Fuenllana himself (or his authorized agent) took the responsibility for selling the 1000 copies for which his father-in-law had paid the total printing costs. On January 14, 1555, finding that the unauthorized alternate edition was afloat, Fuenllana authorized his *criado* Juan Ruiz to go through the realm selling the original edition and ferreting out all copies of the unauthorized edition, so that legal penalties could be enforced against the seller or sellers of the unauthorized edition (Oficio IX of Mateo de Almonacid, Libro 1 of 1555, fol. 238).¹⁶

Fuenllana intabulated nine items by Francisco Guerrero, two of which are secular songs—*Ojos claros, serenos* at folios 143–144 and *Torna Mingo a enamorarte* at folios 144–145 (both *a 4*). The rest are sacred items: (1) fabordones in each church tone

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 40, note 34.

¹⁴Charles Jacobs meticulously listed 18 small "divergences in the musical corpus." See his edition, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

¹⁵Wagner, p. 87. The Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid owns both authentic and "spurious" editions (R. 9278 and R. 5647) and also the "1564" spuriousity (R. 14425). The handwritten title page of the latter credits it to Francisco Sánchez, publisher of Cabezón's *Obras de música* (1578).

¹⁶At pp. lxxxii–lxxxiii of his edition Jacobs published a translation of Philip's 15-year printing privilege dated at Valladolid August 11, 1553 (facsimile of the Spanish original text appears at p. lxxvi). The fine of 30,000 maravedies against offenses was to be equally divided among the denouncer, sentencing judge, and the crown.



at folios 108^v–111, all eight being set throughout *a 4* except the festal Tone VI fabordón that augments to five voices in the last verso; (2) *Fecit potentiam*, *a 2*, at folio 3^v; (3) and (4) two *Pange lingua*'s, one *a 3* at folios 94^v–95^v and the other *a 4* at folio 95; (5) *Pater noster*, *a 4*,¹⁷ at folios 96^v–98; (6) *Sacris solemniis*, *a 3*, at folios 95^v–96; (7) *Suscepit Israel*, *a 2*, at folio 3.

On August 23, 1555, Guerrero—who cannot fail to have been favorably impressed with the care lavished on *Orphénica lyra*—himself contracted with Montesdoca for the printing of the five partbooks of his collected *Sacrae cantiones*. The terms of the contract include these details:

I, Martín de Montesdoca, printer of books, resident in the San Llorente district of Seville, contract with you, Francisco Guerrero, musician in Seville Cathedral, resident in the Santa María district of Seville, who are here present, to print a collection of your music which includes motets *a 4* and *a 5*, eight magnificats, and whatever else you wish to deliver me. I obligate myself while printing these works to adhere to the model proof exchanged between us. You are to pay me five blancas [= 2.5 maravedies] for each sheet, and in addition a bonus of 10,000 maravedies, the whole due amount to be paid in the course of printing the collection. If any printers' faults occur in the execution of the task for which I am responsible, I will repair them at my cost. I acknowledge having received from you in cash and on account 38,400 maravedies as advance payment, with which I am content. I obligate myself to produce 750 copies of each of the five partbooks, to start printing them at once, and not to stop until everything is printed. If I fail to do so, you may take the maravedies as interest and compensation and I will repay you your advance. I obligate myself not to produce more than the 750 copies of each partbook, and if more turn up I will pay you 100 gold ducats plus whatsoever money you have thereby lost.¹⁸ I, Francisco Guerrero, having agreed to all this promise to pay the stipulated amount per sheet, and in addition 6000 [sic] maravedies agreed upon as your bonus and to pay a 20,000 maravedies penalty for not complying with all clauses in this contract. Furthermore, I agree to proof-

¹⁷ This Lord's Prayer opens Guerrero's *Sacrae cantiones* published by Montesdoca in 1555. The transcript of Fuenllana's intabulated version (Jacobs, pp. 491–501, comment at p. lxi) is extremely rich in accidentals not specified in the printed vocal parts. On this matter see Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, p. 216.

¹⁸ Evidently Montesdoca here refers to what Fuenllana had lost by the printing of more than the 1000 copies contracted for by Fuenllana's father-in-law.



RISM, A/1/3 (1972), G 4867, omits US-NYhsa, owner of the only complete set of partbooks.

read and correct copy, and if by my negligence and fault any forme is lost, or if I do not return corrections on due dates, I obligate myself to pay you, Martín de Montesdoca, whatsoever fine is customary penalty for such loss. And I, Martín de Montesdoca, understand that you Francisco Guerrero will according to this schedule pay me whatever amount is deemed necessary above the 38,400 maravedies already received to accomplish the printing of the partbooks: a third to begin, a third half way through, and the remaining third at the termination of the printing.

As one of the clauses of this contract reveals, Guerrero before Montesdoca started printing hoped that the final product would include his magnificats. For the eventual printing of these he had to wait another eight years until Pierre Phalèse at Louvain came to his rescue in 1563. The reasons for his having to search outside the peninsula for the printer of not only his magnificats but also for all his compo-

sitions after *Sacrae cantiones* can be surmised. Montesdoca ceased publishing any dated volumes after February 15, 1557. But even more importantly, any music published by so already renowned a polyphonic specialist as Phalèse could be depended upon to reach international markets and thereby gain wider fame for the composer. Dedicated to Philip II, his printed magnificats concord with those in a luxurious volume delivered to Toledo Cathedral toward the end of August 1561 (and may well be the same magnificats that were ready for Montesdoca's attention in 1555).¹⁹

The last document bearing on Montesdoca's career as a music printer that has been thus far brought to light by Klaus Wagner was judged by him to pertain to the forthcoming issue of Juan Vásquez's *Agenda defunctorum*.²⁰ On August 4, 1556, Francisco Guerrero, "musician in Seville Cathedral," and Montesdoca jointly agreed to pay Vincenzo Lomelín, a Genoese dealer in paper resident in Seville, the sum of 10,500 maravedies for four bales of paper of the "veta verde" sort—this price amounting to seven ducats per bale.²¹

Shortly after January 27, 1557, Martín's spouse, Elvira de Montesdoca died. Throughout his printing career she had been his financial mainstay. That same year on an undetermined date before December 27 Montesdoca was ordained a priest—the celerity with which he was ordained being at least partly explained by his having studied canon law in the Sevillian Colegio de Santa María de Jesús. His printed poetry attests to his Latin.²² On January 7, 1558, the famous theologian Dr. Constantino Ponce

¹⁹Concerning Guerrero's magnificats, see Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music*, pp. 178, 181. To show how sumptuous was the Phalèse edition, Krummel (page 370) provided a facsimile of the opening of the superius of the Gloria Patri, $\Phi 3$ mensuration, that concludes Guerrero's Tone VIII Magnificat.

²⁰Wagner, pp. 32, 36, and 117 (document 48).

²¹At his page 133 Wagner usefully extracts from 13 contracts signed by Montesdoca between February 1550 and August 1556 the price of paper sold by dealers (of whom seven were Genoese). The price charged by the Genoese dealers varied from 2250 maravedies per bale in January 1551 to 3773 in February 1556.

²²The poems prefacing Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* (Wagner, pp. 63, 65; Jacobs xcvi-xcix); Luis de Miranda's *Comedia prodiga*, 1554 (Wagner, p. 64); Guerrero's *Sacrae cantiones* (Wagner, pp. 71-72); Alejo Salgado Correa, *Libro nombrado regimiento de juezes*, 1556 (Wagner, p. 73); Bernardino de Riberol, *Libro contra la ambición y codicia desordenada*, 1556 (Wagner, p. 74).



✠ *Agenda defunctorum*. ✠

RISM, A/1/9 (1981), V 996 knows only the E-bc copy.

de la Fuente loaned Montesdoca 400 gold ducats²³—a sum never repaid. During 1558 Montesdoca printed nothing but five religious tracts by the Dominican friar Domingo de Valtanás (none with colophon). In 1559 he agreed to join Alexo de Cárdena, a printer at Córdoba, in the printing of a missal for Córdoba diocese, but on November 6, 1559, resigned from the partnership, turning over his interests in the project to the Sevillian printer Simón Carpintero. In a notarized document dated November 15, 1560, he deposed having already on November 1, 1559, sold his press and everything going with it (including printing matrixes) to the Sevillian book

²³Wagner, p. 132: "Yten quatrocientos escudos de oro que parece dio a guardar a Martín de Montesdoca, vezino de Seuilla, en siete de hebrero de mill e quinientos e cinquenta e ocho años. El dicho Montesdoca quebró y se fue en Yndias." By his pulpit eloquence Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, *canónigo magistral* in Seville Cathedral after 1533, won the favor of Charles V, who made him a *capellán de honor*. After Charles V's death, he fell afoul of Santo Oficio authorities and in 1559 ended his life imprisoned and disgraced.



dealer Juan Gutiérrez. With hand-me-downs from Montesdoca's press, including even initial letters, Gutiérrez published in 1560 Juan Vásquez's *Recopilación de Sonetos y Villancicos a quatro y a cinco*.

Meanwhile Montesdoca throughout 1560 wound up all his other business affairs, including financial provisions for his two children. After preliminary agreement signed January 22, 1561, with the master of the vessel "Nuestra Señora del Antigua" bound for Honduras, Montesdoca in company with his younger sister, Marina de Cortegana (spinster), daughter Leonor, and possibly his son Pedro, departed February 6, 1561, in the ship that touched first in the Canaries, sailing thence to the port of Caballos (= Puerto Cortés) in Honduras province. In payment for the journey Montesdoca gave the master of the vessel 25 ducats per person, plus 90 gold ducats for a choice cabin near the mast that was to be occupied by the three of them. Once landed in the Honduras port that served Guatemala as well, he was assigned vicar at Tuxtla = Tuxtla pueblo.

When first visited by missionaries Tomás de Casillas and Alonso de Villalba at Easter 1546, Tuxtla was rated by them as being inhabited by "gente muy noble y de muy honrados señores" (very noble and honorable first-class people) who ranked above other enclaves in the region.²⁵ Montesdoca mastered their languages (zoque y tzotzil) before becoming in 1570 the Chantre of Guatemala Cathedral.²⁶ Scattered and incomplete as are the Guatemala Cathedral capitular acts in the *Liber Capituli sancte Jacobi . . . Desde 1573 años*. NOTA: *se hallan en este libro otros cabildos desde su primer Obispo el Sr. Marroquin*, the presence of "Martin de Montes de Oca" as cathedral chantre as early as October 17, 1572, is mentioned at folio 155 of this *Libro primero de Cabildos en el orden de los que actualmente existen en este Archivo, hoy 24 de Set^e de 1790* (1790 cathedral archivist's certificate on the cover of the volume).

²⁴ Compare the capital initial L in Wagner, p. 164, and in Gutiérrez's *Recopilación*, fol. AIII, reproduced in facsimile, *Monumentos de la Música Española*, iv (1946), p. 21.

²⁵ Antonio de Remesal, *Historia General de las Indias Occidentales y Particular de la Gobernación de Chiapa y Guatemala*, ed. Carmelo Saenz de Santa María, II (Madrid: 1966 [Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 189]), p. 70: "Es la gente noble, y los caciques y señores tienen terminos honrados, en lo que se aventajan a los de otras tierras."

²⁶ Wagner, p. 29, note 15, citing Archivo General de Indias, Guatemala 10 *passim*, 165, 169, 170 *passim*, 965, and 966.



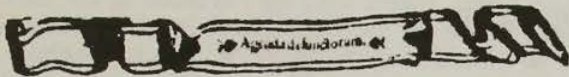
Agenda defunctorum, fol. A³ verso. At the foot of the cross stand Jesus's mother and the apostle John. This engraving is repeated at fols. C¹ and C⁴. The words at the bottom read: O mors ero mors tua, morsus tuus ero inferne.

In early 1585 or the preceding year, he resigned from this cathedral dignity to reside as curate at Yçalco.²⁷ To aid him in the discharge of his duties a young priest not yet proficient in any of the indigenous tongues joined him in 1585.

In our own generation the splendid flowering of polyphony throughout the Audiencia of Guatemala

²⁷ According to the *Diccionario Geográfico de la República de El Salvador* (San Salvador: Instituto Geográfico Nacional, 1970), I, 147, and the prior edition of 1959, p. 99, the place name Izalco is a Náhuatl word (Itzshalco, Itzaco, Itzcalco) meaning "place of obsidian or black sands." In 1524 Izalco in the northwestern part of what is now El Salvador and Cuscatlan near present-day San Salvador were the centers of the Pipil Indian population that had pushed south from Mexico in the eleventh century. Juan de Torquemada dated the foundation of Izalco by the last Toltec king, Topilzin Aexitl, in the year 1054.

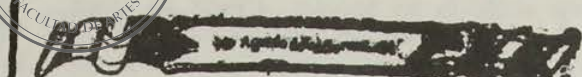
The Dominicans founded a *convento* at Izalco in 1572. The church bell weighing 50 quintales that was founded at Seville in 1580 was a gift from the Spanish crown.



Lectio. II.



Quare de vulva educti mei qui vtmam
 sumptus essem ne oculus me videret: fu-
 ssem quasi non essem de vtero transi-
 ad rumulum. Nunquid non paucis die-
 rum meoru finem dicit? Dumitte ergo
 me Domine vt plangam paululum do-
 meum: ante quam vadam & non reuertar
 ad terram tenebrosam & operata mortis caligane. Terra
 miserie & tenebrarum: vbi umbra mortis & nihil ordo sed
 sempiternus horror inhabitat.



Handwritten musical notation on five-line staves with Latin lyrics. The text includes: "Liber me Domine de morte aeterna in die illa tremenda", "Liber me Domine de morte aeterna in die illa tremenda", "Liber me Domine de morte aeterna in die illa tremenda", "Liber me Domine de morte aeterna in die illa tremenda", "Liber me Domine de morte aeterna in die illa tremenda".

Libera me Domine de morte aeterna in die illa tremenda, *Agenda defunctorum*, fols. E⁵ verso-E⁶. Concerning the musical contents of the *Agenda* see below in this issue, pages 58–61.

from mid-sixteenth century onward has been amply documented.²⁸ Hernando Franco (1532–1585), the most noted composer in North America before 1600, became maestro de capilla in Guatemala Cathedral no later than the year that Montedoca became Chantre.²⁹ The earliest extant polyphonic manuscripts thus far found anywhere in the Americas began being copied during the 1580's at various Indian villages in what is now Huehuetenango area in northwestern Guatemala.³⁰ With such antecedents

as Montedoca enjoyed and with his record of mastering indigenous tongues and serving as Chantre in Guatemala Cathedral, the amazing flowering of European music throughout the area becomes more readily comprehensible.

But irrespective of Montedoca's final role in Guatemala, his importance in music history fully justifies his inclusion in so useful a compendium as Donald Krummel's vademecum. After Montedoca should be equally investigated the others who printed tablatures and polyphony at Alcalá de Henares, Barcelona, Madrid, Osuna, Salamanca, Seville, Valencia, and Valladolid during Spain's golden age.

²⁸ See "Guatemala Cathedral to 1803," *Inter-American Music Review*, II/2 (Spring-Summer 1980), pp. 30–71.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32: "Up to 1570 the capitular acts mention no maestro de capilla. At last on January 5, 1570, the newly appointed oidor Matheo de Avévalo arrived, bringing with him Hernando Franco, the first chapelmaster whose name enters the acts and whose music survives at Guatemala."

³⁰ "European Music in 16th-Century Guatemala," *Musical*

Quarterly, L/3 (July 1964), p. 351, cites 1582 as the earliest date inscribed on any of the nine Guatemalan manuscripts copied at Santa Eulalia, San Juan Ixcoi, and San Miguel Acatán that contain European music.



Sevilla, jueves, 29 de marzo 1554.

Martín de Montesdoca, impresor de libros, se concierta con el licenciado Juan de Salazar, médico, obligándose a imprimir 1.000 ejemplares del «Libro de música para vihuela» de Miguel de Fuenllana.

Sean quantos esta carta vieren cómo yo Martín de Montesdoca, ynpresor de libros, vezino desta ciudad de Sevilla, en la collación de Sant Pedro, otorgo e conosco que so convenido e concertado con vos el licenciado Juan de Salazar, médico², vezino desta ciudad de Sevilla, en la collación de Sant Marcos, que estais presente, en tal manera que yo sea obligado e me obligo de vos ymprimir e dar ynpresos mill volúmenes de libros de cifra de música de vihuela de vn libro, que agora nueuamente a conpuesto y fecho Miguel de Fuenllana, músico, el qual yo he visto, e me obligo de los començar a haser desde oy día de la fecha desta carta e de no alçar la mano dello ni entremeter ni entender en otra ninguna obra que lo ynpida, hasta ser acabados de ynprimir los dichos mill volúmenes del dicho libro de música, e de vos los dar todos ynpresos en fin del mes de jullio deste año de la fecha desta carta e antes, si antes los pudiere acabar. E que la dicha ympresión deste dicho libro e volúmenes susodichos sea conforme a la letra y cifra de vna prova, que os tengo dada y, reparando el compás, que vaya más parejo y las pabtas que vayan derechas e con todos los demás reparos que en bondad de la dicha ympresión se pudieren hazer, a vista e contento del dicho Miguel de Fuenllana o de quien pusyere de su parte; y que si la cifra e letra e pabtas o otra cualquier cosa tocante al dicho libro no fuere tal que le contente, que sea obligado yo, el dicho Martín de Montesdoca, a la tornar a hazer a mi costa, e hasta tanto que esté de dar y rescibir a vista de quien lo entienda, puesto por el dicho Miguel de Fuenllana o por vos el dicho licenciado Juan de Salazar. E yo ponga el papel e todo lo demás que fuere menester para la dicha ympresión, a mi costa, por razón de lo qual yo he de aver, e vos me aveys de pagar, de cada pliego de papel de los que en los dichos mill volúmenes de libros entraren, después de acabado en toda perfición, dos maravedies de cada pliego, para en cuenta de lo qual otorgo que he rescibido e rescibi de vos el dicho licenciado Juan de Salazar ciento e quatro ducados de oro de a trezientos y setenta e cinco maravedies cada vno, de que me otorgo por bien contento e pagado (...). E los maravedies que más montaren los dichos mill volúmenes del dicho libro me los pagueys luego, como os los diere ympresos e acabados de la manera que dicha es. E porque para ymprimir los dichos libros yo tomé de Sebastián Lara Burón, ginovés, veynte e dos balas de papel, por los quales me obligué a le pagar sesenta y ocho mill y sesenta y ocho maravedies, a pagar a ciertos plazos, de

los quales salistes por fiador vos, el dicho licenciado Juan de Salazar, como se contiene en la obligación que pasó ante el presente escriuano, oy día de la fecha desta carta, que no pediré e me obligo de no vos pedir más dineros hasta que los dichos mill volúmenes de libros sean acabados e ymprimidos e que sy vos el dicho licenciado pagáredes, como tal fiador de los dichos sesenta y ocho mill e sesenta y ocho maravedies, que me los desconteys e yo los tome en cuenta de los maravedies que más montaren los dichos libros. Y porque de los dichos ciento e quatro ducados que me distes adelantados, de los cient ducados dellos tengo dadas cartas de pago, porque me los librastes en dos partidas, por dos cédulas, los ochenta ducados dellos en el banco de Pedro Morga, e los veynte e quatro que me distes en contado, si parescieren las dichas cartas de pago e partidas aquellas, y esto se entienda ser todo vna misma cosa e contía. E demás de lo susdicho otorgo que he rescibido e rescibi de vos el dicho licenciado Juan de Salazar doze ducados de oro que son para en cuenta de veynte e dos ducados, que nos concertamos que diésedes para ayuda de costas demás de los dichos dos maravedies de cada pliego, e son en mi poder los dichos doze ducados, de que me otorgo por contento e pagado (...). E los diez ducados restantes a cunplimiento a los dichos veynte e dos ducados me los pagueys luego como os diere acabados los dichos libros. E sy alçare la mano de lo susodicho e lo dexare de fazer que, demás de yncurrir en la pena deste contrato, me podays executar por los dichos ciento e diez ducados que de vos tengo recibido e por los maravedies que por mi oviéredes pagado del dicho papel e por lo demás que me oviéredes dado como por debda liquida (...). E yo el dicho licenciado Juan de Salazar, que presente so, otorgo que aceto e rescibo en mí de vos, el dicho Martín de Montesdoca, esta escritura con todos los otorgamientos (...). E declaro yo el dicho Martín de Montesdoca que so mayor de hedad de veynte e cinco años. Fecha la carta en Seuilla, estando en el oficio de mí, el escriuano público yuso escrito, jueves veynte e nueve días del mes de março, año (...) de mill e quinientos e cinquenta e quatro años (...).

A.P.S. Oficio XXIII, de Fernando del Postigo, Libro I.º de 1554, fols. 701-702 v.º

Sevilla, jueves, 29 de marzo 1554.

Martín de Montesdoca, impresor de libros, y el licenciado Juan de Salazar, médico, su fiador, se obligan a pagar a Sebastián Larca Burón, mercader genovés, 68.068 maravedies por 22 balas de papel «del buitre» que le compraron, a 8 ducados y 1 cuarto la bala.

Sean quantos esta carta vieren cómo yo Martín de Montesdoca, ynprimidor, vecino desta ciudad de



Seuilla, en la collación de Sant Pedro, como principal debdor, e yo el licenciado Juan de Salazar, médico, vezino desta dicha cibdad, en la collación de Sant Marcos, como su fiador e principal pagador (...), otorgamos e conoscemos que devemos dar e pagar a vos Sebastián Larca Burón, ginovés, estante en esta ciudad de Seuilla, que estays presente o quien vuestro poder oviere, sesenta e ocho mill y sesenta e ocho maravedies (...), los quales son por veynte y dos balas de papel del buitre que de vos rescibí conpradas yo el dicho Martín de Montedoca, al precio de ocho ducados e vn quarto de ducado cada bala e lo tengo en mi poder, (...) [a] pagar aquí en Seuilla sin pleyto la mitad dellos mediado el mes de mayo e la otra mitad mediado el mes de jullio deste año de la fecha desta carta (...). Fecha la carta en Seuilla, estando en el oficio de mí, el escriuano público yuso escrito, jueves veynte e nueve días del mes de março, año (...) de mill e quinientos e cinquenta e quatro años (...).

A.P.S. Oficio XXIII, de Fernando del Postigo, Libro 1.º de 1554, fol. 703.

Sevilla, lunes, 14 de enero 1555.

Miguel de Fuenllana, vecino de la colación de San Marcos, otorga su poder a Juan Ruiz, su criado, para que venda su «Libro de música para vihuela» y recoja los ejemplares de una edición fraudulenta, haciendo cumplir lo establecido en el privilegio de impresión que posee.

Sean quantos esta carta vieren cómo yo Miguel de Fuenllana, vezino desta ciudad de Seuilla, en la collación de Sant Marcos, digo que, por quanto Su Magestad me dio e concedió su privilegio e facultad real para que yo e quien yo quisiere e no otra persona alguna podamos ynprimir e vender el libro de música de vihuela de cifra, que yo he fecho e conpuesto, so ciertas penas como en el dicho previllegio se contiene, a que me refiero, por tanto otorgo e conosco que doy e otorgo todo mi poder (...) a Juan Ruiz, mi criado, mostrador deste poder, especialmente para que por mí y en mi nonbre e como yo mesmo pueda vender e venda a qualesquier presonas y en qualesquier partes y lugares destos reynos e señoríos de Su Magestad e fuera dellos el dicho mi libro de cifra, por los prescios de maravedies que pudiere aver e hallar y los rescibir e cobrar en su poder y dar cartas de pago, sy lo pidieren. E que pueda pedir e tomar quenta e razón a qualesquier persona en cuyo poder estén e estuvieren los dichos libros o algunos dellos, de dónde los ovieren e sy son de los por mi mandado ynpresos o de estampa por ellos hecha, y de defender que los tales libros no se puedan vender ni vendan. Y pueda executar las penas que Su Magestad mandó en tales personas y cobrar dellos las penas y condenaciones y, cerca dello pueda parescer y paresca ante todos e qualesquier juezes e justicias que con derecho deva, que puedan conozer sobre esta razón. (...). Fecha la

carta en Sevilla, estando en el oficio de mí, el escriuano público yuso escrito, que doy fe que conosco al dicho otorgante, lunes catorce días del mes de henero, año (...) de mill e quinientos e cinquenta e cinco años. Y el dicho Miguel de Fuenllana no lo firmó de su nombre en este registro porque es ciego de la vista corporal (...).

A.P.S. Oficio IX, de Mateo de Almonacid, Libro 1.º, 1 de 1555, fol. 238.

Sevilla, viernes, 23 de agosto 1555.

Martín de Montedoca, impresor de libros, se concierda con Francisco Guerrero, músico de la Catedral de Sevilla, obligándose a imprimirle 750 ejemplares de sus «Sacrae Cantiones».

Sean quantos esta carta vieren cómo yo Martín de Montedoca, ynpresor de libros, vecino desta cibdad de Seuilla, en la collación de San Lloreynete, otorgo e conosco que me obligo a vos Francisco Guerrero, músico en la Santa Yglesia de Seuilla e vecino della, en la collación de Santa María, que estades presente, en tal manera que yo sea obligado e me obligo de vos ynprimir vn libro de música de obras vuestras, que son motetes a quatro y a cinco, y ocho manificas, y más otras cosas que quisiéredes a mí dar, el qual me obligo de inpriimir conforme al repartimiento que hiziéredes e de la marca que os paresciere e de buen molde, conforme a la muestra que está firmada de nuestros nonbres e del escriuano público yuso escrito, dando e que me deys por cada pliego cinco blancas, y, demás de lo que montare el dicho precio cada pliego, me deys mill maravedies de galardón por la dicha obra, que todo me lo pagueys como le fuere ynprimiendo. E si alguna falta oviere por culpa de los ynpresores fuera de la sustancia de la música, que sea a mi cargo la enmienda, e lo vuelva a haser a mi costa. E para en quenta de lo que montare la dicha obra otorgo que he rescibido de vos treynta e ocho mill e quatrocientos maravedies, que me abeys dado en papel e dineros de contado, de que vos tengo dado conocimiento dellos, de los quales soy contento e pagado a mi voluntad. (...). Los quales dichos treynta e ocho mill e quatrocientos maravedies se disquenten en lo que montare la dicha obra. De la qual dicha obra me obligo de hazer, en la manera que dicha es, setecientos e cinquenta volúmenes de a cinco libros cada volumen, e de los enpezar a haser luego, e de no los dexar de haser e ynprimir hasta los tener acabados enteramente. E sy no los fyziere, que podays tomar otros ynpresores que lo fagan e cunplan, e por lo que más costare e por lo que de vos oviere recibido me podays executar con sólo vuestro symple juramento, con más veynte mill maravedies que me obligo de vos pagar en pena e por nonbre de ynterés. E sy lo ansy no tubiere e la pena pagada o no, que lo aquí contenido vala e sea firme, segund dicho es. Otrósí me obligo de no ynprimir



más volúmenes de libros de hasta en la dicha cantidad, e sy alguno más pareciesen, se me tomen por perdidos e vos dé e pague, cada que lo tal pareciere, cien ducados de oro con más las costas que sobre ello se vos recrescieren. E yo el dicho Francisco Guerrero, que estoy presente a lo que dicho es, otorgo e conozco que recibo en mí de vos el sobredicho esta escritura e los otorgamientos della, e me obligo de vos pagar cada pliego de los dichos libros que ansy ynprimiédes en la manera susodicha e más los dichos seys mill maravedies de galardón, segund e como de suso se contiene, e de tener e cunplir lo en esta escritura contenido, so la dicha pena de los dichos veynte mill maravedies (...). Otrosí me obligo de corregir los dichos libros e ynpresión, e sy por descuido o por mi culpa se perdiere alguna forma dellos e por no corregirla a tiempo, que yo me obligo de pagar vos el dicho Martín de Montedoca lo que es uso e costunbre de se pagar por la tal forma que en la manera, que dicho es, se perdiere luego que se pierda (...). Y en quanto a la paga de lo que la dicha ynpresión montare demás de los dichos treynta e ocho mill e quatrocientos maravedies, que tengo recibido yo el dicho Martín de Montedoca, se entiende que vos el dicho Francisco Guerrero me los pagueys en esta manera: La tercera [parte] por començar la obra y la otra tercera parte tenyendo ynpreso la mitad de los libros y la otra tercera acabada toda la ynpresión. Y por lo así pagar e cunplir obligamos nuestras personas e bienes ayudos e por aver. Fecha la carta e Seuilla, en el officio de mí, el escriuano público yuso escripto, viernes veynte e tres días del mes de agosto, año (...) de mill e quinientos e cinquenta e cinco años (...).

A.P.S. Oficio V, de Pedro Castellanos, Libro 3.º de 1555, fols. 308-309.

Sevilla, martes, 4 de agosto 1556.

Francisco Guerrero, músico de la Catedral de Sevilla, vecino de la colación de Santa María, y Martín de Montedoca, impresor, vecino de la colación de San Lorenzo, se obligan de mancomún a pagar a Vicencio Lomelin, genovés, vecino de Santa María, 10.500 maravedies por cuatro balas de papel «de veta verde», de 10 resmas cada bala y precio de 7 ducados la bala, dentro de 6 meses.

Sean quantos esta carta vieren cómo yo Francisco Guerrero, músico de la Santa Yglesia Mayor desta ciudad de Seuilla e vecino della, en la colación de Santa María, como principal devdor, e yo Martín de Montedoca, ynpresor, vecino que soy desta ciudad de Seuilla, en la colación de San Lorenzo, como fiador e principal pagador (...), otorgamos e conoscemos que devemos dar e pagar a vos Vicencio Lomelin, ginovés, vecino de soys desta dicha ciudad de Seuilla, en la colación de Santa María, que soys avrente (...), diez mill e quinientos maravedies, los quales son por razón de quatro balas de papel de veta verde, de diez

resmas cada bala, que de vos yo el dicho Francisco Guerrero recibí conprado a prescio de siete ducados cada bala (...). Los quales dichos maravedies deste dicho devdo prometemos e nos obligamos de vos los dar e pagar aquí en Seuilla, syn pleyto alguno, desde oy día, que esta carta es fecha, fasta seis meses cunplidos primeros siguientes (...). Fecha la carta en Seuilla, en el officio de mí, Pedro Gutiérrez de Padilla, escriuano público della, martes quatro días del mes de agosto de mill e quinientos e cinquenta e seis años (...).

A.P.S. Oficio XVIII, de Pedro Gutiérrez de Padilla, Libro 2.º de 1556, fol. 1444.

Sevilla, viernes, 15 de noviembre 1560.

Martín de Montedoca, clérigo presbítero, formaliza la venta de una prensa para imprimir, matrices, tipos y otros utensilios que hizo a Juan Gutiérrez, mercader de libros, en 1 de noviembre de 1559.

Sean quantos esta carta vieren cómo yo Martín de Montedoca, clérigo presbítero, vecino desta cibdad de Seuilla, en la collación de la Magdalena, otorgo e conozco que vendo a uos Juan Gutiérrez, mercader de libros, vecino desta cibdad de Seuilla, en la collación de Santa María, que estays presente, vna prensa de ynprimir libros, con dos ramas y con caxas de conpusición y con ciertas ystorias vsadas y el testo de misal e con vnas matrices de cantollano. E vendo vos la por prescio e contía de treynta e dos ducados de oro (...), las quales de uos recibí en dineros contados, en esta manera: dies ducados que por mí aveys pagado a Diego de Cambia, vinatero, a quien yo los deuo, que en vos están enbargado por un mandado del señor licenciado Juan Alvarez de Laredo [?], teniente de asistente, y catorze ducados que por mí pagastes a Sebastián de Truxillo, librero, que yo le deuía, que los pagó por mí como fiador, y el resto, que son ocho ducados, recibo de uos (...). E sy la dicha prensa e lo demás que vos vendo más valiere del dicho precio, que por ella me days, bos lo doy en donación e renuncio cerca dello (...). Por ende, desde primero día del mes de novienbre que pasó del año de mill e quinientos e cinquenta e nueve años, que fue el tienpo que os bendí y entregué la dicha prensa e lo demás aquí contenido, e desde oy día que esta carta es fecha, otorgo que me desapodero e dexo e desysto e parto e abro mano de la dicha prensa e los demás que dicho es (...) a vos el dicho Juan Gutiérrez, para que sea vuestra e lo podays dar e vender (...) como cosa vuestra propia (...). Fecha la carta en Seuilla, en el officio de mí, Diego Ramos, escriuano público della, viernes quinze días del mes de novienbre de mill e quinientos e sesenta años (...).

A.P.S. Oficio V, de Diego Ramos, Libro 3.º de 1560, fol. 566.